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VOL. IV.—CHRISTIAN ARCHÆOLOGY

NEW YORK: EATON & MAINS
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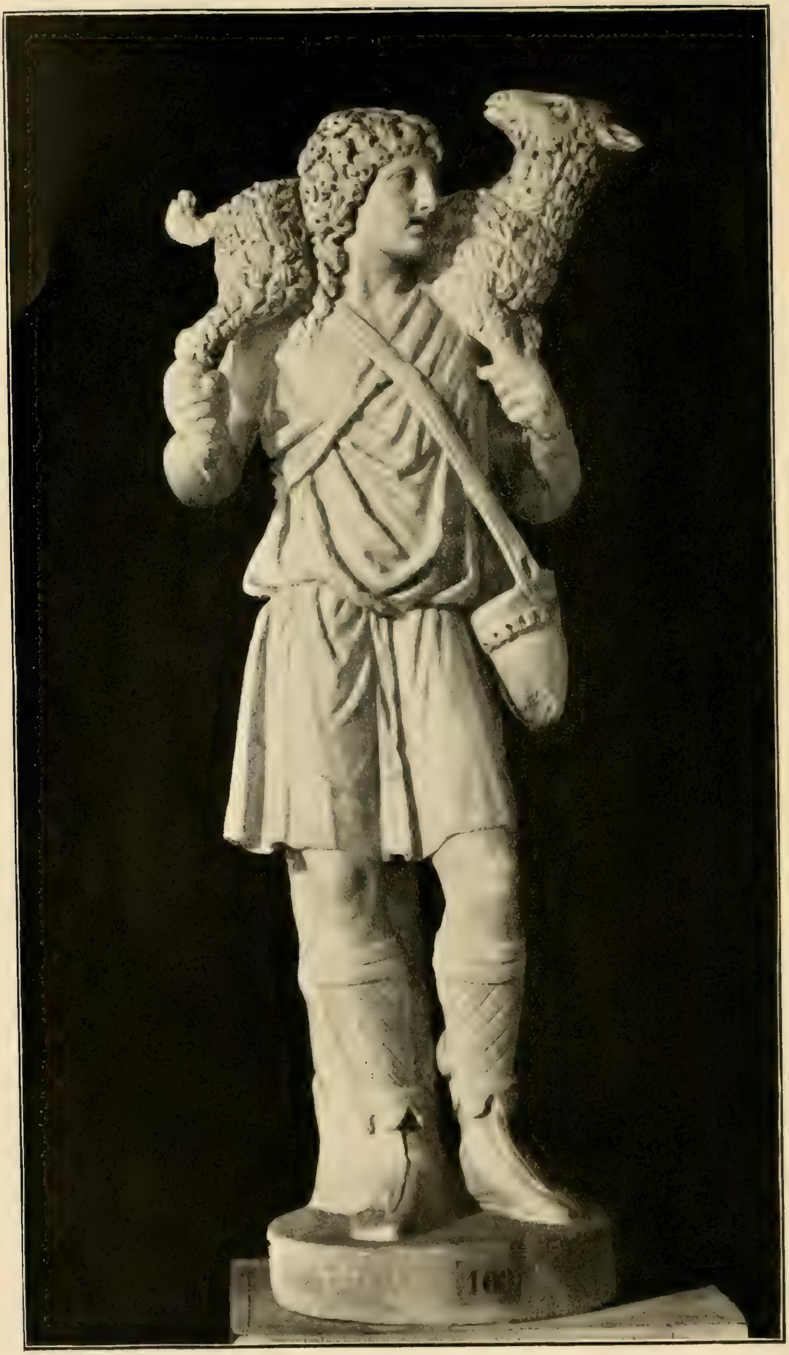

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CHRISTIAN ARCHÆOLOGY

BY

CHARLES W. BENNETT, D.D., LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORICAL THEOLOGY IN GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE, EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

WITH AN

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

BY

DR. FERDINAND PIPER

PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY AND CHRISTIAN ARCHÆOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN

SECOND EDITION

REVISED

BY

AMOS WILLIAMS PATTEN, D.D.

NEW YORK: EATON & MAINS
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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IT is with much diffidence that I send forth upon its mission this work on Christian Archæology. I will let that veteran Christian archæologist, Dr. Piper, my much-revered instructor, speak of the *need* of some such book as this. In the Introductory Note, which he has had the great kindness to furnish, the scope and value of this Discipline are sketched in his own inimitable style. While the master speaks it behooves the pupil to keep silence.

The arrangement is a departure from the usual one. I have thought that by giving the Archæology of Christian Art the first place in the discussion, the results of this study could best be utilized in the illustration of the Constitution, Worship, and Life of the Church.

It only remains for me to express my sincerest appreciation of the kindly encouragement and aid which have been so freely given me both at home and abroad. It would be invidious to make distinctions, but to my associates in theological instruction, to friends who have helped me in making the requisite travels for personal study of monuments, to my most highly esteemed preceptor and guide in the Berlin University, and to those who have assisted in the proof-readings and indexing, I would express my especial obligations. If careful readers of the work would communicate to me any errors which they may discover, it would be regarded as a personal favour, as well as help to the attainment of truth.

Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

REVISER'S NOTE.

SO thoroughly and with such scholarly accuracy did Dr. Charles W. Bennett accomplish his great work that alteration has been for the most part unnecessary. Except in those lines where they might be naturally expected, as the result of the progress in archæological research within the last ten years, few changes have been required. Dr. Bennett left numerous notes and suggestions which, as far as possible, have been incorporated into the revision.

Attention has been given principally to Books I and III: The Archæology of Christian Art and The Archæology of the Sacraments and Worship of the Early Christian Church. Books II and IV remain substantially unchanged.

I have to express my thanks to Dr. Nikolaus Müller, my friend and teacher, successor to the late Dr. Piper in the chair of Church History and Christian Archæology in the University of Berlin, who has not only given many valuable suggestions, but who also placed at my disposal his rich collection of squeezes from the Christian monuments and granted me the freedom of the Christian Museum and of the Archæological Library of the Berlin University.

AMOS WILLIAMS PATTEN.

HYDE PARK, CHICAGO.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

AT the invitation of the esteemed author, I write a few words of introduction to this volume. It is with pleasure that I greet the first work on Christian Archæology which has appeared on American soil. With hearty good wishes I welcome it to a position of prominence, even before it has come into my hands. At the same time, I cannot be in doubt in regard to its character. The acquaintance I have with the method of the author's studies, his protracted connection with our University, his travels in the Old World and their purpose, give assurance of its solid worth. Since numerous plates and illustrations, as well as several maps, accompany the text, the work comes to have the character of an Art-Archæology, and will be helpful in theological instruction. Thus it appears that the book is designed for the Monumental section of ecclesiastical science.

I. The title itself is full of significance. In Classical Antiquities, where the word *ἀρχαιολογία* is in common use, it refers primarily to the historic life of a nation, as Roman, Jewish, etc.; since the idea of life (*ὁ ἀρχαῖος βίος τῆς πόλεως*), as the essential content of Political Antiquities, occupies the foremost place. Only after several modifications, through the development of the "Archæology of Art" in connection with Classical Antiquities, has the present character of archæological science been determined. By further adding the Inscriptions (which as a whole are excluded from Classical Antiquities), we reach the Discipline which has too long been neglected in the department of theological inquiry. In view of the progress made in the corresponding philological fields of Archæology and Epigraphy, and of the pressing demands of theological science, it is evident that this neglect cannot much longer continue. In the United States, where an able Journal of Archæology has received support for several years, a commendable zeal already exists, so that the author's work does not appear prematurely there.

The work is devoted exclusively to the first six centuries, although the name Archæology does not, in itself, have reference only to what is ancient. But for this very reason we call attention to the significance of this field of inquiry for the study of theology and for the service of the Church.

II. This significance lies, first of all, in the fact that it reveals a source of information which supplies a serious lack in our knowledge of Christian Antiquity: for the nearer we approach the beginnings of the Church the more meagre are the literary sources of evidence. These, for the most part, are all which have hitherto been taken into consideration. Here, accordingly, the contemporary monuments in stone, metal, and color, found by thousands in all parts of the world, especially in the countries around the Mediterranean, are of immense assistance. It is the work of the archæologist to make a critical examination of these, and to determine their historic value. The discovery of Pompeii and Herculaneum affords an illustration from Classical Antiquities more complete than had been thought possible. When Paciaudi immediately thereafter visited Herculaneum and the Museum at Naples, he exclaimed, "O what treasures! what wonders!" He ventured to affirm that by the spending of a week in the Museum he had learned more than by ten years of previous study. In the domain of Church history nothing similar were possible, because through the excavation of Pompeii the entire domestic, civil, and religious life was revealed, whereas Church history is chiefly concerned with the latter. Subterranean discoveries pertaining to the ancient life of the Church have, however, been made for centuries, and with such rich results that a special theology of the Catacombs might be compiled from them. And even above ground, in recent years, numerous remains of ancient Christian architecture dating from the flourishing period of the early Church have been discovered, ruined cities of Central Syria which might be characterized as new Pompeiis.

But these objects and these discoveries are of service not to Historic Theology alone, but every branch of theological investigation has thereby been benefited, especially Biblical Interpretation and Dogmatics, since texts of Scripture and doctrinal opinions frequently furnish the fundamental thought expressed in these sculptures and paintings. Moreover, the iconographic expression, even when comprised in lines and colors, has a certain advantage over the written, especially in that frank unconsciousness which is often obscured by words.

Hence it is that however large a share the "holy building fathers" may have had in these ruined edifices, all were nevertheless intended for Christian worshippers and grew out of their needs, so that their faith and sentiments are therein expressed. It was as true then as to-day, that in order to understand the religious life of a community it is necessary to visit their places of burial; and fortunately innumerable cemeteries of ancient Christendom have been preserved to aid us in our theological investigations.

But all these remains should not exist merely for the purpose of forwarding the investigations of the scholar and the theologian. The religious community at large ought also to derive enjoyment and profit from them. There are no more memorable sites than these sacred places on the border-land between time and eternity, with their testimonies in word and symbol to the truth on which the ancient believers based their lives, and in which they died. They are inestimable gifts, intelligible without learned interpretation, refreshing to simple and unlettered Christians, and inspiring even to the youth of the Church. On this account, the founding of museums, especially the systematic arrangement and exhibition of copies (where originals are not to be had) for schools and congregations, has long been a thing to be desired. But this cannot be effected unless theologians do their duty and earnestly devote themselves to the work. For this purpose a volume like the present is an available help.

III. The appearance of this work in the United States is also of special significance. The monuments which are therein discussed direct our thoughts to Christian antiquity. But, without disparagement to the remains of a primitive civilization which are found on that continent, the governments and peoples of America belong to modern times. Christian Archæology cannot, therefore, be studied on American soil. The consciousness of this fact is, of course, there fully recognized. Hence among American scholars there is a natural impulse, stronger than that for ordinary professional purposes, to study their own first beginnings on this side of the sea. This is the impelling motive which leads to the old home, Europe, and the still older Asia. This powerful incentive readily determines the American scholar to undertake the voyage, and he reckons the journey short. This also leads the professional theologian, both for practical and scientific purposes, to the memorials of ecclesiastical antiquity to be found in the seats of primitive Christianity, where, above all, the theater of the events affords the best possible setting for their history. Thus measurably the past becomes the present. As a traveller in the tropics, while ascending a high mountain, passes within a few hours through all climatic conditions, even to polar cold; so is it possible for the archæologist, as he examines the sites and memorials of historic developments, to enter into their spirit as an eye-witness, and so cause them again to pass before him. Is he concerned with the apostolic times, it is certain that Paul's sermon on Mars Hill is nowhere read so intelligibly as on the spot where it was delivered, in sight of the Acropolis and its temples, and looking out over the land and sea. And from high ecclesiastical antiquity, which possesses no documents more precious than the letters to the Church in Smyrna, and those to the Churches in Lyons and Vienne concerning their martyrs, we may take as examples the stadium at Smyrna (whose site is perfectly recognisable) where Polycarp suffered, and at Lyons the crypt of St. Denis where the prisons of Pothinus and Blandina are shown. When authenticated, these places and a thousand others, next to those in the Holy Land, incite the theologian to make his pilgrimage.

If the poet sings of sacred Palestine,

> "It was no strange desire,
> When pilgrims numberless embarked
> But at Thy sepulcher to pray,
> And kiss with pious zeal
> The earth Thy foot has trod,"

it is not to be wondered at that American theologians in great numbers leave their native shores to visit historic spots where they may view the mementoes of the past.

If, then, this work, next to the knowledge which it imparts, may also awaken among the writer's countrymen a still stronger desire—following the example of the highly esteemed author, who in the course of his investigations has several times crossed the ocean, and so gained the right to speak from personal observation—to undertake that pilgrimage, in order to reach the origins of the Church and to get a view of its primitive monuments, it will thereby render another valuable service. DR. FERDINAND PIPER.

BERLIN UNIVERSITY.

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

ARCHÆOLOGY (*ἀρχαιολογία*) [1] is the science of antiquity; the scientific presentation of the life of the peoples of antiquity as found in the fixed forms of ancient civilization. It is an auxiliary of general history; but, while the historian considers great movements, the archæologist studies civilization as it has crystallized into definite forms.

General archæology considers those fundamental principles which control in the study of the early life of all peoples. Special archæology has reference to the life and institutions of a particular people or age, or to a particular kind or class of evidence. Christian archæology, further, should be limited to the systematic study of the art, constitution, government, discipline, worship, rites, and life of the early Christian Church.

Divisions of Christian archæology.

It can be conveniently examined under a fourfold division:

a. The archæology of Christian art.[2]

This examines Christian thought, life, doctrines, and institutions as they are found crystallized and expressed in monuments; monumental evidence being here used in distinction from documentary. It therefore includes the examination of the geography and chronology of Christian art monuments; the influences exerted upon Christian art by Judaism and heathenism; the symbolism of Christian art; the history and monuments of Christian painting and mosaics, of Christian sculpture, architecture, music, and poetry. It carefully studies the Christian burial monuments, also Christian inscriptions, coins, medals, seals, rings, diptychs, and furniture.[3] A scientific treatment presupposes a correct estimate of monumental evidence, which is the result of a thorough knowledge of the autoptics,[1] criticism, and hermeneutics of Christian art monuments.[2]

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[1] The word *ἀρχαιολογία* seems to be the adequate Greek synonyme for the Latin *Antiquitates.* Some writers, notably Bingham, have preferred the latter term.

[2] "The archæology of ancient Christian art is the scientific investigation and representation of the art possessions of Christianity and the Church in the form of classical antiquity."—Victor Schultze: *Archæologie der altchristlichen Kunst.* München, 1895.

[3] Otto Jahn would rank numismatics among the sources of history, and regard epigraphics as an auxiliary of philology.

b. Archæology of the constitution and government of the Christian Church.

This includes, 1.) The examination of the fundamental idea of the Christian Church as revealed in the New Testament Scriptures. 2.) The Church in its organized form. 3.) The offices and officers of the Church; the superior, including the bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and the inferior, including the subdeacons, deaconesses, catechists, acolytes, exorcists, etc. The government by councils, synods, etc. 4.) The Church discipline, which examines the conditions and methods of admission into the Church; the duties of the individual members to the organic body; the nature and extent of penalties, etc.

c. Archæology of Christian worship and rites.

This embraces, 1.) The means of public religious education and edification, including prayer, singing, reading of the Scriptures, preaching, etc.; in which all might participate. 2.) The sacraments, their nature, number, efficacy, candidates, ministrants, mode and place of celebration. 3.) The sacred times and seasons, as Sabbath, Easter, Christmas, Quadragesima, etc.

d. Archæology of Christian life.

This considers, 1.) The Christian family, its basis and significance. 2.) The opinion of the Church respecting the marriage relation, the treatment of slavery, household religion, etc. 3.) The relation of Christians to trades and business; what vocations were lawful, what forbidden. 4.) The relation of the Christian Church to charities; the care for the poor; the existence of orphanages, hospitals, etc. 5.) The social and literary position of the early Church. 6.) The care for the dead, Christian burial, prayers for the dead, etc.[3]

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[1] This term is applied to the simple description of monuments; their material, extent, degree of preservation, style, place of discovery, etc.

[2] Kraus: *Ueber Begriff, Umfang, und Bedeutung der christlichen Archæologie.* Freiburg, 1879. s. 12.

[3] *v.* Schultze: In Zöckler's *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften*, etc. 3 Bde. 1884. Vol. ii, ss. 236–272.

This is mainly after the analogy of classical archæology; and no valid reason can be urged why the archæology of the Christian Church should not have like logical division.

Among the latest treatises upon Christian archæology are: J. Mallet: *Cours Élémentaire d'Archéologie religieuse.* Paris, 1883. Reusens: *Éléments d'Archéologie chrétienne.* Aix-la-Chapelle, 1885. Perate André: *L'Archéologie chrétienne.* Paris, 1892. Schultze: *Die Archæologie der altchristlichen Kunst.* München, 1895.

Mallet defines archæology as the science of ancient monuments. "Archæology, History of archæology.

The study of Christian archæology properly dates from the sixteenth century. It was occasioned not only by the general revival of classical learning, but especially by the earnest controversies of the reformation period. The Protestant reformers had vigorously arraigned the Church for a wide departure from the primitive simplicity of worship, doctrine, and polity, and they believed that this charge could be best justified by a thorough examination of the life, the institutions, and the customs of the early Christian centuries. The Magdeburg centuriators[1] thus became the pioneers in special archæological studies; to justify the revolt against the mediæval Church was their chief aim.

The centuriators.

Baronius.

To answer this arraignment of the centuriators, the adherents of Rome were in turn compelled to enter upon like fundamental studies. Cæsar Baronius († 1607), a priest of the Roman oratory, then a cardinal, after thirty years of most laborious investigation published his *Annales Ecclesiæ*, a work which has ever since been regarded as the well-furnished arsenal from which the Roman Catholic writers have derived their weapons of defense.[2]

While the thought, doctrines, usages and life of the early Christ-

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in the sense in which we use it, includes the study of architecture, sculpture, painting—all, indeed, embraced under the term arts of design; also paleography, or the science of inscriptions and ancient writings; numismatics, or ancient coins and medals; glyptics, or engraving on precious stones; sphragistics, or the science of seals; ceramics, or a knowledge of pottery; and, finally, furniture—this last term not being confined to its ordinary meaning, but including every thing connected with Christian worship, as baptismal fonts, chairs, stalls, sacred vessels, crosses, chandeliers, censers, vestments, and liturgical ornaments." pp. 1, 2.

Canon Reusens says: "The study of antiquity can be divided into two parts: 1.) Sciences philological. 2.) Sciences historic. The first embraces the literary sources, the second the monumental. The word Christian archæology has chief reference to the latter, or monumental. It therefore, properly speaking, includes the study of the monuments of Christian worship, that is, church edifices, and church furniture in its broadest sense."

[1] Matthias Flacius, a preacher of Magdeburg, an Illyrian by birth, associated with himself a number of learned Protestants, among whom were Matthew Judex, Holtzhuter, Andrew Corvinus, and Basil Faber, for the purpose of writing a history of the Church by centuries. Hence these writers are called centuriators. This work is learned, and exhibits much acuteness and great powers of generalization, but, as might be expected, is too often intensely partisan.

[2] While not himself an archæologist, in the strict sense of the term, Baronius nevertheless in certain sections of his *Annales* examines the archæological materials that are important to answer certain debated questions of the early Christian history. These were afterward collected and edited by Schulting: *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Ecclesiasticarum*, etc., 1601.

Relations of Christian to classical archæology.

ians were characteristic, they can, however, best be studied in connection with Jewish and classical archæology. The first converts had been adherents of the then extant religious systems, Jewish and heathen. On their acceptance of the new faith prejudices were not immediately corrected, but long continued in the Church as modifying factors. The tenacity of the Jew for his venerated religion and its stately ritual caused serious embarrassment to the apostles and early Christian fathers. The heathen mythology left its deep impress upon the art of the early and mediæval Church.[1] The philosophic systems of Plato and Aristotle furnished a vigorous and exact terminology for the expression and defense of Christian doctrine,[2] and the corrupted Neo-Platonism of a later period was the fruitful source of dangerous heresies. The methods of investigation and the forms of expression that matured under the influence of classical antiquity greatly aided in the discussion and precise formulation of Christian thought. These philosophic systems were not merely negative in their relations to Christianity, but they contained positive elements of the good, the true, and the beautiful, and have remained unsurpassed for terseness and comprehensiveness, for beauty and variety.[3]

Christian archæology thus receives important aid and illustration from the study of Jewish and classical archæology. These latter disciplines are, however, with respect to their content, almost the exact antipodes of each other. Aside from purely literary remains, nearly all the materials for classical archæology are to be found in works of architecture, sculpture, and epigraphy, while the Hebrews largely lacked the ability to produce works of a high order of excellence in formative art. Hence many of the ablest classical archæologists make the formative arts the centre and kernel of classical archæology,[1] while writers on biblical archæology must necessarily regard these arts as constituting but a comparatively insignificant part of their investigations.[2]

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[1] Compare Piper: *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst von der ältesten Zeit bis in's sechzehnte Jahrhundert.* Weimar. Bd. i, 1847. Bd. ii, 1851. Fr. Münter: *Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen.* Altona, 1825. F. X. Kraus: *Die christliche Kunst in ihren frühesten Anfängen.* Leipzig, 1873.

[2] Besides the numerous histories of Christian doctrines, see especially Ueberweg: *History of Philosophy,* translated by Morris. 2d Part: *The Patristic and Scholastic Period.* Becker: *Das philosophische System Plato's in seiner Beziehung zum christlichen Dogma.* Freiburg, 1862. Ackermann: *The Christian Element in Plato and the Platonic Philosophy.* Edinburgh, 1861. Cocker: *Christianity and the Greek Philosophy.* New York, 1870.

[3] Compare Kraus: *Lehrbuch der christlichen Geschichte.* Treves, 1872. Sepp: *Das Heidenthum und dessen Bedeutung für das Christenthum.* Bd. iii, ss. 285–289. Döllinger: *The Gentile and the Jew in the Courts of the Temple of Christ.* Translated by N. Darnell. London, 1862. Piper: *Virgil als Theologe und Prophet* in *Evangel.-Kalender,* 1862.

The date from which (*terminus a quo*) this examination should begin is naturally when the first germs of the Christian Church appear, or when their existence can be well authenticated, even though the documents and monuments may have entirely disappeared.[3] This limitation will, however, be determined by the main purpose which the investigator may have in mind. With respect to the other limiting period (*terminus ad quem*) widely different opinions have been entertained. In this case there is no natural terminus. Some have regarded the death of Gregory the Great, A. D. 604, a proper limit to Christian archæological inquiries.[4] Others have extended it to the eleventh century, or to the age of Hildebrand;[5] while still others would make the Reformation of the sixteenth century the line of separation between the old and the new.[6] Some of the later writers on Christian art archæology would place no boundary to its appropriate study, regarding whatever is past as falling legitimately under the term archæological.[7]

Chronological limits of our examination.

While no strictly historic limit can be fixed, beyond which Christian archæological studies may not be continued, we shall confine our examinations to the period ending with the second Trullan Council at Constantinople, A. D. 692. Prior to this the Church had undergone most of its fundamental changes, and Christian art and institutions had developed a type that remained essentially fixed for five hundred years. This comprehends the classic period of ancient Christian art and the formative period of Christian doctrines. In it are most clearly noted the teachings of primitive Christianity, and just to what extent art may be a helpful auxiliary of the Church or become a corrupting and misleading power. From the close of the seventh century begins a new period, in which the Græco-Roman element in the West yields to the Teutonic, and the Byzantine church life and art become stiff and immobile. The Church, by the controversy over image worship, was now sundered, and thenceforth two distinct historic streams flow side by side. There is no longer one undivided Church, but the Greek and the Latin-Germanic develop each its own distinctive character and life.

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[1] Stark: *Handbuch der Archæologie der Kunst.* Leipzig, 1880, 1te Theil. Otto Jahn: *Ueber das Wesen und die wichtigsten Aufgaben der archæologischen Studien.* Winklemann: *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums.* 2 vols., 4to, 1776.

[2] For discussion of causes, *v.* Bk. i, chap. ii.

[3] Guericke: *Lehrbuch der christlich-kirchlichen Archäologie.* 2te Aufl. Berlin, 1859, § 1.

[4] Bingham: *Origines Ecclesiasticæ;* or, *Antiquities of the Christian Church.* 2 vols. 1867. Guericke: *Op. cit.* Rheinwald: *Die kirchliche Archäologie.* Berlin, 1830, § 3.

[5] Augusti: *Handbuch der ch. Archäologie.* 3 Bde. Bd. i, s. 23. Augusti rather inclines at times to the sixteenth century as a better limit.

[6] Baumgarten: *Vorlesungen über christlichen Alterthümer.*

[7] Hagenbach: *Encyclopædia der theologischen Wissenschaften.* 6te Aufl., §77. Crooks & Hurst: *Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology.* pp. 388, 389. Rosenkranz: *Encycl. der theol. Wissenschaften,* 1867, § 96. Piper: *Einleitung in die monumentale Theologie,* 1867, § 17. Piper says: "Of course for the monuments of art the Reformation constitutes a distinct line of demarkation, occasioned by the revival of the study of classical literature, and by the changed conditions of life in which, besides Christianity, still other elements of culture made themselves effective. . . . But to this branch of theology (monumental) the close of the Middle Ages can by no means furnish a proper limit, since the Christian spirit can never cease to interest itself in monumental studies. To this extent only is this limitation reasonable, namely, that

Archæologists and historians in agreement.

The more noted modern archæologists[1] substantially agree to limit the term Christian antiquity to that period during which Christianity moved chiefly within the compass and influence of Græco-Roman civilization. While the duration of this movement varied somewhat in Rome, in Gaul, and in the Orient,[2] it will be sufficiently exact for the purposes of our inquiry to limit the period to the Council in which the great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches originated. In this limitation the Christian archæologists are in substantial harmony with the more recent historians[3] of the Church, who regard the seventh cen-

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at the period of the Reformation art activity is divided into the contrarieties of a Protestant and a Catholic art. But the products of art history do not connect with past history alone; the present has also matured in both communions the ripe fruits of a higher art endowment, and of a profounder insight into the sacred Scriptures. As such works exert over each other a powerful spiritual influence, a suggestion is thus furnished that in art may be found a ground not, indeed, of ecclesiastical union, but of real reconciliation." s. 52.

[1] *v.* especially De Rossi: *Inscriptiones Christianæ urbis Romæ.* I. Romæ, 1861, fol. *Roma Sotterranea.* I. Roma, 1864; II. Roma, 1867; III. Roma, 1877.

Garrucci: *Hagioglypta s. Picturæ et Sculpturæ sacræ antiq.*, etc. Paris, 1856. *Vetri ornati di Figure in Oro*, etc. Roma, 1857. *Storia dell' Arte cristiana*, Prato, 1873, 3 vols. fol.

Le Blant: *Manuel d'Epigraphie chrétienne*, 1869. *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaul*, 1856–1865.

Martigny: *Dictionnaire des Antiquités chrétiennes*, 1877.

[2] It is well known that, while the death of Gregory the Great (A. D. 604) marks sufficiently the point of transition from the antique to the mediæval type of the Church in Italy, the Græco-Roman civilization was felt as a controlling power in Gaul for nearly a century later; so that our studies must be extended among the monuments of Gaul till near the close of the seventh century.

[3] Neander, Gieseler, Baur, and others begin the second or mediæval period with the death of Gregory the Great; Niedner begins the second period with the middle, and Kurtz, Hase, Alzog, and others with the last quarter of the seventh century.

tury as the line of division between ancient Christianity and that of the Middle Ages; between the period during which the Church was influenced by and influenced in turn Græco-Roman thought, and that period during which she came more directly into contact with the Teutonic and Sclavonic peoples.

CHAPTER II.

UTILITY OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL STUDIES.

The opinion has too commonly prevailed that archæology is a study of the merely strange and curious, and that it chiefly contributes to the gratification of the relic-hunter and antiquarian.[1] Doubtless there was some reason for this opinion when things ancient were examined in their isolation and for their own sake, rather than in connection with the organic development of a civilization of which they are the surest indexes. Since archæology is connected vitally with the past, and shows that any type of civilization is measurably influenced by a given environment, it ranks among the most practical of disciplines. The materials of an earlier civilization sustain relations somewhat similar to those of the organic remains that may have been collected by the paleontologist. So long as the latter are preserved in museums simply to gratify the curious they are of little value. But when by the application of clearly defined principles each bone and fragment becomes the means of constructing the entire skeleton of an animal of a far-off age, whose habits and *habitat* are thereby reproduced before the eyes—the ancient world being thus made real to the geologic investigator—paleontology becomes a vital science, and these otherwise dead organic remains are instinct with life.

Vital connection of archæology with history of civilization.

Archæological objects like organic remains.

So with archæological objects of either heathen, Jewish, or Christian origin. Through the story which they have told many serious errors of ancient history have been corrected, the past of long-buried dynasties has been made to pulsate with a life before wholly unknown, the plans, occupations, and institutions of men have been revealed as clearly as though they were passing before our eyes.

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[1] *v.* Crooks and Hurst: *Encyclopædia and Methodology*, p. 389. "By taking archæology out of its connection with the living development of the Church and making it an incense-breathing reliquary, we degrade it, as a science, into a mere hunt for bric-a-brac, and give it an un-Protestant varnish of idle curiosity and favoritism."

As by the study and interpretation of Egyptian hieroglyphics the history of that ancient people has been thoroughly reconstructed; as Assyrian history has received richest illustration and been entirely transformed by the discovery of art and epigraphic remains on the sites of buried cities;[1] as the Hellenic scholars already feel that the most thorough and elaborate treatises of Grote and Curtius no longer furnish adequate statements relative to many phases of Greek life and thought;[2] so, too, in the history of the Christian Church has archæology essentially aided in the correction of many misleading statements, and led to a fuller, juster, and more satisfactory knowledge of the early Christian centuries.

Aids to profane history.

Equally to Christian.

Among many that might be named, the following points may suffice to illustrate the utility of these studies:

1. Much erroneous chronology of the history of the first three centuries has been corrected, while the faithful study of the inscriptions, both classical and Christian, has been the means of casting an unlooked-for light upon the lives and writings of the early Christian fathers.[3]

Has corrected chronology.

2. Archæological studies have also corrected the false notions relative to a supposed hatred of, or aversion to art on the part of the early Christian fathers. The remains of the catacombs clearly teach that they, on the contrary, encouraged the cultivation and practice of the fine arts.[4]

And false notions relative to art.

3. They have been useful in perfecting the text of the Patristic writings. By them the spurious has been separated from the genuine, and falsifications have been detected and eliminated. By the use of the analytic method they have enabled the investigator to bring into a fair historic

Aids to perfect the Patristic writings.

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[1] "It is hardly necessary to refer to their value as contributions to mythological, historical, and philological knowledge, as this is now universally recognized. They suddenly appear as apparitions of a departed past which at one time it was supposed would never be recovered. The history of the West had been told in glowing pages of the Greeks and Romans: that of the East, a hazy and ill-defined conception of thought, remained so, till rock and clay, leather and papyrus, had been compelled to reveal the secrets of the unknown and almost magical characters in which that history was written. Some errors in translation—as in all things—but the grand outlines and principal details remain, and nothing can mar the chief outlines and beauties of the history." S. Birch: *Records of the Past.*

[2] *v.* E. L. Hicks: *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, pp. xi, xii.

[3] Piper: *Zur Geschichte der Kirchenväter aus epigraphischen Quellen* in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1876.

[4] de Rossi: *Roma Sotterranea*, Introductory Chapter. *Inscriptiones Christianæ* etc., Prolegomena.

succession what was before mixed, confusing, and uncertain. By likeness of alphabet, by similarity of expression, by comparing etymological and art characteristics as noticed in inscriptions and surviving art works, a juster and truer text has resulted.[1]

History of heresies.

4. The history of the early heresies has received important aid from the study of inscriptions both on burial monuments and on gems and seals. "Thus the new religions of mixed origin that flourished under the Roman Empire, the Mithraic, the later Egyptian, and the various forms of Gnosticism, cannot be properly studied without a constant reference to these genuine illustrations (the Abraxas gems, etc.) of their doctrines; since the only written documents concerning them have been transmitted to us by either ignorant or prejudiced adversaries, whose sole object was to heap as many foul charges as they could collect or devise upon the members of the rival sects."[2]

Their unconscious testimony.

5. The peculiar nature of monumental evidence must not be overlooked. Inscriptions and art remains become unconscious witnesses to the facts of history, and to the extent of this unconsciousness is their value augmented. This becomes more manifest when we consider how large a part of the surviving literature of the first three Christian centuries is of the nature of apologetics. These writings were designed for the defence of the Christian system against the attacks of adversaries, or to correct erroneous doctrines of heretical sects. They contain, therefore, a strong personal element that is not most favorable to the revelation of the whole truth. Some of the most extended and valuable treatises are marked by evidences of strong passion which manifestly leads the writer to represent the opinions of opponents in the most unfavorable light, and to conceal the weak points of the apologist. Such weakness can hardly attach to monumental evidence, since this implies calmness as well as unconsciousness, and is, therefore, more of the nature of average judgments, and expresses more nearly the general public opinion. "The unimpeachable form of inscriptions"[3] is a characterization of this species of evidence which has come to be generally accepted. A rude inscription with grammatical inaccuracies, a palm branch, a symbol scratched upon the soft plaster used to close a Christian tomb, a simple "depositus," or "in pace," may thus unconsciously

In contrast with early apologetics.

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[1] *British Quarterly Review*, October, 1880, p. 470.

[2] King: *Antique Gems*, pp. xviii, xix.

[3] Hatch: *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, p. 16.

tell the story of the real thought and life of the early Church more truly and justly than the most elaborate treatise.[1]

6. The attention of scholars is now more than ever before directed toward the first Christian centuries. In the estimate of earnest Christian investigators, the questions of supreme importance are: Who was Jesus of Nazareth? What were the doctrines which he inculcated? What was the genius of the kingdom which he established? What were the institutions that he ordained? What were the life, the customs, the accepted beliefs of the original Church before it was allied with earthly and governmental powers? What were the sources, nature, and intensity of the forces that vitiated the purity and simplicity of the first Church? What are the truths of absolute authority, because uttered and enforced by the Founder, or by his immediately inspired apostles? What is of mere human origin, or of prudential value, which may, therefore, be accepted or rejected according to the shifting environment of the Church? These are some of the pressing questions which Christian archæology is specially helpful to answer, because it regards the objects which it investigates as indexes of the life and will of the early Christian actors and of the real spirit of the Church.[2]

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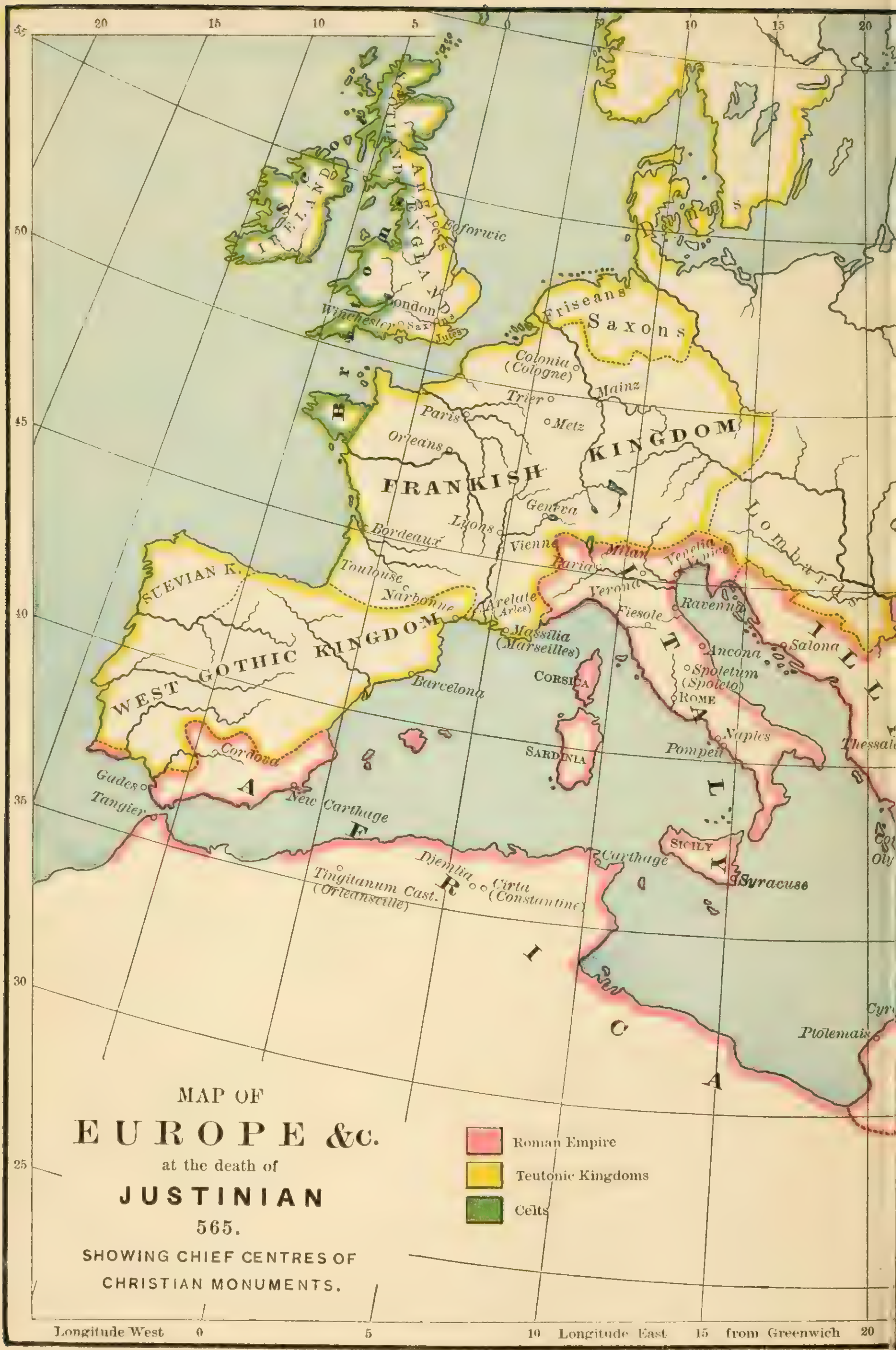
[1] Stevens: *The Old Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England.* London, 1865, 1867, 1868. "This absence of 'grammatical propriety,' and this presence of 'a most illiterate and unskillful artist' are doubly precious in the eyes of the speech-killer, even as much so as the 'accurate spelling' indulged in by the more wealthy and educated families of the deceased. They open out to us glimpses of the most ancient and widely spread and popular *Lingua Rustica*, in its various dialects, which, rather than the Book-Latin, of which it was independent, is the base of all the Romance tongues now flourishing in Europe, with all their various and old patois." Vol. ii, p. 394.

The quotations in the above passage are from Burgon's remarks on the great variety of monuments and inscriptions in the Roman catacombs.

[2] One has only to recall some of the most important "finds" within the past few years in order to see that constantly increasing light is being thrown upon the problems of the early Christian life and literature: 1. The completion of *The Epistles of Clement* by the discovery of Bryennios, in 1875. 2. *The Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter*, discovered by the French Archæological Mission, Cairo, in a grave in an ancient cemetery at Akmîm, Upper Egypt, in 1886. Published in 1892. 3. The publishing in 1888 of the *Arabic Diatessaron of Tatian*, and its translation into English, 1895. 4. The recovery by Professor Rendel Harris of the Syriac version of *Aristides the Philosopher*, in 1889. 5. The finding at Beneseh, in Egypt, in 1897, of the papyrus leaf containing a collection of *The Logia, or Sayings of Jesus.*



MAP OF

EUROPE &c.

at the death of

JUSTINIAN

565.

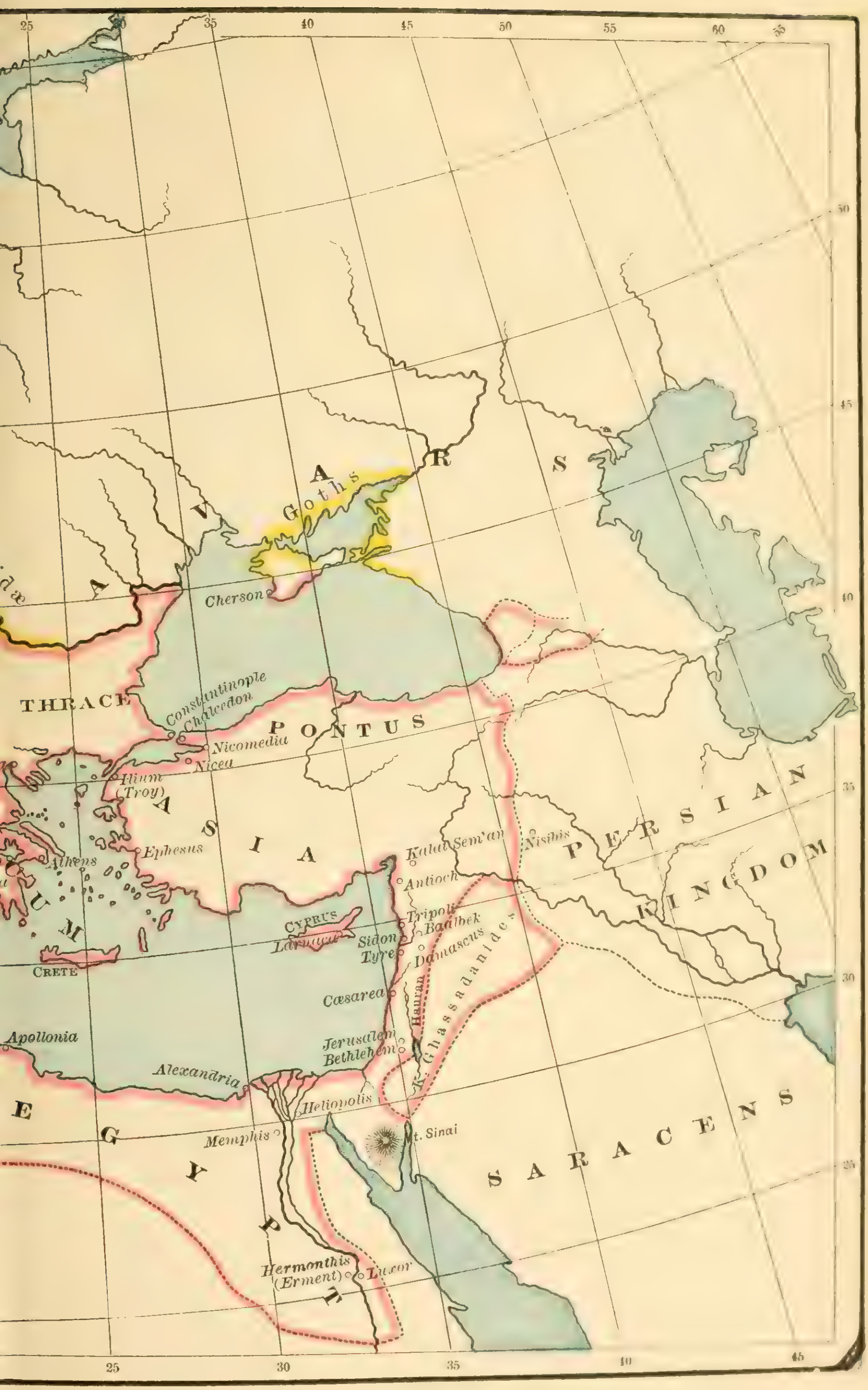
SHOWING CHIEF CENTRES OF

CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS.

🟥 Roman Empire

🟨 Teutonic Kingdoms

🟩 Celts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AVARS
Goths
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Cherson
THRACE
Constantinople
Chalcedon
Nicomedia
Nicea
PONTUS
Ilium
(Troy)
ASIA
Ephesus
Athens
UM
CYPRUS
Larnaca
CRETE
Kalat Sem'an
Nisibis
PERSIAN KINGDOM
Antioch
Tripoli
Baalbek
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
K. Ghassanides
Hauran
Cæsarea
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Apollonia
Alexandria
Heliopolis
Memphis
Mt. Sinai
SARACENS
EGYPT
Hermonthis
(Erment)
Luxor

BOOK FIRST.

THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF CHRISTIAN ART

THE
ARCHÆOLOGY OF CHRISTIAN ART.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHY AND CHRONOLOGY OF CHRISTIAN ART MONUMENTS.

THE rapid propagation of Christianity during the first three centuries has long been the vexed problem of the deistic, the naturalistic, and the mythical schools. Solutions have been various, but each has proved inadequate. Only a religion of divine origin and sanction can explain the facts of the early Christian history. Absolutely unassisted by human philosophy or state patronage, stubbornly opposing the indulgence of passion, awakening no hope of temporal reward, in directest contradiction to the prevalent thought and life, a pronounced monotheism in the midst of a debased polytheism, it nevertheless gained disciples in every province of the Roman Empire and in the far-off regions beyond.

The wonderful history recorded in the Acts of the Apostles (Chapter II) represents that persons from widely separated countries were converted by the preaching of Peter on the day of Pentecost.

The rapid spread of the Gospel.

Doubtless many returned to their homes after the celebration of the great national feasts at Jerusalem, and others would naturally hasten to spread the tidings of salvation among their former associates. From each of these, as from a centre, the rapid propagation of the Gospel in distant parts went forward. By the sparks that were scattered abroad from this pentecostal baptism of fire a bright and unquenchable flame was kindled throughout the Roman world.

To the poor and the oppressed the Gospel must have been especially precious. The carpenter's son spoke comforting words to the enslaved, and dignified the honest toiler. He who in the agonies of the crucifixion said so tenderly to his favored disciple, "Behold thy mother" (John xix, 27), founded a religion that appealed with especial force to the heathen woman of the East. In these very countries where her

A message to the poor.

condition was most degraded, Christianity elevated her to be the peer of her husband. By virtue of a communion of spirit and a common hope it gave to marriage a new sanction, to maidenhood a new sacredness, to the whole life of woman a higher worth.[1]

Influenced the better classes.

Few, indeed, of the official class were at first attracted toward the new religion ; yet the testimony of records, as well as of the monuments, is conclusive that some of the refined and of the honorable early embraced the new faith. The mention during the apostolic times of Joseph of Arimathæa (Matt. xxvii, 57–60, *et. al.);* Sergius Paulus (Acts xiii, 6–12); Dionysius of Athens (Acts xvii, 34); and of Priscilla, Aquila, and Pudens, "dearly beloved in the Lord," in whose house at Rome Christian services were held (Rom. xvi, 3–5 ; 1 Tim. iv, 21); as well as the evidence of the interment of some members of the Flavian family of Domitian's reign in the cemeteries of Domitilla and Lucina at Rome, fully confirm the belief that the Gospel had already found faithful witnesses among the patrician classes and even in the imperial household.[2] The governor of Bithynia complained to Trajan that persons of every age and of both sexes embraced the pernicious faith.[3]

Number of Christians.

In the second century Tertullian boasted that in Carthage one tenth of the population were Christians, including some even of senatorial rank. "We are a people of but yesterday, yet we have entered all your places—cities, islands, fortifications, towns, market-places, yea, your camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum."[4] This must be taken with caution, since at a still later date Origen says that the number of the Christians as compared to the whole population was very small. From a letter of Pope Cornelius it has been estimated that under Maximian the Church at Rome could not have numbered more than fifty thousand, or one twentieth of the population, and the total throughout the empire could not have been more than one twelfth to one tenth of the entire people, or approximately from eight millions to twelve millions.[5] By the middle of the century

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[1] Friedländer : *Sittengeschichte Roms.* Bd. iii, s. 587.

[2] de Rossi : *Bulletino Arch. Christ,* iii, 1865, p. 33, etc.; *Roma Sotterranea,* t. i. pp. 196, 319–321.

[3] Pliny : l. x., ep. 97. "Multi enim omnis ætatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus," etc.

[4] "Hesterni sumus et vestra omnia implevimus urbes, insulas," etc. *Apologeticus ad versus gentes,* cap. xxxvii.

[5] Staüdlin : *Univ. Gesch. der christ. Kirche,* 1833, s. 41, places the number of Christians at the crowning of Constantine at (*la moitié*) one half of the population of the empire. Matter : *Hist. de l' Église,* t. i, p. 120, puts it at one fifth. Gibbon : *Decline and Downfall,* etc., chap. xv, places it at one twentieth ; Chastel : *Destruc-*

The spirit of the new religion.

the apologists of the Church were numerous, and were equal in learning and controversial power to their ablest opponents. While the foregoing statement of the zealous African is to be taken with caution, it nevertheless illustrates the earnestness and fidelity of the early Christians, and the marvelous propagative power of their religion. These results seem all the more remarkable in the entire absence of evidence of an organized association for the spread of the new faith into foreign parts. Rather did the rapid extension of the Gospel in the century of its origin result from the apostolic preaching, from the enthusiasm which this must have aroused among peoples impoverished in faith and longing for spiritual nourishment,[1] from the consistent and devoted lives of its individual professors, and from the simple testimony of the men and women, who had accepted the divine message, to its saving power. The words of Christ, "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid" (Matt. v, 14), were eminently true of the members of the early Christian community. Before the accession of Constantine the influence of Christianity had penetrated the thought, the principles, and the life of the empire. While the old systems showed a most remarkable tenacity of life, their hold on the nation was nevertheless becoming weaker and weaker.

Adoption by the state.

The clear, discerning genius of Constantine saw in the new religion the sure promise of the future. With it he united his fortunes, and in legalizing he subjected it to perilous temptations not before experienced even in the times of fiercest persecution. From this time the Church took on a form of organization before unknown to it. The empire as a political machine was now transferred to the rule of Christ; its laws and its institutions were placed on a Christian foundation.[2] The recognition of Christianity as the established faith, the protection of its votaries, and the patronage of it by the government must be reckoned among the most powerful influences to win the mass of the population to the profession of Christianity. The new system could now count the emperor as its chief pontiff, and thus the religious sense of Rome remained true to its traditions.

From the fourth century the extension of Christianity must have

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tion du Paganisme dans l'Empire d'Orient, p. 36, at one fifteenth in the Western Empire, and one tenth in the Eastern; La Bastie: *Du Souv. pontif. des Emp.* (Acad. d. Inscr. tom. 12, p. 77), at one tenth.

[1] *v.* Reuss: *History of the New Testament*, 2d ed. (translated by Houghton), vol. ii, p. 446.

[2] Merivale: *Conversion of the Roman Empire*, London, 1864, p. 14.

been rapid indeed. The fear of persecution having been removed, multitudes who had before been intellectually convinced of its superiority, and multitudes more who were ever ready to be identified with a winning cause, swelled the number of the converts. From this time, therefore, the evidences are much strengthened through the preservation of burial monuments, by the building of churches and their richer adornment and furniture, by the imperial coins that contain Christian symbols, and by other remains of plastic and epigraphic art.

Increase of monumental evidence.

The expectation that these monuments may now be found as widely distributed as was the Church of the first four centuries is not, however, fulfilled. In this, as in every other period of history, the important and substantial monuments must have been few as compared with the total number. Only in the great marts of trade and in the cities of wealth and of power could the needed means for the erection of abiding monuments be found. Only these centers, therefore, generally furnish the materials for monumental study. The instances of chance preservation are necessarily few and widely separated. Even these must have been largely modified by climatic influences and by the civil and military fortunes of the different provinces. Within a limited belt of country on either shore of the Mediterranean were the chief centres of the civilization of the first six Christian centuries. The advantages of climate, of soil, and of easy intercommunication are the manifest reasons of this concentration. Moreover, the geologic and climatic conditions were most favorable to the erection and preservation of monuments. The dryness of the air, the almost complete immunity from frosts, the abundance of valuable quarries, the superiority of the beds of clay, and the excellence of the materials for the famous cements, contributed to the erection and preservation of many structures which are invaluable witnesses to the civilization of the times.

These objects nevertheless limited.

But the ruthlessness and cupidity of men have proved even more destructive than the forces of nature. The fearful invasions of the Teutonic tribes, and the inroads of the more savage Huns, blotted out from the Roman world many of her noblest monuments.[1] Nor must it be forgotten that the

Ruthless destruction of monuments.

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[1] *v.* Bunsen: *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom.* Bd. i, ss. 234. etc. "But the damage which the so-called barbarians caused to Rome consisted not so much in the destruction of buildings and public monuments as in the robbery of the public treasuries and jewels."—s. 230. Yet it must be remembered that these very objects rather than imposing structures often supply the best materials for writing the history of civilization.

edicts of the Christian emperors resulted in the loss of the most noted monuments of pagan art. Statues of incomparable beauty, and temples of matchless grandeur were ruthlessly destroyed in Syria, Egypt, Italy, and Gaul. Invaluable materials for comparative studies were thus hopelessly lost. The edicts of persecution and also the wars of rival Christian sects and factions resulted in the destruction of many Christian churches. In the squabbles of the Greens and the Reds at Constantinople many beautiful churches were consumed.

In the wretched wars over image worship the best statuary and paintings of the early Christian world were irretrievably lost. The burial places of Rome were terribly devastated by the Lombards under their king, Astolpho, in A. D. 757, so that their abandonment was hastened, and the remains of martyred saints were gathered into the crypts of churches.[1] The iconoclastic fury of the Mohammedan invaders further despoiled the seats of Christian power of their finest works of art, while the Crusades completed the destruction of most that then survived. Only by the more kindly treatment of nature have some of the most precious records of the past been preserved. The buried cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and the art remains that were hidden in the obscurity of the catacombs, furnish some of the most valuable monuments that continue to our age.

Monuments of first century.

First Century. It has been questioned whether any well-authenticated Christian monuments of the first century survive. Nevertheless, some of the ablest Christian archæologists find satisfactory evidence that parts of some Roman catacombs are contemporary with the apostolic age.[2] "Precisely in those cemeteries to which both history and tradition assign an apostolic origin, do I, in the light of the most exact archæological criticism, see the cradle as well of the Christian catacombs as of Christian art and epigraphy. I also there find monuments of persons who appear to belong to the time of the Flavii and of Trajan, as well as inscriptions that date from this same period. Since these things are so, a sound understanding, which alone can be a safe guide in all historical as well as archæological matters, must say to every one who is free from preconceived opinions, that such a mass of concurrent indications, monuments, and dates cannot possibly be the work of chance, that we accordingly therein may find a warrant for the truth of the origin of these monuments which we have maintained" (that is, the first century).[3] The sepulchres of the Vatican, certain inscriptions in the cemetery of Santa Lucina, on the Via Ostia, near the present church of San Paolo fuori le mura, the decorations of the entrance to Santa Domitilla, the Virgin with the Child and star, and portions of the cemetery of Santa Priscilla, are also believed by some archæologists to belong to the first century.[1] To this century have also been attributed certain portions of the walls of the house of Pudens, within whose area stands the present church of Santa Pudenziana, at Rome. The outer wall of this palace "can be seen behind the altar, with the large hall windows in it, of the first century."[2] In regard to the chronology of these and a few other monuments there is such difference of opinion that they become of somewhat doubtful evidential value.[3]

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[1] de Rossi: *Rom. Sott.*, t. i, p. 220.

[2] Strzygowski: *Ikonographie der Taufe Christi*, München, 1885, p. 1.

[3] de Rossi: *Rom. Sott.*, *t.* i, p. 185.

Second Century. In the second century the zeal of modern archæological research has firmly placed a number of most interesting and valuable monuments. Rome, as before, furnishes most that has been preserved. The cemetery of Santa Priscilla on the Via Salaria Nuova, of Santa Domitilla (Nereus and Achilles) on the Via Ardeatina, of San Prætestato on the Via Appia, and of San Alessandro, on the Via Nomentana, also the ceiling decorations in San Gennaro dei Poveri at Naples are about all that with certainty can be referred to it. In the frescos of these cemeteries is noticed the beginning of that symbolic treatment of art which in the next

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[1] Kraus: *Synchronistische Tabellen zur christlichen Kunstgeschichte*, 1880, ss. 4, 5. Schultze: *Die Katakomben*, 1882, s. 91. Ch. Lenormant, *Les Catacombes*, 1858, does not hesitate to place the paintings of Santa Domitilla in the first century. For like reasons, namely, the essential likeness of the art spirit of these to the wall decorations of Pompeii, and to the paintings in the pyramid of Caius Cestius, Raoul-Rochette and Welcker agree with Lenormant.

[2] J. H. Parker: *The House of Pudens in Rome. v. Archæological Journal*, vol. xxviii, pp. 42, 43. This is a most interesting fact, since we are led at once into the meeting-place of those converts to Christianity who were companions of Paul during his last imprisonment.

[3] The chronology of these monuments is most thoroughly examined by de Rossi: *v. Rom. Sott.*, t. i, pp. 184–197. *Contra*, J. H. Parker: *The Archæology of Rome*, 1877, 12 vols. *v.* vol. iv, in which he treats of the Christian catacombs. He does not recognise any picture of a religious subject as of earlier date than the fourth century. It must be evident that his conclusions are not the result of careful inductive processes, but are somewhat hastily reached from almost exclusively one kind of evidence. On architectural questions Parker is an authority of the first order, but on questions relating to painting his opinion cannot be regarded as decisive. Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 543, concludes that the pictures in Santa Domitilla cannot be earlier than the third century. Th. Mommsen, than whom there can be no more reliable authority on Latin inscriptions, would, largely on epigraphical grounds, refer the cemetery of Domitilla to about the middle of the second century; *v. Contemporary Review*, May, 1871.

The Abraxas gems.

century reached its climax. In the second century some archæologists have likewise placed the so-called Abraxas gems. By some these are believed to have arisen among the Basilidian Gnostics, by others they are regarded as the product of the strange syncretism of Indian, Zoroastrian, Egyptian, Jewish, and Gnostic-Christian thought which was so prevalent in the second century. In some respects they resemble the early Egyptian Scarabean gems.[1] While comparatively few, these monuments are interesting and important for their artistic and doctrinal suggestions.

The Alexandrian school.

Progress in Gaul.

Asia Minor and Greece.

Third Century.—By the third century Christianity had gained a firm foothold in nearly every province of the empire. The claims of the Christians for protection had more and more secured the attention of the government. The higher social position of the adherents of the Church further conciliated the favor of government. Clement, Origen, and others had already given great dignity and fame to the theological school at Alexandria. Before the middle of the century Egypt had more than a score of bishops. In A. D. 258 Cyprian assembled in Carthage a synod of eighty-seven bishops, and a Latin translation of the Scriptures had already been made for the use of the West African churches. Gaul had been visited, and by the third century influential bishoprics existed in Lyons, Vienne, and Marseilles. There is, also, strong evidence that by the middle of this century the Celtic Church had a vigorous life and organization.[2] In Asia Minor and Greece were seats of many influential bishoprics, presided over by a most thoroughly learned clergy—the forerunners of those great theologians who, in the following century, were to give form to Christian doctrine in the councils of Nice, Chalcedon, and Constantinople.

Burial brotherhoods.

The monuments which survive from this century are, as might be presumed, more numerous, and are found in more widely extended districts; Rome is, however, still the seat of the most interesting and instructive. The subterranean burial places are much more extensive and rich in art remains than in the previous century. The incorporation of brotherhoods for the burial of the dead, and the special protection accorded to places of sepulture, encouraged the Christians to greater care for their cemeteries. We are informed[1] that Callixtus was intrusted with the direction of the clergy, and had supervision of the cemetery that bore his name. Doubtless this has reference to the fact that the Christian congregations of Rome took advantage of the legal provision[2] to care for property held by them in common, especially for such as was devoted to the cemeteries and to the charities of the Church, by the appointment of a legal representative. This led to the founding of the celebrated cemetery of San Calisto, on the Via Appia, in which so many martyrs, bishops, and popes were interred; and it also accounts for the change of the burial-place of these high church officials from the Vatican to this cemetery.

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[1] Bellermann, J. J.: *Drei Programmen über die Abraxas-Gemmen.* Berlin, 1820. Kraus: *Op cit.*, s. 7. Among the earlier expositors of these curious objects were Gottfried Wendelin, Beausobre, and others. Among the more recent are Matter, King, and others.

[2] Stokes: *Ireland and the Celtic Church.* London, 1886.

Cemetery of San Calisto.

At this time, also, are first met the so-called *Fabricæ* that St. Fabianus, in A. D. 238, ordered to be constructed. These appear to have been small buildings, placed near to, or over the entrance to the cemeteries; they were used as oratories and for the celebration of the eucharist. All these probably disappeared during the persecutions of Decius and Valerian, when the necessity for concealment of the entrances to these places of Christian sepulture was first felt. Notwithstanding these persecutions, and the still more sweeping edict of Diocletian, in A. D. 303, by which all Christian cemeteries were confiscated and all Christian churches were ordered to be razed to the ground, the catacomb of San Calisto has continued to our day, a marvellous museum for the study of Christian life and doctrines in the third century.

The Fabricæ.

Recent excavations, conducted by the Abbé Delattre on a site called Damous-el-Karita, near the ancient Carthage, have revealed an open-air cemetery of very considerable dimensions. The importance of the discovery appears from the fact that only two or three other open-air cemeteries are known. Delattre considers the date of this *area* as the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century.[3]

Surviving churches of this century at Rome.

The only remains of churches in Rome from this century are possibly portions of the subterranean San Clemente, a small part of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, and of Santa Pudenziana.[4] By some authorities the beautiful statue of the Good Shepherd (Fig. 46), now in the Lateran Museum, a marble sarcophagus discovered in 1853 in the cemetery of San Pretestate at Rome, and the statue of St. Hippolytus,[1] also in the Lateran Museum, are placed in this century. From this century a large class of symbols, many allegorical pictures, and biblical scenes of symbolico-allegorical significance have also been preserved. A limited number of historical and liturgical representations are likewise believed to date from the latter part of it. Figures wrought in gilt upon glass vessels, found in the Roman catacombs and at Cologne, and a few gems of clearly recognised Christian origin, have been referred to this period.

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[1] *Philosophumema.* This has been well-nigh demonstrated to be the work of Hippolytus, and not of Origen, as was thought by the Benedictines and others.

[2] Digest, iii, 4, 1, § 1, *de Collegiis.* "Quibus autem permissum est corpus collegi societatis," etc.

[3] *v.* Delattre: *Archéologie chrétienne de Carthage.—Fouilles de la Basilique de Damous-el-Karita.* Lyon: 1886.

[4] As we have before seen (p. 30), Mr. Parker refers portions of this Church to the first century.

Sculpture.

Glass vessels and gems.

In Africa, on the site of the ancient Castellum Tingitanum, the modern Orleansville, are found the remains of the Church of St. Reparatus, some parts of which, from an inscription still extant, are by some believed to date from the year A. D. 252.[2] By some archæologists the churches found at Djemlia and at Announa in Algeria, at Ibrim in Nubia, and at Arment or Erment, the ancient Hermonthis, in Egypt, have been referred to the third century. The excavations on old sites in Asia Minor,[3] in Syria, and in the Hauran, are bringing to light remains of old Christian churches whose age has not yet been fully determined, but

Architectural monuments.

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[1] Much discussion has been had over this statue and the bronze statue of St. Peter in San Pietro Vaticano, at Rome. Many deny to both a Christian origin and character. But the Easter cycle, engraved upon the chair of the statue of St. Hippolytus, is a significant circumstance, and seems to furnish a strong argument for its Christian origin and genuineness. *v.* Salmon: *Chronology of Hippolytus*, in *Hermathena*, for 1873. pp. 82–85; also Döllinger: *Hippolytus und Callistus*, ss. 23–27.

[2] The inscription bears the year 285 of the Mauritanian era. If we are to follow some of the archæologists and epigraphists this era began thirty-three years before the Christian era (*v.* Prevost); according to others it began forty years after the Christian era (*v.* Henzen, on Nos. 5337, 5338, and 5859 of Orelli's *Inscript. lat.*). In the former case the date of the inscription would point to A. D. 252; in the latter, to A. D. 325. Fergusson: *Hist. of Arch.*, vol. i, pp. 403, 404; Mothes, O.: *Basilikenform*, s. 30; Kugler: *Gesch. der Baukunst*, Bd. i, s. 372, and others accept the earlier date. Schnaase: *Gesch. der bildende Künste.* 2te Aufl., Bd. iii, s. 3. note 4; Kraus: *Synchron. Tab.*, etc., s. 18, and others hold to the later date.

[3] *v.* J. T. Wood: *Discoveries at Ephesus*, Boston, 1857, pp. 58, 59. He believes that he has discovered the tomb of St. Luke, that seems to belong to the last part of the third or to the early part of the fourth century. Near this was found what appeared to be a basilica, one of the earliest churches in Ephesus. *v.* pp. 99, 100. Many of the sarcophagi bear the well known monogram, A ☧ Ω, of the fourth or fifth century. *v.* p. 120. Excavations on the sites of "the seven churches which are in Asia," promise well for the illustration of the history. Much has already been done, but comparative studies are still greatly needed.

which seem to date back as early as to the close of the third or to the early part of the fourth century.[1]

Destruction of monuments under Diocletian.

Fourth Century.—The able reign of Diocletian was to close in disgrace and most cruel injustice. The fourth century opened with the last but most fearful trial by persecution to which the Church was to be subjected. Except in Gaul, Britain, and Spain, where the co-regent was more lenient, the emperor's cruel edicts were most mercilessly executed. The imposing houses of worship were despoiled of their collections of sacred writings, of their costly decorations, and of the numerous vessels of gold and silver which were used in the administration of the sacraments. What treasures of art, what invaluable manuscript copies of the sacred Scriptures, what wealth of materials for the history of the early Church, which had been accumulated through the previous forty years of peace, were forever lost must remain a matter of mere conjecture. It is only certain that scarcely a church escaped this visitation.

Restoration of church property.

In A. D. 311, Galerius issued his unlooked-for edict of toleration, which was followed, in A. D. 313, by the edict of the co-regents, Constantine and Licinius. By its provisions all confiscated church property was restored to the *Corpus Christianorum* at the expense of the imperial treasury,[2] and complete toleration of worship and belief was granted. By the defeat of Licinius in A. D. 323, Constantine became sole emperor. From this event dates a new period of monumental art as well as of church history.

From the last three quarters of the fourth century numerous interesting monuments still survive. In all the chief cities churches were now built under imperial patronage, and ornamented and furnished with the utmost magnificence. From this time numismatics and epigraphy become important aids in the interpretation of Christian life and doctrine. To the fourth century can probably be referred the following basilicas at Rome: San Giovanni in Laterano, founded about A. D. 340; Santa Pudenziana, enlarged about A. D. 345 (?); San Pietro in Vaticano, about A. D. 350; San Paolo fuori le mura, about A. D. 386; San Clemente, rebuilt before A. D. 392; also San Valentinus and cemetery, 337–352, with inscriptions, 318–472, the oldest found in an open-air cemetery; which shows that the cemetery is older than the church.[1]

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[1] "Recent researches in Africa have shown that when properly explored we shall certainly be able to carry the history of the Romanesque style in that country back to a date at least a century before his (Constantine's) time. In Syria and Asia Minor so many early examples have come to light that it seems probable that we may, before long, carry the history of Byzantine art back to a date nearly approaching that of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus." *v.* Fergusson: *History of Arch.*, vol. i, pp. 403, 404. Hübsch: *Die altchristlichen Kirchen*, etc., Carlsruhe, 1863, fol., ss. xxiv, xxv, etc., believes that besides the so-called chapels of the catacombs, the churches San Alessandro, San Steffano, San Andrea in Barbara, the basilica in Orleansville, San Agostino in Spoleto, and the oldest part of the cathedral in Treves, are to be referred to the pre-Constantine period. Also, *v.* Mothes, O.: *Die Baukunst des Mittelalters in Italien*, Jena, 1884, 2 vols., 8vo, who holds to nearly like views. On the contrary, Schnaase, C.: *Gesch. d. bilden. Künste*, 2te, Aufl. 1869, Bd. iii, s. 37, claims that no churches which have been preserved to our day are older than the time of Constantine. Of nearly like opinion is Bunsen: *Beschreibung d. Stadt Rom.*, Bd. i, ss. 418, 419.

[2] For the account of large sums given to the African churches in A.D. 314, v. Eusebius: *Hist. Eccles.*, x, 6, and *de Vit. Const.* iv, 28.

Revival of church building.

The catacombs were now less used for interment, and less frequented by visitors. Basilicas, built over or near the entrances to the catacombs, supplied their place.[2] Portions of the catacombs of Naples probably belong to a very early date in this century. They are valuable for their paintings, and for the information which they furnish relative to early Christian burial. Slight remnants of the Neapolitan churches, San Gennaro dei Poveri, Santa Maria della Sanita, and Santa Maria della Vita, also survive.[3]

Naples.

The catacombs of old Syracuse have awakened much careful inquiry. Nearly one hundred inscriptions and several paintings have been discovered and described. The museum of Syracuse contains more than a hundred Christian lamps found in the catacomb of San Giovanni. The form, the orthography, and general contents of the inscriptions, as well as the symbols on the lamps, clearly indicate that they belong to the last half of the fourth century. A few may be of the time of Constantine.[4]

Syracuse.

The records establish the belief that in the East a very large number of churches were built under the special patronage of Constantine, his family, and his immediate successors. Unfortunately, nearly all of these have perished. The basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem, St. Mary's,

Many churches have disappeared.

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[1] *v. Bullettino della Commisione Archéologica*, Dec., 1888, pp. 429–478, pl. xix, xx; also *v. American Journal of Archæology*, vol. i, No. i, March, 1889, pp. 118, 119.

[2] Kraus: *Roma Sotterranea*, s. 98.

[3] Schultze: *Die Katakomben von San Gennaro die Poveri in Neapel.* Förster: *Mittel-u. Unter Italien*, ss. 414, 429.

[4] Schultze: *Archæologische Studien über altchristliche Monumente*, ss. 134–139; de Rossi: *Bull. Arch. crist.*, 1877. Tav. x, xi. *Contra*, and in favor of a pre-Christian origin, *v.* Quatremère de Quincy, Hirt, and Schubring.

remains to illustrate the character and style of these churches.[1] Some interesting Christian inscriptions have been found amidst the massive ruins of Baalbec. They seem to date from about the time of the founding of the Basilica of Theodosius, A.D. 379–395.[2]

The catacombs of Malta must be assigned to the fourth or fifth century. While Caruana[3] holds that these are of pagan origin, and were transformed into a place for Christian burial during the period of Arabian dominion, in the latter part of the ninth century, his argument seems to be entirely unsatisfactory. The reference of these burial places to a Christian origin in the fourth or fifth century is much more consistent with the facts. They suggest nearly the same cycle of artistic and religious thought as the Roman catacombs, although the number of objects is comparatively small. Christian inscriptions of the fourth century, and well-preserved figures in sculpture, have been found at Tripoli in Asia Minor. One of these is a figure of Christ with the hammer, probably representing the carpenter's son.[4]

Traces of churches in Egypt and France.

Traces of churches, probably from this century, have been found in Egypt and in the country bordering on the West Mediterranean in Africa;[5] also a few other monuments of Christian origin have been recently excavated in these regions. Likewise in middle and southern France, at Arles, Marseilles, Narbonne, Toulouse, etc., Christian monuments dating from the fourth century have been discovered. Some beautiful sarcophagi with Christian symbols and biblical historic scenes, found in these cities, are from this time, while others more probably belong to the Merovingian period.[6] Connected with the churches of this century are found some beautiful mosaics, while the sculptured sarcophagi and a few mural paintings in the cemeteries fairly illustrate the condition of Christian art. The numerous inscriptions from the tombs, catacombs, and churches furnish interesting and valuable epigraphic material, and the coins of the emperors contain many rich suggestions.

Mosaics.

FIFTH CENTURY.—The brief but earnest attempt of Julian to revive the decaying heathenism had proved utterly abortive. Himself a pervert from Christian teaching, his misdirected effort brought to him deepest sorrow and disappointment. Notwithstanding the tenacious life of pagan institutions, Christianity was now the accepted belief, and the Roman world was thoroughly pervaded with Christian thought. The Church had put on the strength of a long organized institution. The monuments are now greatly multiplied. While this was a century of waning political power and of general art decadence in the West, and the destructive incursions of the Teutonic hordes swept away many of the most noted and beautiful churches, enough survives to furnish highly valuable monumental evidence.

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[1] De Vogüé maintains that the present Church is the original structure. He argues this from the simplicity of the style, and the entire absence of features that are peculiar to the buildings of Justinian's day, as well as from the lack of references in literature to any changes.

[2] *v. Survey of Western Palestine*, special papers, 1881, pp. 135, 136.

[3] Caruana: *Hypogeum Tal-Liebru, Malta.* Malta, 1884.

[4] *Survey of Western Palestine*, pp. 152, 153.

[5] Fergusson: *Op. Cit.*, vol. i, pp. 403, *seq.*

[6] de Caumont: *Abécédaire d'Archéologie; Éra Gallo-Romaine*, pp. 350–352.

General decadence in the West.

In Rome this century is represented by Santa Sabina on the Via Aventina, built, as the mosaic inscription informs us, about A. D. 423 by Pope Celestine; and Santa Maria Maggiore, first built in A. D. 352, but rebuilt by Sixtus III. in A. D. 432. This is probably the earliest church of Rome that was dedicated to the Virgin. It contains some noteworthy original mosaics and sarcophagi which become valuable aids in the illustration of the Christian sculpture of the fifth century.

San Pietro in Vincoli, built by Eudoxia between A. D. 440 and 462, has well preserved the form and general appearance of the early Christian basilica.[1] In a very few instances the furniture of the churches still survives. The mosaics, altars, ambos, sarcophagi, etc., which still remain in these churches, are of inestimable value. Coins of both the Eastern and the Western Empire now are found. Numismatics now becomes of real confirmatory service, especially in correcting chronology. The number of Christian inscriptions is very greatly increased, and they assume more of a dogmatic character, thus clearly reflecting the strifes and controversies of the times.

Other churches of Rome.

During this century Ravenna[2] becomes a most interesting center of Christian monuments which greatly aid in understanding the condition and progress of Christian art in nearly every department. Among the most interesting buildings which survive are the Baptistery, Baptisterium Ecclesiæ Ursianæ, probably first erected in the fourth century, but restored in A. D. 451 by Archbishop Nero; San Francesco, from about the middle of the century; San Giovanni Evangelista, a votive three-naved church, built by Galla Placidia in A. D. 420; SS. Nazario e Celso, the place of sepulture of Galla Placidia, erected before A. D. 450, is most instructive; Santa Maria in Cosmedin, an Arian baptistery, very like in form and mosaics to Baptisterium Ecclesiæ Ursianæ. These churches are rich in sarcophagi, altars, ambos, and mosaics.

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[1] For a full and generally reliable account of the basilicas of Rome *v.* Bunsen and Plattner: *Beschreibung Roms.* 5 Bde., with magnificent illustrations by Gutensohn and Knapp.

Hübsch: *Die altchristliche Kirchen,* 1863.

H. Gally Knight: *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy.*

[2] For a careful scientific description of the Christian monuments of Ravenna, see among others, Quast: *Die alt-christlichen Bauwerke von Ravenna.* 1 Bd. fol., Berlin, 1842.

Richter, J. P.: *Die Mosaïken Ravennas.* Wien, 1878.

Rahn: *Ravenna, Eine kunstgeschichtliche Studie.* Leipzig, 1869.

Berti: *Sull' antico duomo di Ravenna.* Ravenna, 1880.

Müntz: *Lost Mosaics of Ravenna,* in *Am. Journal of Archæology,* vol. i, pp. 115–120.

Monuments of Ravenna.

Recent investigations in Istria and Dalmatia have added to the number of valuable monuments of this period. At Salona, in Dalmatia, a baptistery and a cemetery-basilica have been uncovered.[1]

In the Byzantine Empire very considerable archæological material from the fifth century has survived. In Egypt and West Africa many interesting objects have recently been discovered on the sites of old monasteries which prove of invaluable aid to the history of monasticism.

The Byzantine Empire.

In southern and middle France is found a large number of interesting monuments, especially sarcophagi, which probably belong to the fifth century.[2] Roman Judea and Samaria, called in the fifth century Palestina Prima, had thirty-three episcopal towns, but the number of churches and other objects connected with Christian history hitherto brought to light is comparatively small. What treasures more extensive systematic excavations in the old centers of Christian activity may yet reveal can only be conjectured. From the rich finds at Troy, Olympia, Larnica, Pompeii, etc., we may hope that valuable results will repay the Christian explorer in Palestine.

France and Palestine.

Remains of many Christian churches and other antiquities are found at various points in Syria. Their chronology has not been fully determined; yet some able archæologists place them as early as the fourth century.[3] They promise much

Syria.

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[1] Schultze: *Arch. der altch. Kunst*, p. 24; also: *Ephemeris Salonitana.* Jadera, 1894. *Apud Lucam Vitaliani et filios.*

[2] *v.* de Caumont: *Op. cit.*, *Architecture Religieuse*, pp. 48–56. Laborde: Plate cviii. And very excellent and thorough, Le Blant: *Étude sur les Sarcophages chretiens antique de la Ville d'Arles.* Paris, 1878. *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule.* 1856–65. His *Epigraphie chrétienne* is a most convenient and instructive manual.

[3] "We are transported into the midst of a Christian society; we are surprised at its life. It is not the concealed life of the catacombs, nor a humiliating, timid, and suffering existence that is generally represented here; but a life generous, opulent,

for the illustration of Christian architecture in a period hitherto enveloped in much obscurity. Especially the trans-Jordanic region must hereafter become a most inviting field to the Christian archæologist.[1]

Olympia.

During the excavations at Olympia, in Greece, a Byzantine church was discovered, also many Christian graves. This church was built on what Pausanias describes as the "workshop of Phidias." Its entire plan as well as the rich details seem to indicate a marked revival of art in the Byzantine Empire during the first half of the fifth century.[2]

The archæological remains found on numerous sites in Italy, Albania, Hungary, etc., which aid to illustrate the history of the fifth century, cannot be further described. They are interesting and important.[3]

Sixth century churches in Rome.

SIXTH CENTURY. Numerous monuments still survive from the sixth century. Notwithstanding the general decadence of art and the fearful political upheavals, several imposing churches are believed to have been built in Rome during this century. The older parts of San Lorenzo and of Santa Balbina are generally referred to this period. In Ravenna portions of the churches of San Apollinare Nuovo, Santa Maria della

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artistic, in grand houses . . . and magnificent churches, flanked with towers and surrounded with elegant tombs. . . . The choice of (Scripture) texts indicates an epoch near to the triumph of the Church; there prevails an accent of victory. . . . The date of the Roman epoch is given not only by the style of the architecture, but by inscriptions of considerable number which form an almost continuous chain from the first to the fourth century."—De Vogüé: *Syrie Centrale; Architecture Civile et Religieuse*, vol. i, pp. 7, 8.

W. Waddington, who accompanied De Vogüé on his tour of discovery, has given the archæology, the history, and the inscriptions of this interesting region under the title of *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*, 1870.

[1] "That the Christians were in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries spread through the whole country, the survey abundantly testifies; from the deserts of Beersheba to the slopes of Hermon we have come across innumerable churches which cannot be dated later than that period. The nomenclature of the country bears witness to the existence of flourishing communities, charitable convents, and holy Christian sites, in every part; and the titles given to many ruins show the fate they finally underwent in perishing by fire." *v.* C. R. Conder: *Survey of Western Palestine.*

Special Papers: *Christian and Jewish Traditions*, p. 232.

v. also, Merrill: *East of the Jordan.*

[2] *v.* Curtius, Hirschfeld, etc.: *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, Bd. ii, ss. 6 and 18. For description of Church *v.* Bd. iii, ss. 29–32. For plans, etc., *v.* Bd. iii, Taf. xxxvi.

[3] *v.* especially Garrucci: *Istoria dell' Arte christiana.* Prato, 1875–79. 5 vols. fol. Vol. i, Text; vol. ii, Burial monuments, plates, and explanations; vol. iii, Monuments other than burial; vol. iv, Mosaics in catacombs and elsewhere; vol. v, Sarcophagi in cemeteries. Magnificently executed, and a latest authority from the Catholic standpoint, yet extreme in his theory of Christian symbolism.

Ravenna churches.

Byzantine churches.

Rotonda (the burial chapel of Theodoric), San Apollinare in Classe, and the most interesting and instructive of all, San Vitale, are yet preserved. Though it has been much tampered with, the dome of the small baptistery of San Giovanni in fonte, in Naples, contains some very rich mosaics of the latter half of this century. In Constantinople St. Sophia is the most magnificent monument. Traces of two other churches are still seen in this capital. Some of the original portions of St. George in Thessalonica, the modern Salonica, survive, with some of the richest mosaics of the century.[1] St. Catharine, on Mount Sinai, must also be referred to this century. A few other churches of this period which retain some parts of their original structure are found scattered over the old empire, both east and west. Numerous sites furnish individual objects of great interest. In Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, Hungary, Egypt, Numidia, Cyrene, Carthage, Spain, and southern France explorations are yielding rich results which happily illustrate the stage of art advancement and the condition of religious and ecclesiastical thought of the early Christian centuries.

The archæological societies of Germany and Great Britain have been most diligent and zealous in the discovery and description of much that has enriched the materials for writing the history of the christianization of the original dwellers in those lands. Especially along the borders of the Rhine and its immediate tributaries these archæological researches have been abundantly rewarded, while in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland unexpected treasures have been discovered.[2]

Some beautifully illuminated manuscripts from the sixth century have also been preserved, which show the complete subjection of art to ecclesiastical service, especially in the Greek Church. A regular series of illustrations of the Book of Genesis,[3] in ten plates, is found in a manuscript preserved in Vienna. Also in the *Codex Syriacus*, now in the Laurentian library of Florence, are plates from the sixth century,[1] in which the life of Christ and the events of the Church to the day of Pentecost are pictured. In the *Codex Vaticanus* are eleven plates devoted to Old Testament scenes. A series of paintings illustrating the book of Joshua[2] and thirty-six pictures, in gold and colors, of ecclesiastical vessels, etc., are in the Vatican library.

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[1] Texiere & Pullan: *Byzantine Architecture*, Plates xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, and pp. 136–141. These authors also hold that St. Sophia of Thessalonica also belongs to this century.

[2] Invaluable materials have been collected in the art journals of Germany, as the *Zeitschrift für christl. Archæologie und Kunst*, the *Organ für christl. Kunst*, the *Chrisliche Kunstblatt*, etc., and in the proceedings of the local art and archæological societies. The Christian inscriptions found in the British Islands have been collected and edited by Huebner: *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Christianæ*. Berlin and London, 1876.

[3] *v.* Garrucci: *Op. cit.*, vol. iii. These have been described by Daniel de Nessel, *v.* also d'Agincourt: t. ii, pp. 49, 50, and plate xix.

The number of art monuments belonging to the first six centuries of the Christian era is very great. They furnish illustrations of nearly every branch of Christian art, and become the silent and unconscious witnesses to the life, the belief, and the social condition of the early Church. Many have been arranged in museums for purposes of convenient study, and the zeal of investigators seems never to abate. While it is very difficult to give these monuments a classification according to chronological order, and different archæologists differ widely in opinion with regard to their age, they must, nevertheless, be regarded as invaluable auxiliaries to the complete understanding of the history of the Christian Church.[3]

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[1] Some refer this manuscript to the fourth century. *v.* d'Agincourt: t. ii, pp. 52, 53, plate xxvii. Others assign it to a later date than the sixth century.

[2] d'Agincourt: t. ii, pp. 53, 54, plate xxxviii. Garrucci: *Op. cit.*, vol. iii.

These interesting manuscripts are more fully described under chapter iv.

[3] An immense amount of materials has been accumulated in the transactions of learned societies, and in the journals that are especially devoted to Christian archæology. Probably the foremost among the latter are the *Bullettino Archæologia cristiano* of Rome, which has been the special organ of de Rossi and his learned and enthusiastic associates, and the *Revue Archæologique*, which has been conducted with marked ability for many years.

CHAPTER II.

THE RELATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY TO ART DURING THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES.

It has been common with one class of writers to represent the early Christian Church as indifferent or even hostile to the fine arts. By some the teaching of the Christian fathers has been declared antagonistic to art; by others this view has been controverted.[1] Much of this contrariety of opinion is plainly attributable to a failure to notice the varying condition and the ever shifting environment of the Church of the first three centuries. Three questions need to be considered: 1. The Jewish origin of the first Christian converts, and the peculiarity of the Semitic imagination. 2. The diverse opinions held by the Jews and the Greeks with respect to the nature and revelation of God. 3. The growing influence of Christianity through the conversion of cultivated and wealthy pagans, and its final adoption as the state religion.

Christianity not hostile to art.

Three chief questions.

1. Christ and his first apostles were Jews. For nearly a generation after the ascension many of the adherents to the new faith were of Jewish origin, felt the obligation of the Jewish law, and loved the Jewish ritual. In their earlier history the Hebrews had been a pastoral people. Prior to the time of the kings their intercourse with other nations had been very limited. These circumstances were unfavorable to art origination and culture. After their return from the Babylonian captivity, the custom of carefully refraining from intermarriage with the surrounding peoples made their isolation still more complete. From this time Judaism assumed an exclusiveness before entirely unknown. While a nominal dependency of Persia, the Jews had been content to purchase peace and quietude by prompt payment of tribute money. Their influence seemed so insignificant that the Jews of Palestine were scarcely thought worthy of mention by the Greek historians of Alexander's time. Those who had been transported to the newly founded African metropolis furnish a partial exception to this exclusiveness; nevertheless their attempt to harmonize the Hebrew Scriptures with the current Greek thought

First Christians of Jewish origin.

Jewish exclusiveness.

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[1] Dorner: *Lehre von der Person Christi*, i, s. 290, note.

Depressed condition of Jewish people.

awakened in the minds of the Jews of Palestine a hatred scarcely less bitter than was felt toward the Samaritans themselves. "The founding of the Syro-Grecian kingdom by Seleucus and the establishment of the capitol at Antioch brought Judea into the unfortunate situation of a weak province, placed between two great conflicting monarchies."[1] From this time the condition of the Jewish people became deplorable in the extreme.

Their condition unfavorable to art culture.

It was one continuous struggle for existence from without, a state of fierce contentions and rivalries within. Even the patriotism of the Maccabean princes proved only the brilliant flicker of an expiring national life. True, the Jews were no insignificant factor in the society and business of many of the cities of the empire. In Alexandria and in Rome a separate quarter was assigned to them.[2] Hellenizing influences had, indeed, been marked and powerful. Nevertheless, they remained essentially isolated in religion and in social customs;[3] while the partial syncretism of thought and style which sometimes resulted must be regarded as unfavorable to a healthy art development. From the time of their return from Babylon to the days of Christ, therefore, their conditions, social, financial, commercial, and religious, were least favorable to the successful cultivation of the fine arts.

The second commandment not prohibitory of art.

While the second commandment evidently acted as a check to the encouragement of painting and sculpture, its prohibition of art representation cannot be regarded as absolute.[4] It must apply mainly to images which tempt to idolatry. The subsequent history of the Hebrews and their divinely instituted ritual justify this opinion. The injunction to Moses "to destroy the altars of the people, to break their images, and cut down their groves" (Exod. xxiv, 13), and the sweeping prohibition, "Thou shalt make thee no molten gods" (ver. 17), are coupled with the reason, "For thou shalt worship no other god, for the Lord whose name is Jealous is a jealous God" (ver. 14). It was, therefore, "images of gods" and not every species of art representation whose making was here forbidden. The preparation of the tabernacle and of its furniture were of divine appointment and after a divinely given pattern (Exod. xxv, 9). The artificers of the work, Bezalel and Oholiab, were called and inspired of God (Exod. xxxv, 30, 31, and xxxvi, 1). This was the prevalent opinion among the Jews in the time of Christ (Heb. viii, 5). Yet on the furniture of the tabernacle were representations of vegetable forms, as the almond-shaped bowls of the candlesticks (Exod. xxv, 33), and the pomegranates and bells of gold on the hem of the priest's ephod (Exod. xxviii, 33, 34); also of animal forms, as the golden cherubim (Exod. xxv, 18–20), and the embroidered cherubs upon the particolored veil dividing "between the holy place and the most holy" (Exod. xxvi, 31–33).

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[1] Milman: *History of the Jews.* 4th edition, London, 1866, vol. i, pp. 450, 451.

[2] For their numbers and influence in Cicero's day, *v. pro Flacco*, 28; in the reigns of Julius and Augustus, *v* Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 84; *Tiberius*, 36; Josephus, *Antiq.*, xvii, 11, 1; xviii, 3, 5.

[3] On their social standing at Rome *v.* Hausrath: *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2te Aufl., Bd. iii, ss. 71–81.

For the epigraphic evidence of the constitution of the Jewish society at Rome *v.* Schürer's valuable monograph, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom.* Leipzig, 1879.

[4] "It may, perhaps, be admitted that the prohibition expressed in our verse [Exod. xx, 4] has exerted a retarding influence upon the progress and development of the plastic arts among the Hebrews, as a like interdiction in the Koran has produced a similar effect among the Arab tribes: for plastic art, in its beginnings, equally stands in the service of religion, and advances by the stimulus it affords. But it is an incomprehensible mistake if it is believed that plastic arts in general, sculpture and painting, are forbidden in our text."—Kalisch: *Historical and Critical Commentary of the Old Testament.*

A heavenly pattern for the tabernacle furniture.

Four and a half centuries later, when the government had taken on the form of an hereditary monarchy, David essayed to build a resting-place for the ark of God. The scriptural account conveys the impression that this temple, built by Solomon, was after a pattern revealed by God to David (1 Chron. xxviii, 6, 10, 12, 19, and 2 Chron. vi, 10; *per contra*, 1 Kings v, 6; 2 Chron. ii, 3, 7; 1 Kings vi, 2; 2 Chron. vi, 2). The connection of the choice of the site with the terrible punishment of the sin of taking the census of Israel gave to this temple a most solemn interest. This threshing-floor of the fallen Jebusite king, where first was given the vision of the coming pestilence, became the center of the national worship for more than a thousand years, and to-day is held in equal veneration by the conquering sons of Ishmael. The temple hereon erected was far more than an architectural display. It supplied the framework of the history of the kingdom of Judah. It was the center of the whole religious life of Israel.[1] Slight as is our knowledge of the details, it is plain that "its general arrangements were taken from those of the tabernacle."[2] Such was the Jewish opinion to a very late period of their national history. Its form and size were similar to those of the tabernacle.[3] It is certain that the introduction of vegetable and animal forms into the structure and furniture of the temple of Solomon was still more free than in

The temple site.

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[1] Stanley: *Hist. of the Jewish Church*, 2d series, p. 150.

[2] Ewald: *Hist. of Israel*, vol. iii, p, 247.

[3] Fergusson: *v.* article "Temple," in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible.*

the case of the tabernacle. Besides the golden cherubim were now found the twelve oxen or bulls of brass, supporting the great brazen laver, while the lesser lavers rested upon forms of cherubs, lions, and bulls. In addition to almonds and pomegranates lilies are now found, or, as some understand the text, the great laver itself was in the form of a flower of the lily.

Vegetable and animal forms.

These arrangements plainly show that the second commandment could not have been sweeping in its denunciation of the arts of form, or else there is in both the tabernacle and temple a like wide departure from the spirit of the law. The latter alternative opinion can hardly comport with the manifest claims of each structure to a divine origin. While we must, therefore, doubt the exclusiveness of the prohibition expressed in the second commandment with reference to the use of art forms in the sacred edifices and ritual of the Jews,[1] there can be as little doubt that this law greatly discouraged the cultivation of the arts of form. Whereever religion, which is the chief inspiration and patron of high art, is hostile or indifferent, the cultivation of art must languish and the character of its products become indifferent.

The commandment nevertheless a hinderance to art patronage.

We must, however, find the solution of the slender products of this people in sculpture, painting, and architecture chiefly in the peculiar character of the Semitic imagination. This has been noticed by students of general art history, as well as by writers on Hebrew poetry and music.[2]

The peculiarity of the Semitic imagination.

This people was not wanting in imagination or in art susceptibility. Few came nigher to the heart of nature, none were more sensitive to her subtler beauties.[3] But the Semitic imagination was wild and restless; it was strong, daring, and impetuous. It had a direct and manifest influence upon the logical faculty.[1] It gave tone and hue to much of their sacred literature. This inquietude causes every figurative representation that flits before the mind to be quickly supplanted by another. Either the first is inadequate for the metaphorical purpose, and the second is summoned to complete it; or through the manifoldness of its appearance it brings to mind yet something else that is closely related to the subject in hand, which thus becomes blended with the first picture of the fancy, only to obscure and weaken the sharpness of its outline.[2] Hebrew poetry furnishes numerous illustrations of this principle, and the writings of the Prophets confirm it.[3] Take the passage in 1 Kings xiv, 15, as an example of the restlessness and impetuosity of the Hebrew imagination. Israel is here represented as a person who is to receive chastisement at the hand of the Lord. Its infliction causes him to reel, which effort suggests the slender reed shaken by the resistless blast. This new object to which the attention is directed is now the recipient of a further action—the rooting out of the land—thus calling up the promised inheritance. The further effect of the chastisement is not only the removal to another place, but the scattering beyond the river, and the dissolution of this personified Israel into its individual members.[4] The picture of the blessings of Christ's kingdom as given in Isa. xxxii, 2, is another example of the same restlessness of fancy. The primal notion of safety and nourishment is plain and simple; but the imagination rushes from "a hiding-place from the wind and a covert from the storm" to "rivers of waters in a dry place," and thence to "a great rock in a weary land." Here is unity of thought, but we attempt in vain to reproduce by arts that appeal to the eye the diverse objects here presented. Of Isa. xiv, 4, 27, an enthusiastic admirer and commentator of the Hebrew poetry has written, "How forcible is this imagery, how diversified, how sublime! How elevated the diction, the figures, the sentiments! The Jewish nation, the cedars of Lebanon, the ghosts of the departed kings, the Babylonish monarch, the travelers who find the corpse, and, last of all,

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[1] "Even the principle of the second commandment, that Jehovah is not to be worshipped by images, which is often appealed to as containing the most characteristic peculiarity of Mosaism, cannot, in the light of history, be viewed as having had so fundamental a place in the religion of early Israel. The state worship of the golden calves led to no quarrel between Elisha and the dynasty of Jehu; and this one fact is sufficient to show that, even in a time of notable revival, the living power of the religion was not felt to lie in the principle that Jehovah cannot be represented by images."—W. Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 62, 63.

[2] Hotho: *Geschichte d. ch. Malerei.* Stuttgart, 1867. 1ten Absch., 1te cap., ss. 24, *seq.*

Schnaase: *Geschichte d. bildenden Künste*, 2te Aufl. Dusseldorf, 1866–78. Bd. i, 3te Bd. cap. 3, ss. 232, *seq.*

Bp. Lowth: *Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews.* London, 1847. Lect. 13, et al.

[3] Comp. Psa. viii, 3, 4; xix, 1, 4, 5; civ, 1, 2, 24; Isa. xl, 22; Hos. v, 7; Sirach xliii, 1, 9, 11, 12; Matt. vi, 28, 29; 1 Cor. xv, 41, etc.

Effect of its impetuosity.

Examples from Scripture.

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[1] *e. g.*, the curious and repeated involutions of the argument in the Epistle to the Romans; thus greatly adding to the difficulties of its exegesis. This was noticed by Irenæus (*Adv. Haer.*, iii, 7, § 2) who attributes the irregularities of Paul's style to *the impetuosity of the spirit within him.*

[2] Schnaase: *Op. cit.*, Bd. i, s. 236.

[3] *v.* 1 Kings xiv, 15; Psa. xviii; Isa. xiv, 4, 27; xxxii, 2; xxxviii, 11, 14, and numerous other passages.

[4] *v.* Schnaase: *Op. cit.*, *ibid.*

JEHOVAH himself, are the characters that support this lyric drama."[1] While the imagery is poetic, it is incapable of representation by painting or sculpture. This restless impetuosity of imagination is found not only in warnings and prophecies of destruction, but in depicting peaceful scenes, holy triumphs, pastoral simplicity, and even in historic narration.

Accepted art principle.

It is a well accepted principle of formative art that it requires a measure of fixedness and repose. This limits the imagination to a single and well defined subject. A painting implies limitation in time and place; a statue is the crystallization of one leading thought; high architecture obeys the laws of symmetry and proportion. These arts demand unity, sharpness of outline, and obedience to well settled principles of execution. We have only to refer to the above-mentioned products of the Jewish imagination, or recall some of the invocations to praise, or the description of God's majestic ways in nature, as found in the Book of Job, the Psalms, or the Prophets, to be convinced that the Semitic imagination was too restlessly nervous, or too daring in its flights, to obey the canons imposed on sculpture, painting, and architecture.

Confirmation from examples of the formative arts.

The Jewish temple.

Like results are reached from the study of the Solomonic temple and the sculptured and pictorial forms which were admitted into the ornamentation of its furniture. The outline of this sacred building was that of a mere box, destitute of artistic proportions or elegance.[2] The beautiful symmetry, the harmony of color, and the perfection of details, met in the Greek temple of the golden age, are in marked contrast with the baldness of form and the barbaric splendor of Solomon's temple. Even more striking is the difference between the few artistic forms which were allowed in the one and those adorning the temple of a Zeus or of an Athene. The figures

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[1] Bp. Lowth: *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, Lect. 13.

[2] Dean Milman seems to convey an erroneous impression of the architectural peculiarities of Solomon's temple when he says, "Yet in some respects, if the measurements are correct, the temple must rather have resembled the form of a simple Gothic church."—*Hist of the Jews*, Book vii. It is difficult to trace any likeness in these two widely separated and very diverse styles of architecture. Indeed, we could hardly find a stronger contrast than exists between Solomon's temple and a Gothic church. More correct is his statement, p. 311: "The temple itself was rather a monument of the wealth than of the architectural skill and science of the people." Dean Stanley's estimate is certainly justified by the best results of modern investigation: "The outside view must, if we can trust the numbers, have been, according to modern notions, strangely out of proportion."—*The Jewish Church*, London, 1875, vol. i, p. 174.

Examples of sculpture.

of the cherubim which overshadowed the mercy-seat were of olive-wood, overlaid with gold (1 Kings vi, 23–28). These figures were colossal, but were wanting in symmetry, while their lack of adjustment to the containing space manifested an indifference to artistic harmony. In the descriptions of the seraphim in the vision of Isaiah (Isa. vi), and of the cherubim in the vision of Ezekiel (Ezek. xli), all is wild and involved. In these forms is noticed an absence of unity and proportion, an impatience of boundary and definition. They transcend the limits of the human, and are allied to the mysterious and the supernatural.

Greek and Hebrew poetry contrasted.

This idiosyncrasy, so unfavorable to arts which appeal to the eye, is not incompatible with high excellence in poetry and music. Nevertheless, a like diversity may be traced in the poetry of the Jews and of the Greeks. This is manifest from a careful comparison of passages from the Hebrew bards with those taken from Homer, where like objects are described, or like poetic images are involved. Homer treats each element of the figure consecutively and exhaustively; the Hebrew bard flits from point to point in rapid succession. Homer gives many elements of one view; the Hebrew presents single elements of many views.[1]

The Hebrew monotheism.

2. The relations of the divine to the human as conceived by the Semitic mind were very different from those recognized by the Hellenic peoples. The monotheism of the Hebrews was peculiar. Their Jehovah was not merely the one living and true God, but he was at the same time the illimitable and unfathomable Mystery, the Unapproachable, whom no form can contain, no symbol may adequately represent. The assurance given to Moses, "Thou canst not see my face, for no man shall see me and live" (Exod. xxxiii, 20), inspired in the worshiper a pervading awe. The infinity of the attributes of One whom "the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain" (2 Chron. ii, 18), "the

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[1] Of the Hebrew lyric poetry, as an exhibition of the Hebrew imagination, Lotze says:

Lotze's opinion.

"Here the mind dwells upon its communion with God, and extols with all the power of the most passionate expression, as proof of divine omnipotence, every deep-felt individual feature of cosmic beauty. For among the divine attributes it is certainly omnipotence which, above all, is felt, and gives a coloring to æsthetic imagination; we do, indeed, meet with innumerable pictures of nature which, taken separately, have often that inimitable beauty and charm which civilization, entangled by a thousand unessential accessories of thought, finds it so difficult to attain; but these pictures are not utilized for the development of a progressive course of thought, but merely juxtaposed as though to magnify from different but corresponding sides the omnipresent influence of that divine activity which they depict." *v. Microcosmus*, translation, New York, 1885, vol. ii, p. 403.

King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God" (1 Tim. i, 17), made the fitting representation of Jehovah through form or symbol inconceivable and self-contradictory. Of all the Oriental peoples the Jews most abhorred the degradation of Deity to the plane of nature; the forces of nature were only the agents and instruments of God which he used to accomplish his will. Yet, while the second commandment prohibited the making of graven images as likenesses of God, it did not prohibit artistic work as a whole, and the evidence we have sustains the position that the Jews manifested considerable artistic ability in the way of carving in wood and metal, and in embroidery. Since, however, there was but one temple there was lacking that inspiration to artistic genius which would have resulted from the establishment of splendid sanctuaries of their religion in many places, and art among the Jews had but a partial development.

The Greek mythology.

How different was the thought of pagan Greece and Rome! While in their early history both these peoples were eminently religious, their conceptions of the divine were nevertheless indistinct and shifting. The most devout Greeks could affirm without public offence that Hesiod and Homer were the authors of their mythology. Their opinion of the deities was fixed neither by law nor by the authority of a divinely instituted priesthood. The priests were not a favoured class, but were generally chosen from year to year to minister to the people and communicate the will of the gods. Nature was not merely an instrument by which the one infinite Ruler accomplishes his purposes, but was apportioned to a multitude of divinities whose domain was limited and defined. Natural forces were personified, and these personifications were the products of the popular fancy, or were traditions which were invested with no supreme authority. It has been said that the Greeks idealized nature. In comparison with the low materialistic tendencies of many Oriental peoples this claim is fairly just. Certainly their religion was for the most part bright and cheerful. It turned toward the outward. The deep subjective element of the Hebrew faith was feeble in both the heathen Greek and Roman. While the earlier Greek religion had been characterized by freedom of thought, and the Roman, on the contrary, was to the last degree prescribed, these religions nevertheless agree in the common quality of externality. Paul's masterly summary was descriptive of all pagan systems alike: "They worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator" (Rom. i, 25). To the Greek there was no holy God; all divinities were alike subject to the weakness of change, and to the sway of

Externality of the heathen religions.

passion. "Instead of holiness, beauty took the supreme place."[1] Loyalty to the family and to the state was to the Roman the highest ideal of piety. To represent their gods in beautiful and perfected forms seemed appropriate to peoples whose conceptions of deity shifted with their own varying history. Hence their relation to the formative arts must have been widely different from that of the Hebrews. While to the Jew the divine worship and the house of worship must be only symbolic of the mysterious power and presence of Jehovah; while, therefore, proportions and outlines need not be subject to strict law or definition, but might defy the principles which govern mere finite existence; the worship, the statues, and the temples of the Greeks had a clearness and a distinctness which were entirely consonant with the nature of gods who were merely a projection of finite thought and the embodiment of what was best and highest in humanity. By a method of limitation and degradation of their divinities to an image or statue, the Greeks used the arts of form as didactic means of a religious education. Thus, as minister and illustrator of religion, formative art among the Greeks found its richest themes and its highest inspiration, while among the Hebrews its isolation from religious thought and religious service resulted in an imperfect development and a languishing life.

Results of these differences to art culture.

We have a most conspicuous illustration and proof of this Jewish indifference to the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture in the person of St. Paul. Born in Tarsus, the seat of advanced Greek culture, where objects of exquisite taste adorned the markets and public squares, he must have enjoyed abundant opportunity for the study of the formative arts of the period. Yet, in the account of his missionary visit to Athens is found no single expression of friendly interest in the matchless works with which that noted city still abounded, not one intimation of æsthetic pleasure awakened by their study.[2] Rather did he see in these richest and grandest pro-

St. Paul an illustration of Semitic indifference to the fine arts.

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[1] Uhlhorn: *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism.* Translation, revised edition 1879. P. 33.

[2] "Any sense of the dignity and beauty of pagan art was impossible to one who had been trained in the school of the rabbis. There was nothing in his education (we might add, in his people) which enabled him to admire the simple grandeur of the Propylæa, the severe beauty of the Parthenon, the massive proportions of the Theseum, the exquisite elegance of the Temple of the Wingless Victory. From the nude grace and sinewy strength of the youthful processions portrayed on frieze or entablature, he would have turned away with something of impatience, if not of disgust."—Farrar: *Life of St. Paul.* London, 1882. Vol. i, p. 527.

Farrar's statement.

ducts of the human imagination naught but the plainest proofs of a mournful departure from the one true God, and unmistakable evidences of the degradation and helplessness of the heathen world.

Universalism of the Gospel.

3. While the Gospel must be first preached at Jerusalem, and while by their monotheistic faith and Messianic hopes the Jewish people formed the proper point of union between the old and the new, the spirit of universalism taught by Jesus could not be limited by the prevalent exclusiveness. His was a system of truth and salvation for the race. When Paul and Barnabas said, "Lo, we turn to the Gentiles" (Acts xiii, 46), the grandeur of the Gospel mission was first made manifest. Most gladly did the poor and the oppressed of heathendom hear the proclamation of deliverance from their spiritual bondage.

Number and character of converts.

The estimated number of converts to Christianity at the close of the first century is 500,000; at the close of the second 2,000,000; at the close of the third 7,000,000 to 10,000,000. Even at the close of the first century, probably the majority of Christians had been gathered from heathen peoples. The Gentile element rapidly increased. By the middle of the second century Jewish influence and tendencies had well-nigh disappeared. After the second century, with the exception of some isolated communities, the Church consisted essentially of converts who must have been thoroughly familiar with pagan art.[1]

It is impossible to believe that families of high station, that had been entirely favorable to the patronage of the fine arts, could, on embracing Christianity, immediately change their tastes and practice, especially since nothing inimical to the cultivation of art is found in the teachings of Christ or in the writings of his apostles.

Powerful art influences.

Every chief city in the Roman Empire had become a museum into which had been gathered the treasures which the Greeks had produced during a long period of art activity and origination. Temples, altars, shrines; vale, grove, and mountain; public squares, market-places, the halls of justice, private houses—contained objects which familiarized the looker-on with the thought that the divine may be represented in visible form. The pagan moralists regarded these images as most helpful means of instruction, and a most healthful stimulus of the faith of the worshipper. Like the Christian apologists for images in a later century, the priests of paganism taught that the people could thus be brought near the person of the divinity. While some of the more thoughtful, as Seneca, rejected this view,

Art works regarded helpful by the heathen moralists.

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[1] *v.* Harnack: *Dogmengeschichte.* Hilgenfeld: *Judenthum und Judenchristenthum.* Leipzig, 1886.

the majority taught that the gods were truly present in the images. The untutored multitude believed that their deities had as many different personalities as there were representations. Herein the faith of the adherents to the old religions was strikingly like that of the Christians during the most flourishing periods of image worship.[1]

Causes of Christian art encouragement.

Thus had art been made the illustrator and teacher of religion. They had become so closely joined that the protests of some of the Christian fathers against its practice and encouragement sounded harsh and discordant to the pagan moralists. But the accessions to the Church of families of wealth and high social position, the cessation of the fierce struggle of heathendom for re-establishment, and the removal of the dangers that threatened the lapse of Christianity into heathen idolatry, furnished new conditions for the cultivation and patronage of the fine arts. The inherent love of the beautiful found means of rational gratification; the new religion breathed into the old forms a quickening spirit, and originated a treatment peculiarly Christian. The decadence everywhere observed in the pagan world from the blight of faith was measurably arrested by the vital union of the true and the beautiful in Christianity. The changed relations of the Christian to the Jewish Church, the juster view of the nature of God and his government of the material universe, and the recognition of Christianity as an important factor in the civilization of the empire, favored the alliance of the Church with art, which thus received a truer inspiration.[2]

Early opposition to the arts of form in Christian services.

Some, however, who had been converted from the pagan system were, at first, scarcely less pronounced against the use of art forms in the places of worship than the Jewish Christians themselves.[3] This seeming hostility of a few of the Christian fathers was chiefly occasioned by the corrupting associations of the prevalent art. As before remarked, the Christian and pagan views of the divine nature and government were in directest contradiction. The one believed that each stream, wood, and mountain was governed by a separate divinity, and that every act and event of human experience from birth to death was under the direction of some special deity; the other regarded the universe as the work of the one true God, and this world as the theatre for the display of the divine mercy and glory, and for the manifestation of behavior under the divine government.[1] Through the universal decadence of belief and the corresponding corruption of morals, that which had originally been inspired by strong faith in the supernatural had become the minister to the most degrading rites and ceremonies. Hence, some of these works of art were at first doubly repulsive to the heathen converts themselves. It was originally a war against images; subsequently it extended itself by a law of association to all decorative and art forms connected with the heathen worship. At first even objects in free statuary and paintings used to beautify private houses and household furniture were forbidden. The artist whose skill was employed in the production of these works was placed under the ban of the Church. On assuming church membership he was, at times, compelled to abandon his craft. The *Apostolic Constitutions* are very positive in their teachings on this point. A maker of images of the gods who shall have become a Christian must either abandon his business or be excommunicated.[2] Some influential Christian fathers were most outspoken. So late as the beginning of the third century Tertullian argued the case with great vehemence. He urges that while the Christian artificer did not himself worship these images, he was placing in the hands of others objects which might be most misleading. One cannot consistently confess the one true God with the mouth, and yet preach polytheism with the hand. While Christian artisans themselves may not offer incense to these images of the gods, they are, nevertheless, putting into their work their powers of mind and soul, and are thus consenting to derive their own comfort and support from a soul-destroying idolatry.[3] Clement of Alexandria was of like

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[1] Friedländer: *Darstellung aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, Bd. iii, s. 565, *et al.* This author compares the heathen belief in the diversity of the nature of the gods with that of the Neapolitans respecting the Madonna and her various art representations.

[2] "Christianity only discouraged art so long as art was the handmaid of sin: the moment this danger ceased, she inspired and ennobled art."—Farrar, *Life of St. Paul*, chap. xxvii.

"Christianity by exalting moral above physical beauty, the soul above the body, encouraged the development of ardent and passionate men of genius"—E. Müntz: *Les Artistes célèbres. Donatello.* Also Schultze: *Arch. der altchristlichen Kunst.*

[3] Piper: *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst.* Weimar, 1847. Bd. i, s. 2.

Extent of this opposition.

Tertullian's teaching.

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[1] "If the pagan religions had explained the government of the universe by the government of man, thus multiplying the realms of law, each under a distinct lawgiver, the Christian had achieved that highest possible generalization, sublime in its simplicity, of a single realm and one universal divine government."—Holland: *Jurisprudence*, p. 14.

[2] *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii, c. 32: "Idolorum opifex si accedat, aut desistat aut repellatur."

[3] *De Idolatria*, c. 6: "Quomodo enim renuntiavimus diabolo et angelis ejus, si eos facimus? . . . Potes lingua negasse, quod manu confiteris? verbo destruere, quod facto struis? unum Deum prædicare, qui tantos efficis? verum Deum prædicare, qui falsos facis?"

mind.[1] But the use of such facts to prove the hostility of these fathers to art *per se*, and the indifference of the early Church to the cultivation of the fine arts, is manifestly misleading. Such conclusions are denied by the evidence of the senses.[2]

Earliest encouragement of decorative art.

The adornment of dress, and the decoration of furniture, utensils, and wall-spaces in the private house, have generally been the earliest product of the æsthetic faculty. So probably with the art of the early Christians.[3] It was so far removed from the associations of heathen worship as to awaken little opposition. This view finds confirmation in the writings of the early Christian fathers. The next step seems to have been the decoration of tombs and the wall-spaces of crypts in the catacombs, which often served the double purpose of sepulture and of a place of assembly for the celebration of the sacraments. Hence the archæologist must betake himself to the careful study of these burial monuments to gain the truest conception of the nature and mission of early Christian art.[4]

Originality of early Christian art.

Unquestionably, the Christian Church accepted and appropriated to its own use many of the art forms that were at hand. To create an absolutely new school was, under the circumstances, impossible. The earliest Christian painting and sculpture follow the heathen type ; no wide departure is anywhere observable. The originality of the Christian artists consisted essentially in pressing into the service of the new faith what before had ministered to the religions of paganism. A new spirit was infused into the old body, not immediately to modify and transform it, but to teach new and saving truths. The early employment of symbolism indicates the chariness of the Church in the use of free statuary and painting. The authority of Scripture was invoked. The Fathers assumed that to represent to the eye what the Scriptures teach by word-symbol was not idolatrous. Jesus spoke of himself and of his saving offices under the symbol of a vine; he called himself the Good Shepherd, and his followers the sheep. The finally saved were the sheep placed on his right hand in paradise; the finally impenitent were the goats which were to be banished from his presence forever. Thus the cycle of Christian symbolism which became so effective in teaching was greatly enlarged, and aided to introduce the arts of form into the service of the Church.

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[1] Among other passages *v. Pædagogus*, lib. iii.

[2] An interesting parallel may be drawn between the teachings of the Christian fathers of the second and third centuries and those of some of the great reformers of the sixteenth. The early apologists clearly discerned the threat to the purity of Christian life and doctrine coming from the indiscriminate use of heathen art; Luther, Zwinglius, Beza, and Calvin would exclude images from churches, not because they did not love art, but because these objects were misleading the simple worshippers. *v.* Grüneisen: *De Protestantismo artibus haud infesto.* Tubingæ. 1839. Also an essay, *Catholicism and Protestantism as Patrons of Christian Art*, in the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, January, 1877.

[3] What modification of opinion might be necessary were the countless objects that have been lost to be recovered, it is impossible to say. The materials are often very meagre, and sometimes the archæologist must be guided by analogical evidence.

[4] "Probably religious representations were transferred from private houses to churches at the end of the third century, for the Church of Elvira, A. D. 305, protested against this use of images in the churches."—Neander: *Church Hist.*, Torrey's trans., vol. ii, p. 508. This opinion of Neander needs very important qualification. It seems to be founded upon documentary rather than upon monumental evidence. With the latter he interested himself very slightly. Indeed, nearly every great work on church history in this century—for example, Neander, Giessler, Niedner, Baur, Kurtz, etc.—is strangely silent on the monuments. Schaff, in his last edition, forms a striking and pleasant exception.

Symbolism among the earliest forms of Christian art.

It is, therefore, scarcely philosophical or in accord with historic facts to attribute the symbolic character of the pre-Constantine art to merely outward circumstances, as fear of persecution, or an aversion to exposing to profane eyes the mysteries of the Christian religion. The transition from the symbolic to the literal representation was rather in obedience to a fundamental law of art development. The deep spiritual life of the Church must precede the outward expression. The decadence of religious sentiment in the pagan world had caused a like decadence in all forms of representative art, whether poetry, music, painting, sculpture, or architecture. The higher spiritual life of the Christian Church must supply the necessary conditions of a completer art which would be developed whenever the outward circumstances might favor.[1]

Transition from symbolic to literal representation.

The history of the first three centuries clearly shows that just as the heathen philosophical thought was used by the Church fathers to give concise expression to Christian doctrine, and the Roman state furnished the type for an ecclesiastical hierarchy, just so were the forms of pagan art and its principles of expression pressed into the service of the triumphant religion.[2] This appropriation went so far as frqeuently to use

The Church appropriated what was at hand.

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[1] Piper: *Mythologie der ch. Kunst*, Bd. i, ss. 5, 6.

[2] A similar contribution of heathen thought is seen in the Roman guilds.

"The constitution of these guilds, and the kind of life developed within them, have been of the greatest importance in the history of Christian charity and its development. Certainly it was the case that these guilds laid down the recognised heathen symbols for Christian purposes. Confining himself at first to the simple but significant symbolism of the biblical cycle, the artist afterward employed any heathen emblem which had conveyed an analogous truth. It must be supposed that this practice in some form was quite general in the Christian Church. But the remains of this earliest art industry are limited to a very few centres. Only in Rome is the cycle at all complete. These Christian symbols are often found associated with burial monuments. So long as places of sepulture were under the special protection of law we may suppose that there was no necessity for concealment. The chapels erected over the graves of Christians eminent for piety or for the services they had rendered were adorned with works which have unfortunately almost entirely disappeared. But when, by the edict of Valerian (A. D. 257), assemblies in these burial chapels were prohibited, and fierce persecutions were practised, the Christians were compelled to betake themselves to places of concealment for worship and for the celebration of the sacraments. Thus originated some of the most interesting portions of the catacombs which have been so rich a mine for the Christian archæologist. The preservation of these treasuries of Christian art seems almost providential. They remain as samples of the work of the artists of the early Christian centuries.

Decoration of burial monuments.

What added helps might have been furnished for the elucidation of Christian art in the first six centuries, had not the works outside the catacombs so generally perished, can only be conjectured. The catacombs are for the study of Christian art what the discoveries at Pompeii are for heathen; they furnish invaluable information relative to the art susceptibilities and spirit of their time. The Roman catacombs furnish the only examples of Christian paintings of an earlier date than near the close of the fourth century.

The Roman catacombs.

Of the nearly sixty catacombs which have been already excavated, those of SS. Calisto, Priscilla, Domitilla, Prætestato, Sebastiano, and Agnese are richest. Their narrow and often winding passages are skirted on either side by rows of *loculi* or recesses for receiving the dead. On the faces of slabs of stone which close the *loculi* was sculptured, sometimes painted, sometimes scratched in the soft mortar, a symbol or epitaph to reveal the belief of the departed, or to indicate the triumph of Christian faith. At the place of intersection these passages were

forms in accordance with which, when once the power of true love began to stir the Christian communities, their charity was to be exercised."—Uhlhorn: *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, p. 27. New York: 1883.

frequently widened, and their height increased to form chambers which were sometimes the burial place of martyrs of peculiar sanctity. Upon the wall-spaces and ceilings are found the paintings which most clearly reveal the artistic taste of the Christians prior to the fourth century. In the oldest catacombs is noticed a tendency to use the arts of mere decoration. In spirit and execution the paintings quite closely resemble those found on heathen monuments of the same age. The motive is not essentially different. Birds, flowers, genii, etc., are represented in the most easy and natural style of drawing, and in a spirit worthy of the best periods of pagan art.

Decorative art in the catacombs.

Some of the vaulted ceilings of the cemetery of Santa Domitilla at Rome are believed to belong to the first half of the second century. On one portion of this ceiling-surface (Fig. 1) the vine is

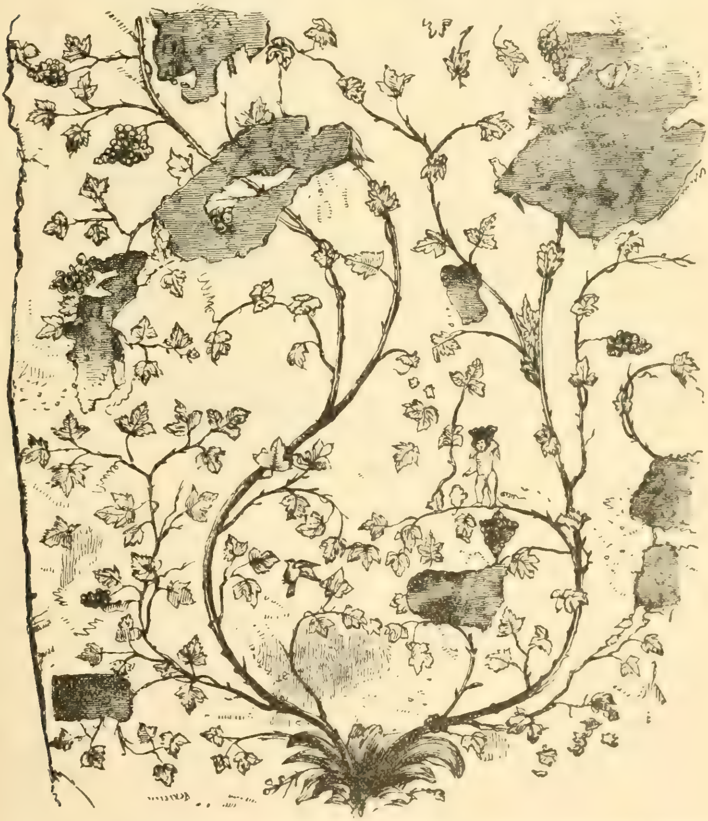
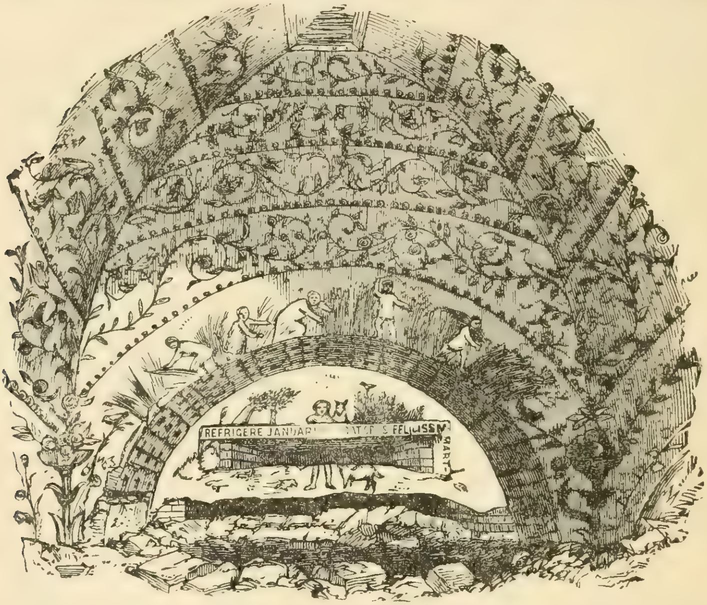


Fig. 1.—Ceiling decoration from Santa Domitilla, Rome. Probably from second century.

treated in the most unconventional manner, with leaves, fruit, and the genii of the vineyard. There seems to be no attempt at geometrical handling, but a spirit of naturalism inspires the whole work.[1]

A little later in the century the principle of geometrical division and balancing seems to supplant in a measure this free handling. A very striking example is met in the vaulted ceiling of the cemetery of San Prætestato, in Rome (Fig. 2). In the lower section a reaping scene is depicted in a style equal to the best contemporary pagan art. Above is a beautiful and very lifelike sketch of vine and leaf work in the midst of which birds are sporting, while above all the laurel branch seems to be introduced. On the other sides of this room in the lower zone are children who are picking roses, a vintage scene, in which the gathering, carrying, and treading of the grapes are most vigorously represented, and men who are harvesting olives. The whole artistic design seems to be merely decorative.[2] A class of writers would see in all these a symbolic teaching, but this is manifestly pushing the principle of symbolism to an unwarranted extreme.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MART

Fig. 2.—Ceiling decoration from San Prætestato, Rome. Last half of the second century.

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[1] Roller: *Catacombs de Rome*, Pl. xii, No. 3. Kraus: *Roma Sotterranea*, ss. 77, 78.

[2] *v.* Roller: *Catacombs de Rome*, t. i, chap. xiv. Northcote & Brownlow: *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. i, p. 138. Kraus: *Roma Sotterranea*, s. 83.

In the midst of other figures occasionally appear what must be regarded as distinctively Christian symbols. These depart so widely from the prevalent teaching as to suggest a different origin and inspiration. This commingling of subjects and motives was a most natural, and we may say necessary, result of the situation. The beautiful spirit of purity, gentleness, brotherly kindness, fidelity to principle, the quietness and love of the family life, and the firm attachment to the society of the believers, as expressed in the celebration of the love-feasts and eucharist, could continue only so long as Christianity held itself aloof from the life and duties of the state. So soon, however, as its adherents went from obscurity to mingle in public affairs, they necessarily encountered the power and resistance of heathen customs and laws. Christian doctrine could no longer remain untouched by heathen philosophy, nor its life be uninfluenced by the prevailing fashions. No less could its art be developed apart from pagan motives. Hence the commingling of pagan and Christian elements in some of the best examples of Christian art during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. Nevertheless, in the strange and almost unparalleled syncretism of nationalities, beliefs, philosophies, rites, and ceremonies then prevalent in Rome, it is noteworthy to how slight a degree the earlier Christian art was influenced. Only by comparison of the subjects, the symbols, and the execution of the art of the catacombs with contemporary works of Rome can a just conception of the restraining and modifying power of Christianity be gained.[1] That early Christian art should be of the highest order of excellence is not to be anticipated. Christianity made its advent at a time when art was in a condition of decadence which marked all its forms, poetry, music, painting, sculpture, and architecture.

Commingling of pagan and Christian elements.

Yet Christian art retained an exceptional purity.

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[1] "The artist has long cherished a secret grudge against morality. The prudery of virtue is his great hinderance. He believes that it is our morality that prevents us from rivalling the arts of ancient Greece. He finds that the individual artist seems corrupted and spoiled for his business if he allows morality to get too much control of him. The great masters he notices show a certain indifference, a certain superiority, to it; often they audaciously defy it. The virtuous artists are mostly to be looked for in the second class, into which, moreover, it is doubtful whether they have not been admitted by favor. Hence he becomes most seriously and unaffectedly skeptical about the unapproachable sovereignty of the law of Duty." *Supernatural Religion*, vol. i, p. 120. Does the learned author forget that Greek art perished with its dying religiousness? Poetry decays in the period of a decadence of faith. Christianity used the Greek to produce a better art, for example, music, and originated some of the grandest and most imposing forms, for example, Gothic architecture.

Hence it must be erroneous to regard Christian art as either a sudden leap into a better and purer form, or a sudden decline from classic excellence. Rather must it be regarded as a progressive development.[1]

The mythologic element in early Christian art.

The mythology of the ancient world influenced Christian art as well as Christian literature and doctrine. It is found either as an historic representation, thus having a typical or religious significance, or it introduced powers of nature under a symbolic form, and then had a purely artistic purpose.[2] Sometimes these were united. As an instance of the latter may be mentioned the ivory tablet from the fourth century, known as the Barberini Diptych. It was probably prepared in A.D. 357, to perpetuate the triumph of Constantine. In the upper part of this tablet is a bust of Christ, in the act of benediction, while on the other parts are various mythological representations. A like commingling of motives is seen on the noted sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (Plates II and II^a), Præfect of Rome, who died soon after his baptism, in A. D. 359. The main panels are occupied with delineations of characters and events from both the Old and the New Testaments—the translation of Elijah, the offering of Isaac, the Hebrew children in the fiery furnace, and scenes from the life of Christ. But in the angles and niches are found heathen mythological representations which seem to have very little connection with the main subjects, and must, therefore, be regarded as having been introduced more for artistic effect than for religious teaching. Of like character is the noted Greek manuscript of the book of Joshua, now in the Vatican Museum. It consists of fifteen sheets of parchment, nearly thirty feet long and about one foot wide, on which the chief events of the first ten chapters of Joshua are represented. Opinions differ as to the age of this parchment; yet it seems hardly possible that it can be later than the eighth century, while some of the most competent critics[3] regard it as among the very earliest of Christian monuments. In the personification of rivers, cities, mountains, etc., the ornamentation of this parchment is in the peculiar spirit of pagan art.

Three conditions.

Barberini Diptych.

Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus.

Greek manuscript.

The influence of heathen symbols and thought is apparent on the coins of the Roman emperors who embraced Christianity. The coins prepared by Constantine in commemoration of his victory over Licinius contain the Labarum, which, with the monogram of Christ, rests upon a dragon. The cities of Constantinople and Rome are represented under the symbol of the goddess of Fortune, and the statues of the Christian emperors are sometimes associated with the goddess of Victory.

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[1] Piper: *Mythologie der ch. Kunst*, Bd. i, s. 7.

[2] Piper: *Op. cit.*, Bd. i, s. 18.

[3] *v.* Rumohr: *Italienische Forschungen*, Th. i, p. 166. *v.* d'Agincourt: Plates xxviii, xxix, xxx. D'Agincourt places it in the seventh or eighth century. In this, as in other monuments, restorations of a later date are suspected. This is one reason of the diversity of opinion respecting its age.

Roman imperial coins.

Not less noteworthy is the commingling of Christian and pagan thought and motive in the case of private Christian burial monuments. Genii of the seasons, Cupid and Psyche, as well as genii of a festive nature, are here found to typify the joy and fruition of the departed.[1]

Types.

Closely connected with these are representations in which mythological subjects are used as types of biblical persons and events. If the tree of the knowledge of good and evil is associated with the serpent in like manner as, in the heathen myth, the Garden of the Hesperides is guarded by the dragon, or if the translation of Elijah suggests the ascending sun god, this resemblance is merely outward. Yet it may be very easy to transfer the one to the other, and thus commingle pagan and Christian ideas.[2] So, likewise, may the ram-bearing Mercury be mistaken for a figure of the Good Shepherd, because of a seeming likeness, while all parallelisms in office or nature may be wanting (*v.* Figs. 48, 49).

Difference between outward resemblance and real likeness of thought.

Heathen materials in Christian structures.

Careful distinction must be made between monuments which contain representations closely resembling each other in mere outward form while there is no likeness in thought, from those which agree in motive, and hence may have been transferred from pagan associations to be used in Christian instruction. It is likewise important to discriminate between heathen inscriptions and symbols on monuments *in situ* from those that may be found on the walls of churches, on slabs which close the *loculi* in the catacombs, or on marbles afterward used in the construction of church furniture or of the tombs of eminent Christians. It is well known that in many instances the materials used in Christian structures were gathered from the ruins of ancient pagan temples and shrines.[3] Hence, by failure to erase the symbol or inscription, there seems at times an incoherent commingling of pagan and Christian elements.

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[1] Respecting the reference of these figures to the category of symbol or ornamentation there is wide difference of opinion among the archæologists.

[2] *v.* Piper: *Op. cit.*, Bd. i, s. 39.

[3] This same commingling of diverse materials is noticed in buildings of the Middle Ages. Among many examples in the North may be mentioned the walls of the close

Millin[1] has given an account of a beautiful sarcophagus of Flavius Memorius, who lived under Maximian or Constantine. It was discovered at Arles, and is now in the museum of Marseilles. In this the appropriation of heathen art work to a Christian burial monument is evident. The work is of pagan origin; moreover, its high order of artistic excellence points to a very early date; yet the inscription, which was manifestly an after thought, is Christian in sentiment. Also Platner[2] has described a sarcophagus in the cloister of Santa Agnese in Rome. On either end is the favorite representation of Cupid and Psyche; below, the ocean is symbolized by the reed and the water urn, and the earth by the horn of plenty. Above, in the middle of the monument, is a bust in relief held by two cupids. This bust likeness is clearly a Christian work of later origin, and represents St. Agnes, whose remains this sarcophagus formerly preserved.

Heathen subjects on Christian monuments.

This curious commingling of elements is also noticed in early Christian churches. Sometimes the columns separating the main from the side naves are of different orders of architecture, of different diameters, and sometimes of different materials. Gathered from the decaying or forsaken heathen temples, these were incorporated into Christian edifices either on account of the poverty of the Church, or to indicate her greater triumph. The churches San Niccolo in Carcere, Santa Maria in Trastevere, and Santa Maria in Cosmedin, at Rome, are instructive examples of this practice. Santa Maria in Trastevere, a three-naved church, has twenty-two granite columns of different heights and diameters, on whose capitals can still be seen sculptures of Jupiter, Juno, and other heathen deities. Santa Maria Cosmedin occupied the site of a temple which stood at the entrance of the Circus Maximus. Built into the walls are still preserved eight beautifully fluted columns of the Roman style, whose capitals can be seen in the loft above the vestibule. Eighteen columns of very ancient origin support the middle nave in the interior.[3]

Likewise in Christian Churches.

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of Salisbury Cathedral, England, which contain many sculptured stones taken from other structures. Also in filling in window and door passages in the Cathedral of Winchester a like practice is noticed.

[1] *Voyage dans le midi de la France*, t. iii, pp. 151–156; Pl. lvi, figures 2. 3. 4. quoted by Piper, *Op. cit.*, i, s. 45.

[2] *Beshcreibung Roms*, iii, 2, s. 450. Piper: *Op. cit.*, i, 47.

[3] Forster: *Mittel-u. Unteritalien*, ss. 264–73.

A like syncretism of pagan and Christian subjects is found on gems, and church furniture, as chairs, ambos, baptismal fonts, etc.[1]

Prophecies and preparation.

Translation of Elijah.

The Good Shepherd and the Ram-bearing Mercury.

It was one purpose of the early apologists to trace the relations of the pagan religion to the Christian along the line of prophecies and preparation. In their controversies with heathen opponents they repeatedly insisted that many of the elements of the popular mythology were only echoes of an original revelation; that the beautiful myths to which the people clung so fondly were perversions of an earlier truth; that these often pointed to the time of deliverance which had now been consummated by their Lord Christ. It might not be unreasonable to expect that these agreements in motive might give rise to similar art representations. While some modern interpreters profess to see evidences of mythological import in works of Christian art where such likeness is very feeble,[2] there are, nevertheless, many monuments in which such parallelisms of use, or relation, or sentiment are clearly traceable. The translation of Elijah, as sculptured on a Christian sarcophagus of the fifth century, contains a heathen element in that the Jordan is represented as a river god. In this there is also a likeness to the pagan representation of the sun god, Apollo, who leads in the day in his flaming chariot, while the ocean is symbolized by a river god, and the earth by the horn of plenty. Still more striking is the resemblance of Christ as the Good Shepherd and Mercury as the Ram-bearer (*v.* Figs. 48, 49). That the central idea is of Christian origin appears from the teaching of Christ himself, "I am the Good Shepherd." Again he says, "When he hath found it (the lost sheep) he layeth it on his shoulders rejoicing" (Luke xv, 5). But that the style of the art representation may have been suggested by the pagan subject is highly probable. It is not always easy to discriminate between the heathen and the Christian origin of monuments which bear this symbol. A scientific treatment demands that all monuments bearing this figure must not, *for that reason*, be reckoned of Christian origin.

Again, both the gods and the heroes of paganism furnish types for Christian art, not on account of resemblance in nature, but of likeness in office. The introduction of Orpheus into Christian frescos furnishes an illustration (*v.* Fig. 28). Frequent reference is made to this mythical hero in the apologetic writings of the Christian fathers. With some he suggests Christ by contrariety rather than by likeness. Clement of Alexandria[1] claims that Orpheus and others of his class were arch-deceivers, who, under the pretence of teaching music and song, corrupted the manners of the people, and led them under the bondage of idolatry; while Christ came to break the enslaving yoke which the demons have imposed upon the race. Christ alone has tamed man, the wildest beast; the bird, the most inconstant; the reptile, the most treacherous; the lion, the most passionate; the swine, the most greedy of enjoyment; the wolf, the most rapacious; and the stones and clods, the most insensate. He has awakened the seeds of holiness and virtue in those who believe on him, and through heavenly song has changed these wild beasts into civilized men.

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[1] For interesting examples *v.* Texier and Pullan: *Byzantine Architecture.* London, 1864, especially the chapter "Pagan Temples Converted into Churches."

[2] *v.* Piper: *Op. cit.*, i, ss. 66–77, where an obscure parallel is traced between the representation of the fall by the serpent, the apple, and our first parents, and the dragon watching the tree and fruit in the Garden of the Hesperides.

Orpheus and Christ.

Eusebius[2] more usually speaks of Orpheus as a type of Christ, and sometimes as his forerunner. This view came from ascribing to this mythical bard the authorship of the Orphic verses which were by many regarded as containing a heathen prophecy of the true Messiah. Again, he compares the influence of the Thracian singer to that of Christ. As Orpheus by the sweet strains of his lyre tamed the wild beasts of the forest, and even caused the trees to move, so has the all-harmonizing Word of God, when it became flesh, healed the wild passions of men through the medicine of heavenly doctrine. At times Orpheus is made the type of Christ by contrasting the realms in which his power was exercised.

Orpheus a type of Christ.

Occasional references to the labors of Hercules are met in early Christian monuments. The parallelism seems to be drawn between the power of Hercules and that of Christ as deliverers of men from the thraldom of evil. Also Apollo and Jupiter find occasional mention in connection with Christ. There is a likeness between the worship of saints and the reverence paid to emperors and Greek demigods. The latter may have suggested the former, or its origin may be found in the impulse of our nature to honour greatness and self-sacrifice.[3]

Hercules.

Another curious example of the use of heathen subjects upon

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[1] *Cohort. ad Gentes*, c. i, ἄνδρες τινές οὐχ ἄνδρες, etc. "Certain so-called men, not men, but deceivers, who under the pretext of music corrupted the life of the people."

[2] *Orat. de laud. Constan.*, c. 14. Orpheum quandam omnia bestiarum genera cantu deliniisse, etc.

[3] *v.* Martignan: *La Foi chrétienne*, p. 66.

Christian sarcophagi is that of Ulysses and the Sirens. A slab (Fig. 3) found in the crypt of Santa Lucina seems entirely pagan in its subject with the exception of the involved inscription at the left, which has been deciphered TYRANIO, and is believed by some to be an obscured cross. This heathen fable is, nevertheless, alluded to by the early Christian writers, and is made to serve a happy purpose in the enforcement of Christian fidelity and self-denial.[1]

Ulysses and the Sirens.

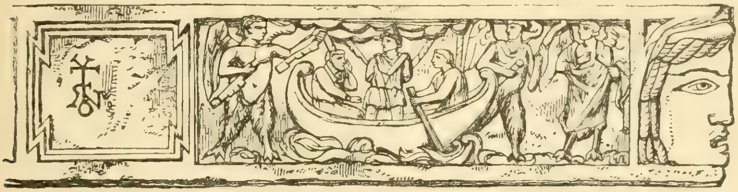

Fig. 3.—Ulysses and the Sirens. From the crypt of Santa Lucina, Rome.

These references to the pagan mythology are only what might be regarded as antecedently probable from the intimate acquaintance of the Christian fathers with the pagan systems, and from the attempt to show that in each religion was an element of truth which the other should respect. More especially after Christianity became the state religion many admixtures of heathen and Christian motives are met. According to a law of spiritual life and growth, the cessation of persecution and opposition brought laxity of morals and a decay of pure faith. Multitudes of men and women now formally professed Christianity, while little change was effected in belief or life. The influence of classical literature, the contact with pagan customs, and the appropriation of pagan symbols, now gave little offence to these nominal Christians; while the increasing splendor of the church ritual and the growing wealth of the clergy diverted the attention from the severity of discipline and the purity of doctrine.

Influences adverse to purity of doctrine.

Thus was the prevalent thought modified by intercourse with the pagan world. Art standards were likewise changed. The mingling of heathen with Christian belief brought with it an easy acceptance of what was before regarded as dangerously contaminating. It cannot, however, be supposed that all monuments thus transferred from pagan to Christian uses were known to be of a character to mislead. Their heathen origin and spirit may not have been understood, or they may have been used allegorically by the Christian teachers.

Influence upon art representation.

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[1] *Philosophumena*, vii, i. Clement Alex.: *Cohort. ad Gent.*, c. 12.

Some decorative or typical.

Many of the mythological subjects were only for purposes of decoration—as the heads of satyrs, tragic masks, etc. (Fig. 4). Of like import and design must we regard the occasional introduction of dolphins (Fig. 5), sea monsters, etc. It is not easy to discover in these any symbolical significance, and the attempts to so interpret them have usually involved violations of the true principles of symbolism. Where, however, the figure of Apollo, associated with the cross, appears upon the coins of Constantine, we must regard Apollo as a symbol of Christ; or when the figure of Mars appears in connection with the sacred monogram, it must be considered as an allegorical representation of the Saviour.

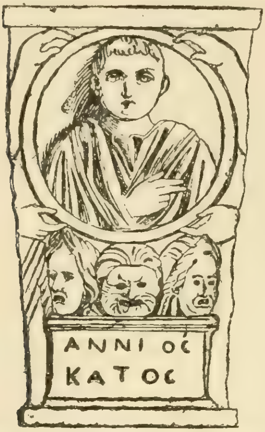

Fig. 4.—A Christian sarcophagus with tragic masks.

Statue of Victory.

A statue of Victory was set up in the senate chamber by Augustus. Each senator on entering the hall offered to it wine and incense. This statue was the occasion of a most persistent struggle between the defenders of the pagan religion and the Christian bishops.[1] The result was favorable to the Christian party.[2] Nevertheless, the figure of Victory is not infrequently associated on Christian monuments with the cross or with the sacred monogram. In a few instances it is connected with a bust of Christ on ivory diptychs, and on coins during the Constantinian and post-Constantinian period. A fine example of this is found on a gold coin of Constantine the

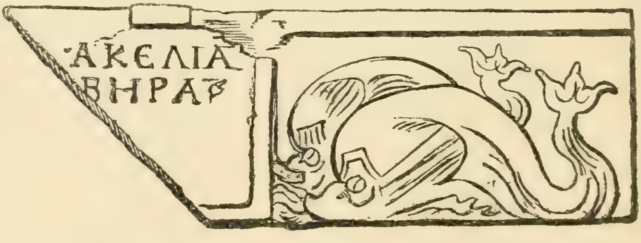

Fig. 5.—From a Christian sarcophagus. Decorated with dolphins.

On coins.

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[1] For a fuller statement, *v.* chap. viii.

[2] *v.* Ambrose: *Epist.* xviii. This is addressed to the Emperor Valentinian in answer to the appeal of Symmachus.

Great, where Victory holds in her hands trophies and a palm branch, while the inscription,

VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AUG.,

encloses a field in which appears the monogram of Christ. A bronze coin of Constantine bears a representation of the emperor holding in his right hand the labarum with the sacred monogram, while he is crowned by a Victory, and HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS is the inscription.[1] This syncretism is very strikingly exhibited on some coins of Constantius. In Fig. 6 the bust of the emperor is on the obverse, and on the reverse his full length figure is seen on the ship of state, holding in one hand the standard on which is the ☧, while upon the other hand perches the phenix, the symbol of rejuvenation of the government under Constantine and his sons.

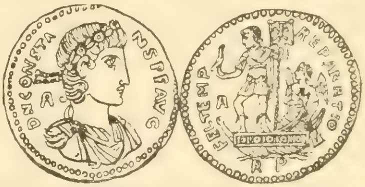

Fig. 6.—Coin of Constantius—showing the mingling of heathen and Christian emblems.

This is further illustrated by the usual inscription FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO, and by a Victory who is guiding the state to its glorious destination.

A century and a quarter later we find on a coin of Majorian the imperial ensign crowned with the cross (Fig. 7); this is held by the emperor in one hand, while on the other perches the figure of Victory. He is here represented as treading the dragon under foot, a not unusual manner of indicating the triumph of the government over foes, and over the discordant elements of society. On the obverse is the bust of the emperor, and the shield is inscribed with the ☧. On coins of the Græco-Roman empire the figure of Victory appears associated with Christian symbols from the time of Constantine to that of Heraclius I. The same commingling of pagan and Christian elements likewise appears on the coins of the Arian barbarian kings, on those of the Frankish, the West Gothic, and Longobard princes, and continued thus associated with Christian emblems until the ninth century.

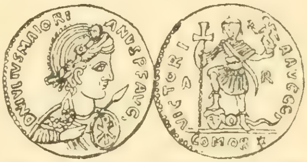

Fig. 7.—A coin of Majorian, fifth century.

We might antecedently expect that mythological subjects of an amatory character would find little favor with the early Christians. The positive teachings of their religion, the perils often attending its profession, and the general disrepute in which its early adherents were held, gave a seriousness to life little favorable to the cultivation of the more delicate sentiments. Moreover, Venus and Amor stood as the personifications of a passion whose canker was eating out the moral life of the Roman world. With that vice which was the peculiar besetment of the converts from paganism, and against which Paul speaks so strongly in his Corinthian letters, the Christian Church could make no compromise. The suggestions made by figures of Venus and Cupid were peculiarly repugnant. Hence early Christian poetry furnishes scarcely an example of a nuptial song, nor until a comparatively late date do the monuments contain any reference to the erotic deities. They were but sparingly introduced, and in most instances the genuineness of the monuments upon which these figures appear has been gravely questioned.

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[1] Piper: *Op. cit.*, i, s. 177.

Lack of amatory representations.

Scarcely less aversion was felt to Bacchic scenes. The higher significance of the Bacchic myth is occasionally recognized on sarcophagi of unquestioned Christian origin, but the paucity of these monuments plainly indicates the opinion of the Church respecting their influence.

Paucity of Bacchic scenes.

Somewhat different, however, was the feeling with regard to the myth of Amor and Psyche. In this was veiled a deep spiritual import. The fundamental thoughts were the wanderings of the soul in this life as in a vale of death, its trial and purification, and the reunion of the spiritualized wanderer with eternal love in the life to come. The association of this heathen fable with scriptural scenes on burial monuments of acknowledged Christian origin[1] (Fig. 8) indicates a likeness of opinion of pagan-

Amor and Psyche.

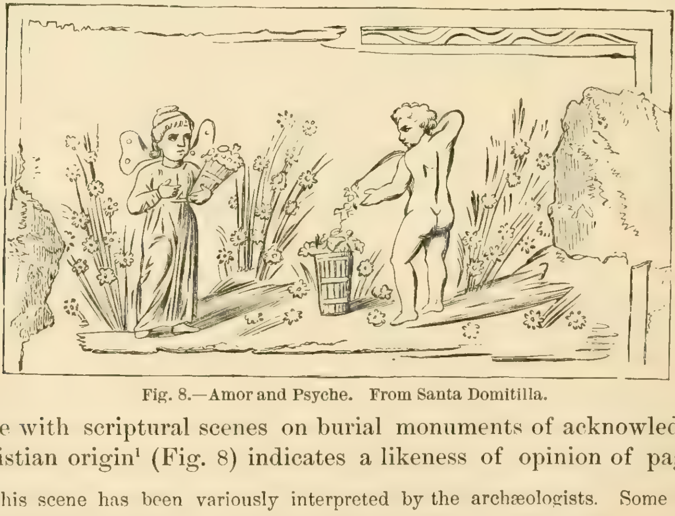

Fig. 8.—Amor and Psyche. From Santa Domitilla.

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[1] This scene has been variously interpreted by the archæologists. Some claim that it is merely decorative, depicting a pleasing garden or autumn scene.

ism and of Christianity with respect to the significance of probation and the rewards of a future state. This is suggested in Fig. 9, which is from the fragment of a sarcophagus, in relief sculpture, found in the cemetery of San Calisto, and now preserved in the Lateran Museum at Rome. Amor and Psyche are here in immediate association with the Good Shepherd. There can be little doubt but that the deeper significance of this myth is here intended ; possibly there is the further suggestion that the sojourner here can be successful in his attempt at purification and restoration to the bosom of Eternal Love only by the merit and the protection of the Good Shepherd, who, when he hath found the straying one, layeth it upon his shoulders and bringeth it back to the fold.

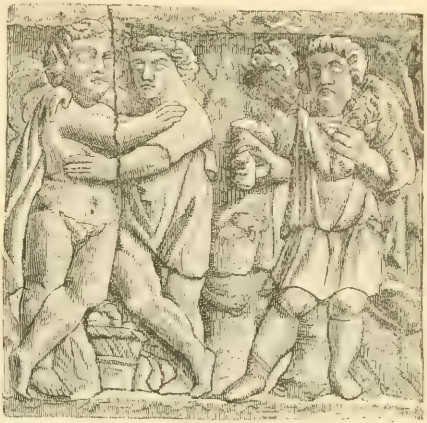

Fig. 9.—Amor and Psyche with the Good Shepherd, San Calisto, Rome.

Guardian angels.

Genii.

In the severe criticisms to which the heathen systems were subjected by the early Christian fathers, comparisons are frequently instituted between the pagan teachings and the sacred Scriptures relative to the agencies that may be employed in the administration of the government of the world. Both pagans and Christians alike believed in a realm of supernatural intelligences by which human affairs are influenced. In the heathen system the inferior gods and genii held a place somewhat similar to that of the angelic hierarchy in the Christian scheme. As in classical mythology to each human being was assigned a particular genius, representative partly of the ideal man and partly of the peculiar gifts and powers of the individual, so in the writings of the Christian fathers the doctrine of guardian angels was developed and taught. These points of contact in the two systems may furnish one reason for the commingling on Christian monuments of heathen genii with Scripture characters and scenes. The earlier view of the fathers that the heathen genii were evil spirits, messengers of temptation to the human soul, was afterward modified, and the peculiar offence given by the representation of genii was so far diminished that from the fourth to the sixth centuries many examples of these, nude or draped, are seen upon the Christian burial monuments (*v.* Fig. 10). Just how far these figures of genii were for purposes of mere ornament, or may have had a religious or dogmatic significance, has divided the opinions of the ablest archæologists.[1] To draw the line between the genii monuments which plainly represent heathen ideas and those whereon the figures express the Christian belief in angels is not an easy task.

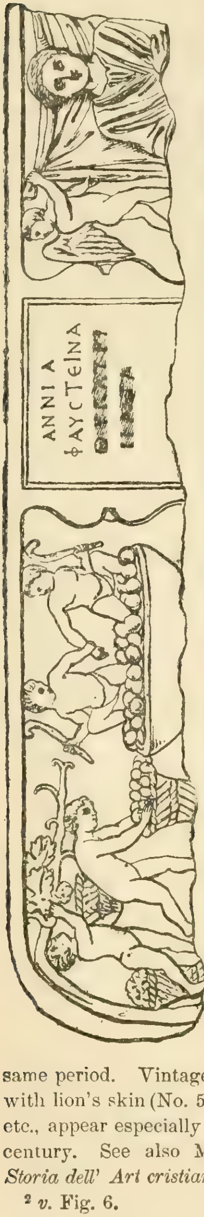

Fig. 10.—Genii in a vintage scene. A winged genius holding back the veil. From a Christian sarcophagus.

The phenix.

Besides that of Orpheus, to which reference has already been made, other heathen myths were widely appropriated by the Christian fathers in the exposition of the Scriptures, and in the illustration of doctrine. Among these the phenix played an important role. The later version of this fable was most commonly used by the Christian apologist, and its representation is met with on Christian monuments. Artemidorus says that when it is about to die the phenix comes from unknown parts to Egypt, and builds a funeral pile of frankincense and myrrh. From its ashes comes a worm, from which arises another phenix that then leaves Egypt to return to its unknown home. Thus in this fabled creature the two ideas of immortality and perpetual rejuvenation were united. On the coins and other monuments of the empire since the time of Hadrian this figure is the symbol of the returning golden age,[2] of the apotheosis and immortality of the rulers, and of the eternal duration of the Roman government. The fable had also found its way into Jewish literature. Occasionally the Christian fathers thereby illustrated the story of the creation, but usually it was quoted in defence of the peculiarly Christian doctrine of the resurrection. In the first century Clement of Rome uses this argument. It is also found in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, in Cyril of Jerusalem, and in Epiphanius. The Latin fathers were equally ready to use this fable. Tertullian argued from the lesser value of the phenix to the greater value of mankind; that if the former thus rises from its own ashes to a new and youthful vigor it cannot be unreasonable to expect that God will care for those whom he created in his own image. In like manner argued Ambrose, Augustine, and Rufinus. Ambrose quoted the rising of the phenix as analagous to the supernatural begetting of Christ without father, and Rufinus referred to the renewing of the phenix and its producing itself from itself as a sufficient answer to the heathen who ridiculed the story of the birth of Christ from a virgin.[1]

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[1] Grousset: *Etude sur l'Histoire des Sarcophages chrétiens,* Paris, 1885, 8vo, has given a catalogue and description of one hundred and ninety-five Christian sarcophagi found in Rome outside of the collection in the Lateran Museum. On many of these is noticed the commingling of Christian and pagan motives. Indeed, in many instances the Christian character of the sarcophagus is determined solely by its inscription, while the art and the decorations are in no way to be distinguished from the heathen sarcophagi of the same period. Vintage scenes, genii of the seasons, Cupids nude or draped, Hercules with lion's skin (No. 5), genii holding the inverted torch (the pagan symbol of death) etc., appear especially on those sarcophagi that are believed to belong to the third century. See also Matz und v. Duhn: *Antike Bildwerke in Rom,* and Garrucci: *Storia dell' Art cristiana.*

[2] *v.* Fig. 6.

A symbol of the resurrection.

The artistic representation of this fable is sometimes met on the coins of Christian emperors and on other Christian monuments. It is associated with the palm-tree or the palm branch on sarcophagi plainly of Christian origin, in mural paintings, and in Church mosaics (Fig. 43) of later origin. In nearly all these examples the same ruling thought is recognised; namely, the resurrection from the dead and life beyond the grave.[2]

These few examples, chosen from a wide cycle, illustrate the intimate connection of heathen and Christian thought, and the corresponding influence upon Christian art as seen in surviving monuments.

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[1] Ambrose: Psa. cxviii, *serm.* 19, c. 11. Rufinus: *Comment. in Symb. Apost.*, c. 11, quoted by Piper: *Myth. d. christ. Kunst*, Bd. i, s 455.

[2] Münter: *Sinnbilder*, etc., Heft. i, ss. 94–97.

CHAPTER III.

SYMBOLISM OF CHRISTIAN ART.

§ 1. *General Principles.*

A SYMBOL is the outward sign of a concept or idea. It is the visible, sensuous veil of that which is unseen and spiritual.[1] It is used not for its own sake, but to bring to mind something not sensuously present as though it were present. Originally it was more specially limited to the cycle of religious thought, and served for the illustration of divine-human relations.[2]

Definition.

All sensuous things to which a higher meaning, aside from the natural significance, is attributed, are symbols.[3] All religions are measurably symbolic in character. The expression of spiritual truths and abstract notions by analogous phenomena in the physical world has been common to all peoples and religions. To communicate these conceptions to others, and fix them by the laws of association, it is necessary to give to them formal expression. Hence the successful teaching of the doctrines of a religion must in some sense involve symbolism.[4]

Used by Christ and his apostles.

This was the favorite method employed by Christ to initiate the disciples into the deeper mysteries of his kingdom.[5] The writings of the apostles and of the early Christian fathers abound in symbolic expressions which were designed to arrest the attention of those whom they addressed, and more powerfully to impress the lessons which they would teach. What was thus practised in language became likewise common in art representation. To guard the heathen converts on the one hand against idolatry, and on the other against

Also practised in art.

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[1] Bähr: *Symbolik des mosaischen Cultus*, Bd. i, s. 15.

[2] Creuzer: *Symbolik u. Mythologie*, Bd. i, ss. 32–42.

[3] Dursch: *Der symbolische Character der christlichen Religion u. Kunst*, s. 8.

[4] Hence the use of the word *symbol* to express the formulated belief of a religious party.

[5] "His example was helpful in giving direction to the thought of the believers of the early centuries. To a great degree symbolism was found in the mysteries of all ancient religions. It also supplied a secret password whereby communication became more free than otherwise were possible. The intellectual mysticism of that age also greatly contributed to the same end." Roller: *Les Catacombes de Rome*, vol. i, p. 38.

the pernicious effects of the Docetic heresy, early Christian art betook itself to symbolism, by whose aid the deeper truths and mysteries of the religion could be more effectually impressed upon the masses of the people. Thus in art as well as in language the symbol was the means of revealing the higher spiritual reality.[1] Herein Christian art resembled the later Roman, which seldom represented objects literally, but employed visible forms to express abstract notions.[2]

Symbols not arbitrary.

Since art symbols address the beholder in a language peculiar to themselves, the relation between the idea and its symbol must not be merely fortuitous or arbitrary, but must be such that the one suggests the other; and while the connection may not be independently discoverable by all, it will be immediately recognised when explained. The outward form must be developed from the inner spirit, whose expression and symbol it is.[3]

Caution in interpretation.

Likewise the interpretation of art symbolism requires good judgment and caution, lest unworthy and misleading conclusions be accepted, and the symbolism of early Christian art thus become a wild maze of contradiction and absurdity. Its interpretation should not be arbitrary or whimsical, nor should it become a stage for the display of baseless fancies. Symbols appeal to the sober reason rather than to the æsthetic feeling or to the imagination. Hence all the aids of history and of literature, as well as of art, must be brought to their correct interpretation. A single historical reference, contemporary with the symbol to be explained, is often of greater value than all the ingenious speculations of learned critics. Familiarity with the cycle of the thought of an age and with its tendencies and spirit is needful for correctly interpreting its art symbolism. The work is greatly aided when a considerable number of references to the symbol can be found in the contemporary literature. It is, therefore, a canon of interpretation that the literary references be carefully considered. By comparing the works of Christian symbolism with each other, with those of the contemporary heathen art, and both of these with the holy Scriptures, the writings of the Christian fathers, and with the related inscriptions and literature of the times, most satisfactory results will be reached. Hence a second canon of interpretation is that the sense must be accepted which best accords with these results of comparative study.[1]

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[1] "Light becomes the symbol of intellectual clearness; the murky and beclouded atmosphere, of a troubled spirit; water, of bodily purification and spiritual regeneration; the circle, or the serpent holding its tail in its mouth, of eternal duration; the tree, as it puts forth its verdure, decays, and blooms again, of the changing seasons; the engendering bull and ram, of generative and creative power; the cow or the matron with many breasts, of the all-nourishing power of nature; the butterfly, bursting forth from the entombed chrysalis, of the resurrection." *v.* Carriere: *Die Kunst in Zusammenhang mit der Culturgeschichte*, Bd. i, ss. 70–72.

[2] Kugler: *Geschichte der Malerei.*

[3] Jacob: *Die Kunst in Dienste der Kirche*, ss. 16, 17. *v.* Heinrich Otte: *Kunstarchäologie des deutschen Mittelalters*, 4te Aufl., 1868, s. i, etc. "Art is the appropriate representation of an idea in sensuous form. To completely represent Christian ideas under sensuous forms is absolutely unattainable; hence the symbolic character of all Christian art and the necessity of faith as a condition of its true understanding and interpretation."

Canons of interpretation.

Happily, in many instances the coincidences are so numerous and important that the interpretation is clearly manifest; in others it may be doubtful; while in still others opinions of the significance of the symbol may be absolutely contradictory. For the interests of both art and religion, in these latter cases it is wise to suspend judgment until further discoveries, rather than to press doubtful monuments and interpretations into the service of any preconceived theory.

Christian archæologists may be divided into schools according to their opinions of the originality of early Christian art, and of the design of the various works which are found in the Christian catacombs and elsewhere.

One school holds that the art works of the catacombs were prepared under the direction of ecclesiastics for the purpose of inculcating a definite system of Christian doctrine. They are, therefore, to be regarded as strictly of a symbolic character, whose significance was understood by the initiated of the Christian Church, but was veiled from profane eyes. According to this theory the clergy were the real artists, while they who executed the works were mere artisans who had no part in their origination. Even where the presence of purely decorative elements is undeniable, and these have plainly been derived from classic art, little inquiry is made respecting the probable influence of the heathen cycle of thought upon the Christian, but the symbolic and dogmatic character of these monuments is strenuously maintained. This class of writers is entirely consistent; for if the purely symbolic character of the remains is conceded, their dogmatic purpose must follow, since it is hardly conceivable that the Christian artificers could have had the ability or the purpose to work out a consistent cycle of Christian symbolism. If, therefore, it is maintained that the origin of these works must be found in a desire to teach the doctrines of the Church to the initiated—that they were a sort of *biblia pauperum*—then must their symbolic character be conceded.[1]

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[1] Kraus: *Roma Sotterranea*, ss. 200, 201.

The position of a second school is well defined by Hasenclever: "The art work found on and in Christian burial monuments is essentially decorative, not symbolic. But whatever of a symbolic character is connected with them first originated from an association of figures which were already widely known and used with Christian ideas. These figures created the symbolism, but the purpose to use a symbolism did not originate the figures."[2] It is as unhistorical to sunder the connection of the symbolism of the early Christian burial monuments from that of the contemporary heathen monuments as to sunder the whole cycle of Christian art, the entire Christian civilization, and even the very origin of Christianity itself from its connection with the intellectual, æsthetic, and moral development of the non-Christian world.[3] This principle, eminently just in itself, has, however, insensibly blinded the eyes of its defenders to certain historical facts, or, at least, has led them to underrate their value. There has resulted a general denial of the originality of Christian art works, and a depreciation of the biblical cycle of events as the source of much of the early Christian symbolism. This school has erred by its lacks, as has the former by its excesses.

As in most other controverted questions, sound criticism suggests the happy *via media.* The more moderate school recognises the influence of contemporary heathen thought, and yet does not disregard the powerful influence of the biblical history, nor deny to the early Church a measure of symbolic art origination.[4]

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[1] To this school belong de Rossi and most of those who have made his *Roma Sotterranea* the source and foundation of their investigations. While a most admirable scientific spirit has characterized the great master, de Rossi, others have pushed their theory to the wildest extremes, and have endeavored to use this symbolism not only for apologetic, but even partisan, purposes. This is conspicuous in the works of Garrucci, especially in his last and greatest work, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, Prato, 1873, *et seq.* 6 vols. See also Martigny: *Dictionnaire des Antiquités chrétiennes*, 2d ed, Paris, 1877.

[2] *Der altchristliche Gräberschmuck*, Braunschweig, 1886, s. 260.

[3] To this school belong Raoul-Rochette, Parker, and others.

[4] In this class of writers may be placed Piper, who has done so much to emphasize the influence of the classical mythology upon early Christian art, yet has given the Church due credit for symbolic origination. Also Victor Schultze, who has assailed the extreme claims of the first school, yet may not have been consistent in all his interpretations, belongs to this more moderate school. Roller has aimed at the same results, but is sometimes lacking in unity, and seems at times confused. See also Wilpert: *Die principien Fragen der christlichen Archæologie.* Freiburg, 1889.

§ 2. *Christ.*

No portrait of Christ extant.

No authentic portrait of Christ has been preserved to our time. Whether such ever existed is a matter of serious question.[1] The circumstances of his earthly ministry were entirely unfavorable to his portraiture. Neither the social rank of his family, the character of his first disciples, the reception which his doctrine met, nor the spirit of the religion which he founded, would warrant the presumption that any authentic likeness of Christ could ever have been produced. Indeed, all literal representation of its Founder seems to have been avoided by the Church of the first three centuries. His person, life, and office were concealed under symbols which were especially valued by those whom persecution and a common interest united by still firmer ties of friendship, and whose significance was understood only by the initiated.

The lamb.

Among the earliest and most frequently recurring symbols is the lamb. It is found on mosaics, is associated with inscriptions on burial monuments, and is chiseled on sarcophagi, or painted on walls of the catacombs. Both the character and work of Christ are shadowed forth under this form. The mention of it is so frequent, both in Scripture and in the writings of the early Christian fathers, that there can be no doubt as to its reference and significance. Such passages as Isa. liii, 7; John i, 29; 1 Pet. i, 19; Rev. v, 6, 8, 12; Rev. xiii, 8, and many others are decisive. Moreover, the representation of the lamb in connection with the cross, with the A Ω, or with the monogram of Christ, ☧, further confirms these references. It is found upon sarcophagi of marble, and in the mosaics which adorn the triumphal arches and apses of the ancient churches. Sometimes the lamb stands upon the summit of a hill from which issue four streams, at whose base a number of sheep are found.[2] This seems to have reference to Psa. ii, 6, and to Ezek. xliii, 12, where the king is in his holy hill, and where "upon the top of the mountain the whole limit thereof round about shall be most holy," or to Rev. vii, 17, where the "Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of water." The streams are usually interpreted as either the four rivers which flow from paradise, or as the four evangelists, and the sheep as the members of Christ's Church. This symbol, with a variety of accompaniments, continued in the Church until its further use was forbidden by the Trullan Council at Constantinople, A. D. 692. The prohibition seems to have been occasioned by the mystical, extravagant, and misleading role which it then played. The Western Church, however, did not accept the decision, and the lamb continued to be used in ecclesiastical art until the reign of Charlemagne, and in connection with the crucifix (as in the Agnus Dei) long remained an object of reverence in the Latin Church.

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[1] The traditions of the painting of portraits of the Saviour by St. Luke are of late origin, and wholly lack foundation. Evagrius of the sixth century, the last continuator of Eusebius's history, is the first who mentions the portrait of Christ which the Saviour is said to have sent to Abgar, prince of Edessa. While the tradition is much older than the sixth century, it is entirely untrustworthy. The legend of St. Veronica is of still later origin. Also the statue of Christ, which was set up at Cæsarea Philippi, was described by Eusebius from a mere local tradition. Of no greater value is the description of Christ's personal appearance attributed to Lentulus, a reputed contemporary of Pontius Pilate, in his letter to the Roman Senate.

[2] *v.* Fig. 42. In the lower zone of this mosaic this scene is depicted.

Prohibited in the East.

Continued use in the West.

Of frequent recurrence on Christian monuments, and of even deeper symbolic and dogmatic significance, is the fish. It is among the earliest art forms, and pertains to the period of church history which causes it to be among the most interesting and important objects in the whole range of Christian symbolism. It can be studied on monuments that bear the simple word 'Ιχθῦς, and on those which have its pictorial representation. The interpretation of the symbol is determined by its age, its associations, and the testimony of the early fathers. De Rossi has divided the Christian inscriptions at Rome prior to the seventh century into two general classes, namely: 1. The subterranean, which are the oldest. 2. Those which are found in church burial places above the surface, especially in and near basilicas. The latter class belongs for the most part to the post-Constantine period. At the time of Constantine the catacombs were generally used for Christian burial. Between the years A. D. 338 and A. D. 364 two thirds of all interments were still made in them. From A. D. 364 to A. D. 369 the numbers buried in the catacombs and elsewhere were about equal. On account of the restoration of the catacombs by the zeal of Pope Damasus, from A. D. 370 to A. D. 371 burial therein again became almost universal. From A. D. 373 to A. D. 400 only about one third were there buried; while with the year A. D. 410 these places of interment ceased to be used. Of the monuments found at Rome which bear this symbol very few (probably none at all) belong to the second class, and few, therefore, can be regarded as of later origin than the beginning of the fifth century. The symbolical *Ichthus* is associated with none

The fish.

Two classes of Christian inscriptions.

Interment in the catacombs at Rome.

The ichthus monuments pre-Constantine.

of the hundreds of inscriptions found upon the extra-catacombal monuments in and near the basilicas of Rome.[1]

De Rossi's conclusion.

From the great difference in the number[2] of monuments bearing an exact date before and after the time of Constantine, from the form of the letters, and from the character of the associated inscriptions and paintings, de Rossi concludes that most of the *Ichthus* monuments belong to a time either before or during the reign of this emperor. The figure is met on monuments of the fifth and sixth centuries, but it had then lost the dogmatic significance which was attached to it during the third and fourth centuries, and is used rather for ornamental than symbolical purposes. From a variety of considerations it is believed that its peculiar and general use fell in the period when the persecuted Church was compelled to express its faith under forms and symbols which were unmeaning to their enemies, yet were well understood by the initiated who were participants in the holy sacraments.

Its significance.

Cemetery of Domitilla.

The important fresco.

But what truth is conveyed under this strange symbol? The discovery by de Rossi, in 1865, of a new part of the cemetery of Santa Domitilla at Rome was further confirmatory of the opinion before held by many archæologists. Through a vestibule of severest classic style the visitor passes along a broad entrance, somewhat inclined, from which small chambers and side passages extend to the right and left. The ceilings contain paintings which, from their simplicity and naturalness, point to an origin prior to the time of Roman art decadence. De Rossi has not hesitated to place the frescos of this part of the cemetery in the time of Domitilla, that is, at the close of the first century, or, at latest, in the first part of the second. On the walls of this portion of the catacomb are found the mutilated remains of a fresco, represented by Fig. 11, to which careful attention should be directed. We notice two persons sitting upon a couch; before them is a table of the ordinary Roman type, upon which lie three loaves of bread and a fish.

A person, apparently a servant, is standing near by. The representation plainly suggests to every one a meal. It corresponds quite closely with similar scenes depicted on the graves of heathen families, and the conclusion reached is that the sitting figures represent persons who were buried in this catacomb, and that before us is a scene from their everyday life. But on non-Christian burial monuments the fish is the symbol of luxury, associated with royalty or the favored few; on those of the Christians it cannot comport with this idea, and we must interpret it in accordance with the opinion which the Christian fathers entertained that this must be the symbol of Christ. 'Ιησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ is the confession of faith whose initial letters form this word ἰχθύς, fish, so frequently met, whose pictorial representation is seen in the case before us. The meal here celebrated must be regarded as having a eucharistic significance; the table of the householder becomes the table of the Lord, and the proper priestly character of each private Christian is here asserted. Herein is fulfilled the prophecy (Isa. lxi, 6) of the old dispensation as it was witnessed and affirmed by the apostles of the new (1 Pet. ii, 5, 9). Prior to the fourth century this explanation is infrequent, but at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries undoubted references to it are made by the Christian fathers. It occurs in the eighth book of the Sibylline oracles (ver. 217–250), assigned by some to the end of the second century. Whenever this word or the figure of the fish was seen in connection with other symbols and inscriptions (*v.* Fig. 12), or engraved upon gems in signet rings, or for purposes of ornament, this precious doctrine was recognised: 'Ι[ησοῦς], Jesus; Χ[ριστός], Christ; Θ[εοῦ], of God; Υ[ἱός], Son; Σ[ωτήρ], Saviour—Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour.

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[1] The seeming exceptions to this statement appear to have belonged originally to the catacombs, and to have been removed to churches for purposes of ornament or on account of their peculiar sanctity.

[2] Of the pre-Constantine period only about thirty dated inscriptions from Rome have been preserved, while of the post-Constantine prior to the seventh century more than thirteen hundred survive. But none of the inscriptions after the fourth century bear the symbol of the fish.

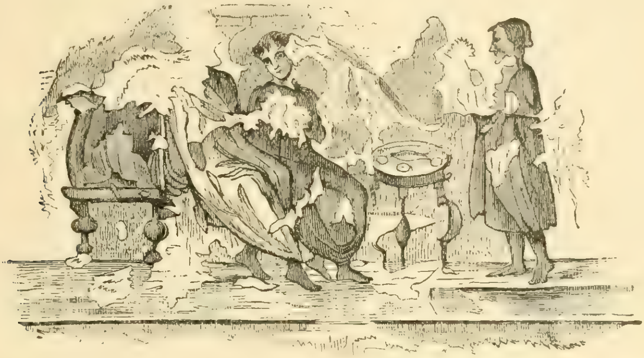

Fig. 11.—Supposed eucharistic scene. Fresco from the oldest part of Santa Domitilla, Rome.

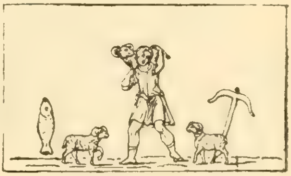

Fig. 12.—The fish with other Christian symbols. From a sarcophagus.

Other mural paintings from the catacombs at Rome and elsewhere confirm the correctness of this interpretation. Some of them bear unmistakable evidence of the eucharistic character of the feast, in which the fish is the central figure.[1]

Among the most instructive is the series of frescos from the Catacomb of San Calisto—that portion called the "Chamber of the Sacraments" (Fig. 13). On the left of the central scene "we see the three-legged table having on it bread and fish, with a woman standing on one side of it in the attitude of prayer; and a man on the other, clad only in the *pallium*, extending his hands, and especially his right hand, toward the table in such a way as to force upon every Christian intelligence the idea of the act of consecration."[2] In the central group are seen seven men sitting at a table with bread and fish, and before them are eight baskets of loaves. To the right is the representation of the sacrifice of Isaac, while on the extreme right and left of the picture are *fossores* with arm extended, and the pickaxe in usual form resting upon the shoulder. Some have suggested that the figure at the left, with hands extended in prayer, symbolizes the Church, which is represented as the Bride of Christ (Eph. v, 24; Rev. xxi, 2 and 9); but it is better to regard it as one who is giving thanks in the celebration of the eucharist.

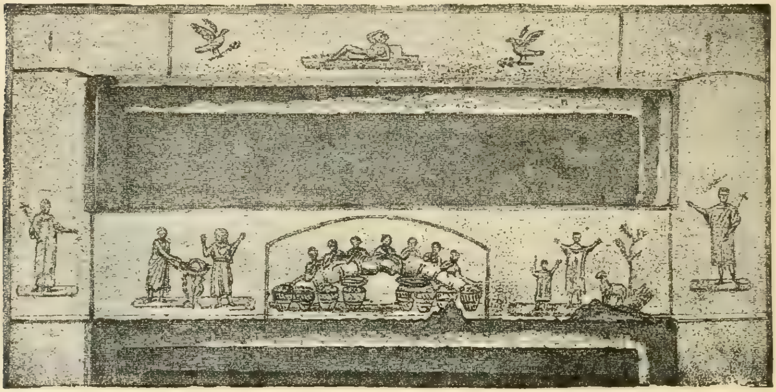

Fig. 13.—Fresco from the "Chamber of the Sacraments," San Calisto. Suggesting the eucharistic meal.

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[1] de Rossi: *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. ii, Tav. xv, No. 2; Tav. xvi, No. 1; Tav. xviii, No. 5. Becker: *Darstellung*, etc., ss. 101, 103, 110, 116, etc. Northcote and Brownlow: Plates 16 and 17; also vol. ii, pp. 71, sq. Kraus: *Roma Sotterranea*, Taf. viii. Roller: *Catacombes de Rome*, vol. i, chap. 19.

[2] Northcote and Brownlow: *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 86.

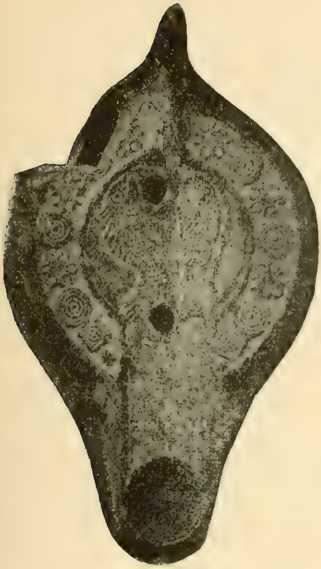

Fig. 13a.

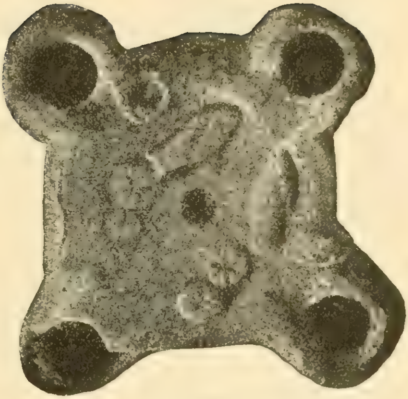

Fig. 13b.

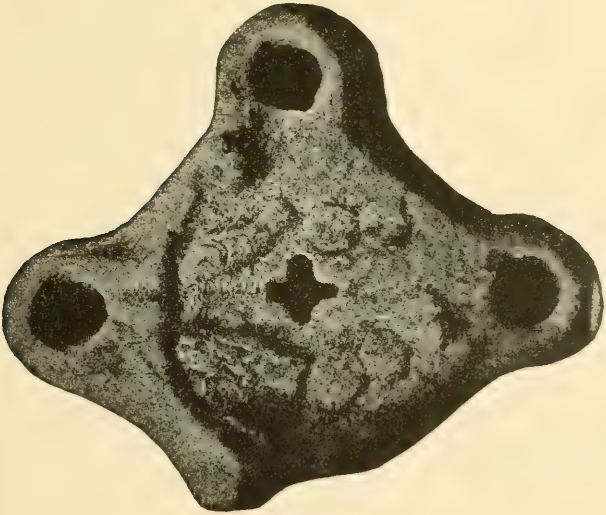

Fig. 13c.

Ichthus Lamps from Salona.

In recent years Africa, Gaul, and the Dalmatian coast have furnished a large number of early Christian monuments in the shape of lamps and gems. Figs. 13ª, 13ᵇ, 13ᶜ are specimens of the fine ichthus lamp collection from Salona, in Dalmatia. They may be found in the museums of Spalato and Zagrab. The fish occurs singly and in pairs, the latter possibly indicating a Christian married couple. Sometimes the fish are associated with the five loaves, suggesting the miracle of the loaves and fishes, and symbolizing the eucharist.

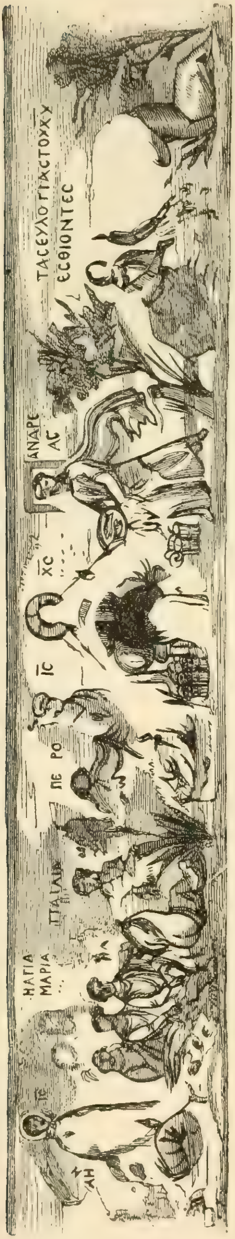

Fig. 14.—A fresco from a Christian catacomb in Alexandria, representing the eucharistic meal.

Fig. 14 represents a fresco from a Christian catacomb in Alexandria, Egypt, the details of which merit careful study.[1] In the middle is Christ, the head encircled with the nimbus and the name indicated by the letters $\overline{\text{IC}}$, $\overline{\text{XC}}$. Peter, ΠΕ(τ)ΡΟϹ, is on his right, and Andrew, ΑΝΔΡΕΑϹ, on his left, bearing a plate with two fishes. Baskets with loaves are on either side. Further toward the right appear the legends (ΤΑ) ΠΑΙΔΙΑ, servants, and ΗΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ, Holy Mary. The condition of the fresco here gives uncertainty to the interpretation, but it suggests the miracle at the marriage in Cana. At the extreme left of our Lord persons seem to be seated at a meal, while above is the significant legend, ΤΑϹ ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑϹ ΤΟΥ $\overline{\text{XY}}$ ΕϹΘΙΟΝΤΕϹ—"Eating the benedictions of Christ." In 1 Cor. x, 16, the same word, *εὐλογίας*, is used by Paul in speaking of the communion of the body and blood of Christ. In Matt. xvi, 36, the word used to describe the giving of thanks in the multiplication of loaves, *εὐχαριστήσας*, is the same as that used in Matt. xxvi, 27, to consecrate the wine of the holy sacrament, while in Matt. xxvi, 26, a derivative from the same word found in the legend of this fresco is used to consecrate the bread. "And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed (ἐνλογήσας) it," etc. The word used in Mark vi, 41, to bless the loaves and fishes is found in Mark xiv, 22, to describe the consecration of the bread in the eucharist. From such comparisons of Scripture, and from the teachings of the Christian fathers, especially of St. Cyril of Alexandria, the conclusion seems almost inevitable that in this fresco the eucharistic meal is represented, and that the true 'Ιχθύς is Christ, upon whom the soul feeds by faith.[1]

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[1] *v. Bull. di Arch. crist.*, 1865.

The cross and crucifix.

Pre-Christian.

That the cross was widely known in pre-Christian times has been most clearly shown by independent investigators.[2] It is met in a variety of forms[3] on both continents, through wide extents of territory and reaching through long periods of time. The interpretations of this symbol have been almost numberless. Indeed, its origin and significance are often matters of question. But the Christian cross can have no doubtful import. It was ever the emblem of blessing through suffering and sacrifice, or of a triumphing faith, and the Church has cherished it as among her most precious and suggestive symbols. For this she had the warrant and sanction of the sacred Scriptures. It was the magic form that played an important role in the exegesis of the Christian fathers.[4] To them this sacred symbol appeared in all nature, in the great circles of the heavens, in the flying bird, in the ship speeding under full sail, in the arms outstretched in prayer, in the

Among the Christian fathers.

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[1] *v.* Kraus: *Roma Sotterranea*, ss. 216, 217. Important confirmatory evidence is supplied by the inscriptions, notably the ichthus inscription of Autun, France. This has occasioned an extended literature. *v.* Le Blant: *Inscript. chrêt. de la Gaul.* tom. i; for literature *v.* Pitra's *Spicilegium Solesm.*, *vol.* i.

[2] *v.* Stockbauer, Inman, Zöckler, Haslam, Lipsius, Zestermann, the *Edinburgh Review*, for 1870, etc. The literature is very extensive.

[3] Speaking of a temple in Lorillard City, Central America, M. Déssiré Charnay says: "The roof of the edifice is slightly oblique, as in the buildings of Palenque. There is a grand frieze, richly decorated, the ornamentation consisting of large human figures, these accompanied with arabesques or hieroglyphs. The temple had then five portals, with lintels and jambs of sculptured stone. Here we find bas-reliefs of remarkable beauty, and I have made casts of one of them, which exhibits two human figures of the Palenque type, *each holding in the hand a regular Latin cross with flowered arms.*" *v. North American Review*, No. 308.

[4] However extravagant and even puerile in the light of modern criticism may appear the exegesis of some of the Christian fathers, it must not be forgotten that their work was inspired by a deep, pervading love of the crucified One, and by a desire to enter into the mysteries of his expiatory sufferings. *v.* Zöckler: *Das Kreutz Christi*, s. 134.

branches of trees, and in a multitude of forms in the vegetable and animal world. The demons could not withstand its power, the followers of the crucified One were safe under its protection.[1]

Sign of the cross.

Pre-Constantine cross.

Its doctrine not of Indian origin.

In the pre-Constantine period the sign of the cross seems to have been in quite general recognition by private Christians. Tertullian's well-known words clearly show this. "Wherever we go, or whatever we attempt, in all coming in or going out, at putting on our shoes, at the baths, at table, at the time of candle lighting, at bed-time, in sitting down to rest; whatever conversation employs us, we press the forehead with the sign of the cross."[2] Doubtless there is noticed on the part of the disciples of the crucified One a desire to conceal this symbol, which in the minds of the heathen was associated with every thing humiliating and disgraceful. In the earlier inscriptions and monuments, therefore, it is generally associated with the monogram of Christ. In such cases it symbolized the person of Christ, all that he was in himself, and all that he had done for the world. There is, however, early noticed an attempt to use the cross independently of the ☧ monogram. In such case it often appears under a form well known to other than Christian peoples, namely, the so-called *swastika* (*v.* Fig. 15, lower form), many examples of which are found on monuments very widely separated in time and place. While their chronology is somewhat uncertain, it seems that under this somewhat obscure form the Christians of the pre-Constantine period chiefly represented the death and expiatory work of the Saviour.[3] But the claim that therefore this doctrine was derived from the Indian religions lacks firm support. Much confusion of thought has obtained, and much misleading assertion has been indulged by writers who would deny to Christianity all originality, and would trace its leading doctrines to the Indian or Magian systems. While an eminently Buddhistic symbol, even the *swastika* seems to have lacked sacredness, and had little suggestion of religious doctrine.[4] To regard the symbolism of these

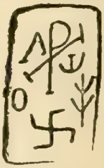

Fig. 15.—The *swastika*, with other Christian symbols.

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[1] Prudentius: *Cathemerinæ—Hymnus ante somnum.* "Crux pellit omne crimen," etc.

[2] *De corona Militis,* iii. "Ad omnen progressum atque promotum," etc.

[3] This is a question on which the archæologists are still divided. Some claim that the opinion that any form of the cross was used by the Christian Church prior to the introduction of the ☧ lacks substantial foundation.

[4] E. Thomas: *Ancient Indian Weights,* p. 58. "Pánini described it as a mark of cattle."

religions as the suggestive source of the symbols found on Christian monuments of the West, from the second to the eighth century, is shown to be entirely unwarranted as the Indian paleography and inscriptions are more carefully studied. The Indian inscriptions are found to be of no high antiquity,[1] and are, therefore, of little avail in a question of this nature. Rather the indebtedness of Buddhism to Christianity for the doctrine of a genuine Trinity seems now to be established beyond reasonable question,[2] while the claims of the priority and great antiquity of the Zoroastrian or Maydyasan tenets, resembling the Christian teachings, have been proved to lack firm foundation.[3]

The monogram of Christ.

The monogram of the name of Christ appears frequently upon early Christian remains. It is found upon burial monuments, ancient lamps, glass vessels, gems, and coins

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[1] "There is not, however, a South Indian inscription which can be accepted as genuine with a date before the fifth century of the Christian era, though one or two (without dates) exist which may be safely attributed to the fourth century A. D." A. C. Burnell: *Elements of South Indian Paleography from the Fourth to the Seventeenth Century A. D.*, 2d ed., London, 1878, p. 12.

[2] "We have been entertained occasionally by being told how our Christian religion owes such and such of its leading elements of faith to Buddhist, Brahmanical, or Zoroastrian teachings, but the progress of knowledge now enables us to turn the tables, and to prove that our antagonists were the real borrowers. The Buddhists have been credited with priority over our conception of the Trinity, but the earliest documents of their creed, dating in 250 B. C., or nearly three centuries after Nirvana of Buddha, neither suggest nor foreshadow any such combination; though we can well conceive how easily their missionaries may have caught the infection of the Aryan devotion to *threes*. . . . The Brahmans, in their turn, as has lately been discovered, appropriated without limit or scruple, but of course without acknowledgment, the ideas and the very expressions contained in the New Testament. . . . Some suspicion might possibly have been thrown upon the originality of our received versions; but the question of derivation has been comprehensively examined and determined in our favor by Dr. F. Lorinser, whose verdict had already been facilitated by the researches of other eminent Orientalists. Burnell: *Op. cit.*, pp. 27, 28. . . . We can no longer doubt, therefore, the possibility of the hypothesis that the composer of the Bhagovad-Gítá . . . used Christian ideas and expressions, and transferred sayings of Christ, related in the Gospels, to Krishna."—*Indian Antiquary*. October, 1873. See also among others, Lorinser: *Bhagovad-Gítá*, Breslau, 1869, Weber: *Indische Studien*, i, s. 400. Lassen: *Indische Alterthumskunde*, i, 623: iii, 398. Wheeler: *History of India*, i, 407. Kuenen: *Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, pp. 223–236.

[3] Among others who have established this statement may be mentioned Westergaard, Breal, and Oppert. The indebtedness of the East to the Greeks for astronomical principles has been shown by Biot: *Journal das Savants*, April, 1859; and Holtzman: *Ueber den Ursprung des indischen Thierkreises.*

The earnest comparative studies of the Indian scholars are yielding rich results, and correcting many errors into which some earlier writers have fallen.

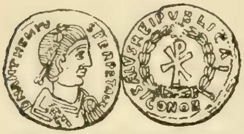

Fig. 16.—Monogram on coin of Anthemius, A.D. 467.

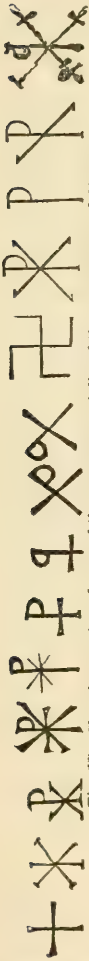

Fig. 17.—Showing various forms of the monogram of Christ.

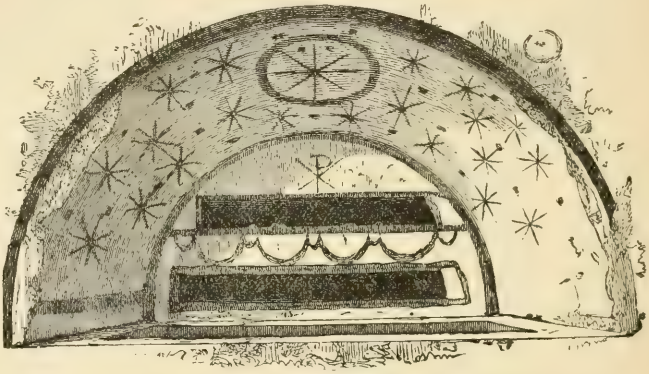

Fig. 18.—Monogram of Christ on an arcosolium of San Calisto, Rome.

(Fig. 16). The form of this monogram is various—sometimes very simple, at other times richly adorned with wreaths, palm branches, and gems (*v.* Fig. 17). It is not well settled at what time it first appears, but it seems probable that it was used before its adoption by Constantine I. as a sign upon the shields and standards of his army.[1] While the genuineness of some monuments cited in confirmation of this opinion may be questioned, still little doubt can reasonably be entertained respecting its use during the third century. Fig. 18 represents the earliest known example in the Catacomb of San Calisto. This monogram has been most noted from the fact that it largely displaced the eagle on the standards of Rome (*v.* Figs. 6 and 7). Like many other events in the life and reign of Constantine the Great, the cause and circumstances of its adoption are variously explained. Whether through a miraculous appearance of Christ, or a dream, or a vision near sunset, or through some other means,[2] the fact of the choice of this symbol cannot be doubted, since from this time it plays a most important part on the coins of the empire, and on the monuments of the Church.

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[1] *v.* Ludwig Jeep: *Zur Geschichte Constantins des Grossen.*

[2] Among the defenders of the miraculous appearance of Christ to Constantine are the older historians, and Guericke, Döllinger, Alzog, and J. H. Newman, among modern writers. For an optical illusion or natural phenomenon, with which may have been connected a prophetic dream, argue Augusti, Schroeckh, Mosheim, Neander, Gieseler, Niedner, Schaff, Stanley, Heinichen, Koelling, Mozley, and others. Arnold, Thomasius, Lardner, Gibbon, Waddington, and others regard it either as a fable or a pious fraud. This last view seems to be the least consistent with the authorities, with the character of Constantine, and with the events concededly flowing from this circumstance.

It has been universally conceded that these are the initial letters of the name of Christ,[1] and that the monogram is *prima facie* evidence of the Christian character of the monuments on which it appears. Other meanings must be shown by positive proof. There is no sufficient evidence that the Christians derived this from the *crux ansata* which was quite common among the Egyptians.

Its later significance.

After the wide use of the ☧ upon the shields and standards of the army and upon the coins of the empire, the Church attached to it a new and deeper significance. Henceforth the conquering, all-prevailing Name was prominent in their thought. Fig. 19 shows the ☧ associated with palm branches and the celebrated motto, IN SIGNO. The transition from the thought of humiliation and suffering to that of authority and power was but natural. The art of the Church reveals this change. The monogram appears surrounded with garlands (Fig. 20), and in places of honor and dominion. Now is noticed the beginning of that opinion respecting the person and office of Christ which afterward clothed him with the attributes of the severe and awe-inspiring Judge, and later furnished the conditions of the rapid growth of Mariolatry.

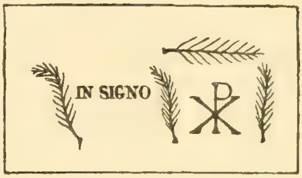

Fig. 19.—The Constantinian monogram, with palm branches and the legend, IN SIGNO.

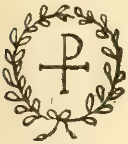

Fig. 20.—The monogram of Christ encircled by a wreath.

The legend of finding the true cross.

The tradition of the finding of the true cross by Helena, the mother of Constantine, rests on even less secure foundation than the vision of the cross by the emperor himself. While, however, the acceptance of the ☧ symbol by the empire was comparatively harmless, and even contributed to exalt the name and office of the Saviour, without danger of idolatry, the traditional discovery of the cross by Helena proved the occasion of most hurtful superstitions which fostered the worship of relics and suggested the religious pilgrimages of the following centuries. The relation of these pilgrimages to the Crusades has often been traced by historians.

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[1] The upright ☧ is the oldest and most frequently recurring form of this monogram.

The Tau or patibulary cross.

The Tau or patibulary (sometimes called Egyptian) cross is found in the catacomb of San Calisto, at Rome, probably as early as the third century.[1] In such cases it is not easy to discover the primary reference. By some it is regarded as chiefly representative of the idea prevalent among the Egyptians, namely, the source of life, and of hope of the world to come; to others (Didron, *et al.*), it seems to connect with events of the Hebrew history, as the sacrifice of Isaac, and the brazen serpent in the wilderness—thus becoming an Old Testament type; while still others insist that it is the deliberately chosen symbol of the person and propitiatory work of Christ.[2] Sometimes the form of the cross is met in the mosaics, richly jeweled, having the firmament, thickly strewn with stars, for a background, as in Fig. 21, which is from SS. Nazario e Celso, Ravenna.

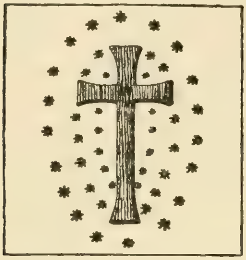
Fig. 21. — A jeweled cross from Ravenna.

A Ω monuments.

Alone, as well as frequently associated with the monogram of Christ and other Christian symbols, the A Ω symbol appears in Italy from about the middle of the fourth century, and in Gaul, in connection with dated inscriptions: from A. D. 377 to A. D. 547.[3] This manifestly refers to Rev. i, 8, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is and which was and which is to come, the Almighty." By comparing Isa. xliv, 6, with Rev. i, 17, 18, also xxii, 13, it appears that these letters refer to One who, being of like essence with God, stands at the beginning as at the end of all being, who rules all development, who is the centre and goal of human history, and who is Lord of the Church: "Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever" (Heb. xiii, 8).

The monuments upon which these letters appear are quite numerous; from their associations they aid in the interpretation of symbols that were otherwise obscure.[4] Connected with the monogram enclosed in a circle (Fig. 22), the A Ω suggests the eternity of the person thus symbolized. When associated with the ⳨ within the equilateral triangle (Fig. 23), it awakens in some the thought of the Trinity. When found on burial monuments with the Constantinian monogram, the doves, and the olive branches (Fig. 24), the victory and present fruition of the departed through Him who is the beginning and the end, the resurrection and the life, are significantly suggested.[1] The presumption is strong that all monuments on which it is found are of Christian origin, and the reference to the person and nature of Christ is unquestioned.

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[1] *v.* de Rossi: *Bullett. Arch. crist.*, 1863.

[2] The cross and the fish are found on early Christian monuments in Scotland. From its peculiar associations, the latter is believed to have been an object of worship. *v.* Forbes Leslie: *The Early Races of Scotland and their Monuments.* Edinburgh, 2 vols., 1876.

[3] At Rome from A. D. 355 or 360 to 509; in Gaul from A. D. 377 to 547. De Rossi: *Inscr. christ. Rom.*, Nos. 127, 143, 491. Boeckh: *Inscr. Cor. Græc.*, Nos. 412, 55. Le Blant: *Manuel d' Epigr. chrét.*, p. 29.

[4] Dr. Nikolaus Müller: A Ω. Herzog und Plitt, *Real-Ency. für Prot. Theologie.* 3d edition. 1897.

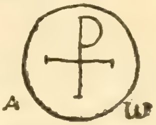

Fig. 22.—The A Ω with monogram in circle.

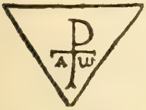

Fig. 23.—Monogram and A Ω in triangle.

The vine.

The Church was not slow to adopt the beautiful symbol of the vine. This was so manifestly sanctioned by the words of Christ himself (John xv, 1–8) that the most iconoclastic spirit could take no offence at its use. The lessons which it conveyed were so vital and precious that its place among the wall decorations of the oldest catacombs at Rome seems eminently fitting. To distinguish the symbolic from the merely decorative use is not always easy; yet that the early Christians regarded the vigorous vine, whose branches were laden with luscious fruit, as symbolic of the Saviour and of the disciples who abide in him cannot once be doubted.[2]

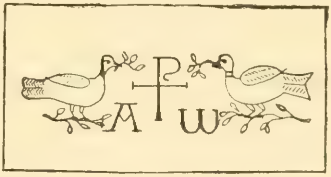

Fig. 24.—A Ω with doves and monogram. From a burial monument.

This symbol need not have been borrowed.

Nor should too much stress be laid upon the fact that very similar scenes are depicted upon heathen monuments, where the manifest reference is to Bacchus and his worship. This similarity of representation cannot safely be regarded as proof that a like truth was designed to be thus symbolized; much less can the derivation of the Christian symbol from the pagan mythology be hence inferred. So common was it among ancient peoples to represent life, joy, and abundance under the symbol of the vine and its products that each may reasonably be regarded as an independent origination, and its teaching distinctive.[1]

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[1] A class of archæologists denies all symbolical character to the circle, the triangle, the doves, and the olive branches in this class of monuments, and regards them as simply decorative. While this view seems at times the most natural and just, in some instances it is difficult to harmonize it with all the attendant conditions.

[2] For illustrations, see Figures 1, 2, which are chiefly decorative, yet whose association with numerous religious subjects might also suggest a symbolic character.

The Good Shepherd.

The beautiful symbol of the Good Shepherd is among the earliest and most frequent of the entire Christian cycle. Like the vine, it had the sanction of Christ himself (John x, 11, 19), and was, therefore, the source of little apprehension to the Christian fathers in their efforts to guard the early Church against the idolatrous tendencies of much of the heathen plastic art.

Heathen counterpart.

The opinion held by some archæologists, that Christianity had no creative art power, but borrowed every thing from the heathen world,[2] would regard this symbol as immediately suggested by like representations on pagan monuments. That the ram-bearing Mercury[3] has some general resemblance to the Good Shepherd of the Christian cycle has often been remarked. Also a satyr bearing a goat or sheep upon his shoulders suggests a similar office work. The frescos of Herculaneum, and some burial monuments, clearly of heathen origin, in which the seasons are depicted, contain like representations. Nor need this be regarded as at all surprising when it is remembered what a prominent place the sheep and the shepherd held in the thought of ancient peoples. To each the shepherd's care for the flock would be the most readily suggested symbol of tenderest solicitude and secure protection. The Hebrew Scriptures abound in references to the shepherd and his flock (Psa. xxiii; Isa. xl; Jer. xxiii; Ezek. xxxiv, *et al.*). To a pastoral people, acquainted with the dangers incident to this mode of life, the thought of the shepherd, to guide and defend, must have been among the most natural and precious. While, therefore, it is true that very similar representations of the relation of the shepherd to the sheep are common to both

Common to ancient peoples.

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[1] Some writers on comparative religion and comparative mythology would erroneously teach that because of great similarity in the beliefs or myths of two different peoples, therefore the one must be a derivation from the other, or both must root in some more ancient belief; whereas, each may be entirely independent of the other, and may be indicative of a like stage of spiritual or religious development. "I hardly suppose that the most ardent hunters after histories which tell of the loves of the sun and the dawn would maintain that it was from the observation of the sun and the dawn that mankind first gained its idea of two lovers." Keary: *Outlines of Primitive Belief*, Preface, x.

[2] Very emphatically, Raoul-Rochette: *Discours sur les types imitatifs qui constituent l'art du Christianisme.* Paris, 1834. *Tableau des Catacombes.* Paris, 1837. *Trois Mémoirs sur les antiquites chrétiennes.* Paris, 1839.

[3] The epithet, Kriophorus, was applied to Hermes from his driving away a pestilence from the town of Tanagra, in Bœotia, by carrying a ram on his shoulders round the walls. He is to be regarded, therefore, as the guardian against pestilence rather than as the god of herds. *v.* C. J. Hemans: in *Academy*, 1872, p. 147.

The Christian symbol not necessarily derived.

Needed caution.

Confirmatory evidence.

heathen and Christian monuments, it would be illogical to infer that the heathen symbol was the original, and the Christian the imitation. It is manifest that the Christian Church used the art forms which were at hand; nevertheless it would be misleading thence to conclude that the motive or spirit of the Christian monuments was like to or derived from the prevalent heathen thought or mythology. At times the teaching is directly contradictory of Christian thought. The student needs only to be cautioned against the hasty inference that all monumental representations of the relation of the shepherd to the sheep are necessarily of Christian origin and character. The sound principle here to be observed is that something more than the simple form is necessary; that some additional marks or confirmatory circumstances must aid in the classification. Fortunately such evidence is frequently at hand. The Good Shepherd monuments often bear other distinctive Christian symbols, as the fish, the ☧, the Α Ω, or these combined (*v.* Fig. 12), while in other cases the figure and the associated inscription are mutually helpful in the interpretation. In any case, to the early Church this figure of the Good Shepherd suggested all those beautiful and consolatory offices which Christ's own words so clearly taught (John x, 11–19). Hence it is not a figure of the Good Shepherd alone which is met, but this is sometimes accompanied with the badges of his office, the staff, the shepherd's pipe, etc. (*v.* Fig. 38). While it is easy to become bewildered by a wild and extravagant interpretation of these various accessories, the teaching of the central figure is manifest to every looker-on.[1]

Other symbols.

Other symbols of Christ and his work are occasionally met on the monuments, as Orpheus, noticed elsewhere; the lion, which was usually understood as a symbol of power and might; and the fisher, who takes into the net of his kingdom the fishes that are purified in the waters of baptism.

§ 3. *The disciples and the Church.*

The dove.

The followers of Christ, whose representations have here been traced, delighted to use a like symbolism to express their own relations to Him, "the way, the truth, and the life," as well as their associations with each other in the fellowship of love and faith. The dove is among the most frequent

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[1] In *Étude sur l'histoire des sarcophages chrétiens* (Paris, 1885), Grousset gives more than forty examples of the Good Shepherd found on the one hundred and ninety-five sarcophagi in Rome outside of the Lateran Museum, which he describes.

Christian symbols; it is of especial significance when found upon burial monuments. It usually expresses the innocence and purity of the persons thus commemorated. "Harmless as doves" may have been in the mind of those who laid away the faithful with the sweet expectation that their Lord would very soon awaken them from their temporary slumber to enter upon the fruitions of his own kingdom. Here, too, caution is necessary to distinguish between symbolism and simple decoration. Doubtless some of the figures of the dove, and certainly those of other birds, are used upon Christian monuments as mere aids to ornamentation, and as subjects to complete the artistic balancing of a picture (see Fig. 30). When the dove bears in the beak a palm or olive branch, it may justly be regarded as a symbol of overcoming victory, and expectation of eternal life (Fig. 24). Examples of this are numerous, and it is generally agreed that they are of deep doctrinal significance. At Rome, they do not appear before the last half of the third century, and disappear, for the most part, after the first quarter of the sixth. In Gaul this symbol, as most others, does not appear until nearly a century later, and continues a century longer than in Rome.[1]

The fish.

The fish, which we have shown to be of deepest import when applied to Christ, is also used to represent his disciples. Probably, as suggested by Tertullian,[2] the water and rite of baptism were prominently in their thought, while secondary reference may have been had to the parable of the net, or to the command of Christ to Peter and Andrew—"Follow me and I will make you fishers of men" (Matt. iv, 18, 19).

The sheep and lambs.

Corresponding to the symbol of the Good Shepherd is that of the sheep or lambs, representing Christ's disciples. It is sometimes found on the mural paintings of the catacombs, and quite frequently on Christian sarcophagi and in mosaics. They are sometimes cared for by the Good Shepherd, who leads them into green pastures, sometimes they are grouped around him in the attitude of earnest attention to hear the Master's teaching. In the mosaics the twelve apostles sometimes appear under the symbol of sheep, who stand six on either side of the Saviour to "hear his voice" (Fig. 43). Occasionally the hart, drinking of the living waters, takes the place of the sheep in the symbolic representation of the disciples, probably with reference to Psa. xlii, 1.

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[1] De Rossi: *Inscript. christ. Rom.*, t. i, Nos. 10, 923, 991. Le Blant: *Inscript. chrét. de la Gaule*, Nos. 7, 561.

[2] *de bapt.*, c. 1.

On several monuments the Church is found symbolized by a ship under full sail. On the sail sometimes appears a second symbol, as the dove, which seems to teach that in the perilous voyage of life the ship of the Church, under the care of its heavenly Pilot, affords the only secure refuge. Also in several instances a rude box represents the ark of Noah, from which the dove goes forth on the waste of waters, or is returning bearing the olive branch in its beak. This was a favorite symbol, to which the Christian fathers refer to teach in most impressive way the saving power of the Church.[1]

The ship.

§ 4. *Other symbols.*

The anchor.

Of the many other symbols we have space to refer to but few. The anchor is often found upon coins and gems, sometimes associated with the ☧, at other times in connection with the fish, the Good Shepherd, etc. (Fig. 12). Its primary reference is probably to Heb. vi, 19, 20; sometimes the meaning is very obscure.

The palm tree and the palm branch.

The palm tree and the palm branch are also of frequent occurrence on the burial monuments, on lamps, on glasses, on gems, and in the mosaics. These were also common to pagan monuments, and were not unfamiliar to the Jews. In the use of this symbol upon the burial monuments of Christians the primary reference seems to be to Rev. vii, 9, and plainly indicates that the deceased has triumphed over death and the grave through faith in Him who declared himself "the Resurrection and the Life" (John xi, 2).

The crown, lyre, peacock, phenix, and serpent.

Of like import is the crown, which is of less frequent occurrence. The lyre is usually the symbol of praise or of abundant rejoicing. The peacock sometimes symbolizes immortality, in like manner as does the phenix the resurrection and the life eternal. The serpent is also met on Christian monuments. It may be connected with representations of our first parents as a tempter to sin ; or with the brazen serpent in the wilderness ; or occasionally it seems to be used as a symbol of wise spiritual discernment. The latter is especially true of some gems of the Gnostic sects. We shall examine in another connection the cycle of Old Testamant scenes, events from the history of Moses, Jonah, Daniel, the three Hebrew worthies, etc., which were regarded as types or prophecies of events under the new dispensation.

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[1] Tertullian: *de baptismo*, cc. 8, 12. Cyprian: *Epistolæ*, Nos. 69, 74. Justin Martyr: *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, c. 138.

The caricatures of Christian doctrine.

Occasionally are met what have been regarded as caricatures of the Christian religion. Their fewness, and the lack of aid to their interpretation in the contemporary literature, cause uncertainty with respect to their significance. One of the most interesting is the *graffito* discovered in 1856 amid the ruins of the palace of the Cæsars, on the southwest slope of the Palatine Hill.[1] It was one of many graffiti scratched upon the walls of a number of rooms that had been excavated in this part of the Palatine. Becker's conclusion is that this one originated in the second quarter of the second century, through the playfulness of some pagan scholar in the imperial Pedagogium. Fig. 25 shows the rudeness of the drawing and the barbarousness of the Greek inscription. The usual deciphering of the characters is ΑΛΕΞΑΜΕΝΟC CEBETE (*σέβεται*) ΘΕΟΝ, and the translation has been suggested, "Alexamenus worships (his) God." Careful comparative study has made it probable that this was scratched on the wall of a school-room by a heathen pupil to caricature the god to whom his Christian fellow pupil was offering worship. In opposition to Becker, Garrucci attributes this work to the early part of the third century, for the reason (among others) that just at this time the Christians were charged with worshipping the head of an ass, as shown by the answer of Tertullian. In his *Apologeticus*[2] the recognition of the charge is clear and explicit, and his answer not less so. His attempt to account for this misunderstanding, from the heathen mind confounding the Jewish with the Christian religion, argues the prevalence of the calumny, and may account for the existence of the caricatures. On the other hand, however, it is very noteworthy that amidst all the strange syncretism prevalent in Rome during the first three Christian centuries no account is left of the worship of a god with the head of an ass, least of all of one who was crucified. Yet here is almost the oldest surviving representation of the most sacred and significant event in the life of Christ, the crucifixion, under an offensive caricature; thus showing that the description of the prophet was most appropriate: "he hath no form nor comeliness, and when we shall see him there is no beauty that we should desire him" (Isa. liii, 2).

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[1] For discussions of the chronology, location, and significance of this graffito, *v.* Garrucci: *Il Crocifisso graffito in casa dei Cesari* Roma. 1857. Becker: *Das Spott Crucifix der römischen Kaiserpaläste.* Breslau, 1866. Kraus: *Das Spott-Crucifix vom Palatin und ein neuendektes Graffito.* Freiburg, 1872. Also *v.* King: *The Gnostics and their Remains, Ancient and Modern*, p. 230. He says: "It represents the same jackal-headed man (Anubis), holding in front of him a Latin cross with his outstretched hands, and standing on a pedestal; in front his worshipper, who . . . has expressed the object of his handiwork by the inscription, 'Alexamenos adores his God:' in reality the work of some devout but illiterate Gnostic."

[2] l. i, c. xvi.

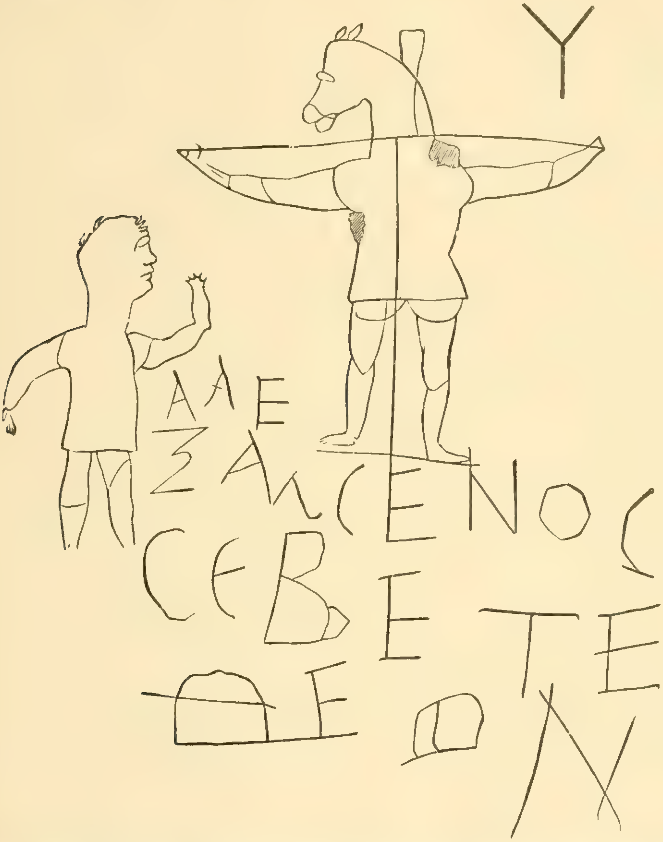

Fig. 25.—Caricature of Christ. A pagan graffito probably of the second century. Palace of the Cæsars, Rome.

Another example of the same style of caricature is seen in Fig. 26. This is the representation on an antique gem which was first published in the seventeenth century. An almost exact description of it is found in Tertullian's writings.[1] It is a figure clad in the Roman toga, in an erect position, but with the head of an ass. The fore leg is extended as in the attitude of teaching, while before it are two figures, one standing the other sitting, in the posture of attentive listeners.[2] Tertullian declares that under this representation was found the inscription—"Deus Christianorum ΟΝΟΚΟΙΗΤΗΣ." Many translations of this have been suggested, but some of the best lexicographers have preferred "an ass of a priest." A like mention of this charge against the Christians is met in Minucius Felix.[1] "The heathen attribute to them (the Christians) the folly of regarding the head of an ass a sacred thing." While resenting such folly and wickedness, in common with Tertullian, he makes the charge of like folly against the heathen, who have incorporated into their cultus things equally puerile and monstrous.

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[1] *Apologeticus*, c. xvi; *ad nationes*, l. i, c. xiv, and l. ii, c. xi.

[2] The genuineness of this gem has been questioned.

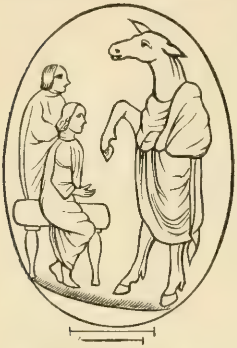

Fig.—26. From an antique gem. Supposed to be a caricature of the teaching Christ.

The copy of a coin apparently from the time of Alexander the Great (Fig. 27) contains another enigma which has not been satisfactorily solved. The head of Alexander on one side, and an ass with its foal on the other, are the strange figures here met. But the inscription, DN IHY XPS DEI FILIYS, is still more curious, and has divided the archæologists with respect to its reference and signification.[2]

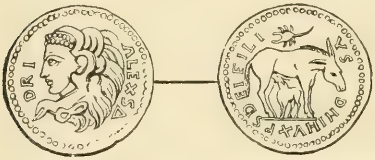

Fig. 27.—Coin of Alexander the Great, an ass and its foal.

This worship of the figure of an ass is obscure in its origin, and the cause of this misconception of the heathen of the third century, respecting the nature of the Christan religion, is not well understood. Nevertheless occasional references to this animal and its worship are met from time to time in the writings of the Christian fathers.

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[1] *Octavius*, cc. ix and xxviii.

[2] Northcote and Brownlow: *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. ii, pp. 351, 352. These authors suggest the translation, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God." May not this be another of the many examples of the syncretism of pagan and Christian thought?

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY CHRISTIAN PAINTINGS AND MOSAICS.

Earliest paintings in the catacombs.

THE earliest Christian paintings which have been preserved to our day were found in the Roman catacombs. Their chronology is still unsettled. While de Rossi (*v.* p. 29) finds sufficient reason to refer some of them to the first, or early part of the second century, Parker, Mommsen, and others (*v.* p. 30, note) believe that they are of later origin. The evidences of an early origin become more convincing as the comparative studies are more thorough and extensive. These paintings were at first chiefly decorative. They were designed to add to the cheerfulness of the subterranean rooms whose walls they adorn, which were sometimes places of assembly for Christians in times of persecution.[1]

Similarity of Christian to heathen painting.

On careful comparison of these with the contemporary frescos of heathen origin, a like artistic spirit is seen to be common to both. The ceilings in Santa Domitilla at Rome, and in the vestibule to the first catacomb of San Gennaro dei Poveri in Naples, are divided into harmoniously balanced parts, while some of the decorations can only with greatest care be distinguished from the heathen mural pictures of the same age (*v.* Fig. 28).[2] In each is manifested a like love of nature in representations of the seasons, scenes from reaping and from the vintage, dolphins, birds, flowers, etc. (*v.* Figs. 1, 2). The earliest Christian frescos are, however, generally wanting in architectural perspective, as this is seen in the Pompeian decorations, and are usually less artistic in technical execution.[3]

Probably the artisans in the catacombs were generally unskilled, nor did they attempt to execute these paintings with perfection of detail. The frescos were manifestly painted rapidly in broad, full line, since in dimly lighted subterranean rooms minute details could be of but slender utility. This may suggest a reason for the difference in the artistic character of the frescos of Christian and pagan origin, since the latter were used to adorn rooms where light was abundant, and where the festive character of many of the subjects demanded more careful handling. Painstaking study of models seems to have been seldom practiced, since it is hardly possible to suppose that in the early part of the second century the Church had a school of professionally trained artists. Nevertheless, the narrowness of the cycle of artistic subjects and their frequent repetition might secure readiness of execution, and a fair degree of ease and vigor of treatment.

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[1] Wilpert: *Die Katakomben Gemaelde und ihre alten Kopien.* Freiburg, 1891. These researches of Wilpert have for the first time strongly established how unsafe in many points is the artistic tradition concerning the catacomb pictures, and how, as in Garucci's *Corpus*, not to speak of other reproductions, remarkable errors have been transmitted.

[2] Schultze: *Die Katakomben*, etc., s. 12, and plate iv.

[3] Reber: *Hist. of Mediæval Art.* New York, 1887. pp. 73, 74.

The introduction of symbolism was of somewhat later date. Their more distinctively Christian character then first appears. The merely decorative and pleasing then assumes a deeper significance, the paintings become a means of religious teaching, and the mind is directed toward certain important doctrines. The figures, the dress, and the adornments do not widely differ from the prevailing pagan style. Notwithstanding this close alliance of Christian painting with the current heathen art, Christianity had, nevertheless, an entirely unique cycle of subject and thought. The spiritual depth and significance of its portraitures, as distinguished from the mere superficial beauty of the pagan art, justify the claims of Christian painting to a good degree of originality.

The cycle of Christian art peculiar.

The office work of Christ as Good Shepherd is sometimes revealed only by the accompanying flock, or a single sheep borne on the shepherd's shoulders,[1] or by the implements of his office, as the crook, the pails of milk, and the shepherd's pipes (Fig. 38). The costume is the ordinary Roman tunic and pallium, and the feet are generally clad in sandals. The same vigor characterizes other figures in the earliest mural paintings of the catacombs. Old Testament scenes, as the sacrifice of Isaac, the smiting of the rock by Moses, the loosing of his sandals in the presence the burning bush, etc., are treated with considerable force and naturalness, and some of the earlier ceiling frescos reveal a purpose of artistic balancing and harmony. It must not, however, be inferred from this that a corresponding balancing of the subjects of the pictorial teaching was intended. This would be an abuse of the symbolic principle. For example, in

An artistic balancing.

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[1] Fig. 27ª.

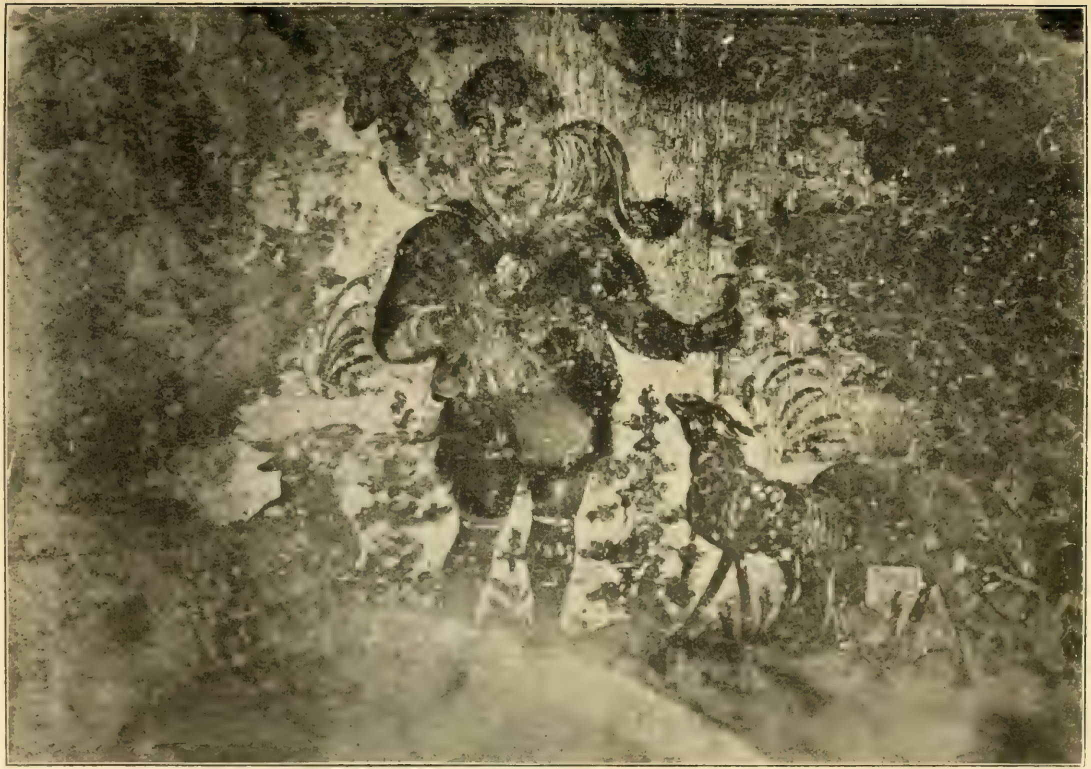

Fig. 27^{a}.- Fresco, The Good Shepherd. Catacomb of St. Nereus, Rome.

Fig. 28, the antithesis of Moses smiting the rock, and Christ raising Lazarus, cannot be regarded as type and antitype, since this would compel the use of too fanciful and far-fetched analogies. The same is true of Daniel in the den of lions, and David with the sling. Nor can we suppose that the artistically balanced pastoral scenes were designed to teach dogmatic or practical truths, well-understood by the initiated but unknown to others. This, too, were to carry the symbolic principle to an unwarranted extreme.

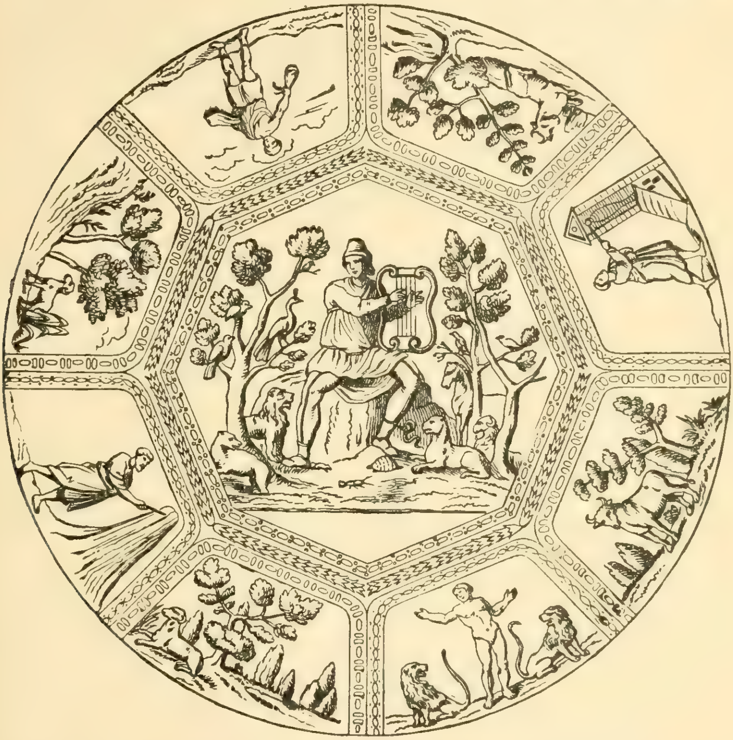

Fig. 28.—Fresco ceiling from Santa Domitilla, Rome. Orpheus in center.

Naturalness of Christian art.

While there is a general similarity of technical treatment to that of the contemporary heathen art, and the originality of the Christian handling, coming from juster and more inspiring views of nature, has been questioned,[1] these frescos, nevertheless, become invaluable indexes of the belief and life of the infant Church. They prove that the æsthetic feeling, common to all men, is struggling for expression amidst the adverse influences of the times, and that the new religion, so far from being hostile to art, is seeking to purify and inspire it by its own richer spiritual truths. They show that the early Christians were animated by a religion of cheerfulness and hopefulness. The objects in these mural decorations directly or symbolically represent persons, offices, or beliefs that are soul-sustaining. Nearly the whole Old Testament cycle—the history of Noah; Abraham offering Isaac, and God's interference to save by a substituted victim; the smiting of the rock by Moses; the preservation of the Hebrew children in the fiery furnace; Daniel in the den of lions; the history of Jonah—all these are of a character to support and inspire the faith of the early believers.[1]

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[1] Woltmann and Woermann: *History of Painting*, translated by Colvin, 1880, vol. i, pp. 163, 164. *Contra v.* Schnaase: *Geschichte d. bild. Künste*, 2d Auf., iii, ss. 102, *sq.* "Christianity first unlocked the sense for nature by teaching us to understand a creation groaning with us and by showing the connection of nature with ourselves and our own life." Uhlhorn: *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, Rev. ed., pp. 66–69.

Two types of Christ.

In the pictorial representations of Christ, two[2] general types are early met. The first is that of a beardless young man of considerable force and freshness, quite closely resembling the sculptures on heathen sarcophagi of the same date. This type is usually connected with the cycle of Christ's miraculous works, as the opening of the eyes of the blind, the healing of the paralytic, the raising of Lazarus (Fig. 29), etc. A like buoyancy of spirit is met in the paintings of Christ as the Good Shepherd. We have elsewhere (*v.* p. 61) noticed the relations of this figure to the rambearing Mercury of the heathen mythology. This type is usually without a beard, as in Fig. 30, in the multiplication of the loaves and the raising of Lazarus in the encircling lunettes.

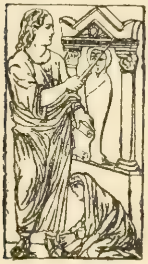
Fig. 29.—Christ raising Lazarus. Fresco.

The second type, though somewhat more severe, is still youthful, but bearded and with long flowing hair. It is rarely, if ever, found in the mural paintings of the catacombs, but appears later upon the gilded glasses.

In both these types the influence of heathen thought is manifest, since the quite prevalent opinion respecting the Saviour, which was held by some of the Christian fathers, as derived from Isa. lii, 23, is here dominated by the heathen idea that the gods must be conceived of as endowed with vigor and beauty. The Greek believed that only the ethically good should be in the image of the gods; contrariwise, that the highest physical perfection was appropriate in sensuous representation of the divine. To his apprehension virtue and beauty, vice and ugliness, were in indissoluble union. The beautiful was the good, and deformity was felt to be a consequence of evil. It was therefore necessary that the most worthy embodiment of the divine should be in perfect and beautiful forms. Unlike the gods of the Indians and the Egyptians, with which much of the grotesque and ugly was often connected, those gods of the Greeks, conceived of as free from moral imperfections, were represented by images of truest nobility and beauty, and wanting in every trace of sorrow and weakness.[1]

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[1] *v.* Fig. 30, in which most of these scenes, together with the healing of the paralytic, the multiplication of the loaves, and the resurrection of Lazarus, are grouped about the Good Shepherd.

[2] A third, found in the mosaics of the post-Constantine period, is elsewhere noticed.

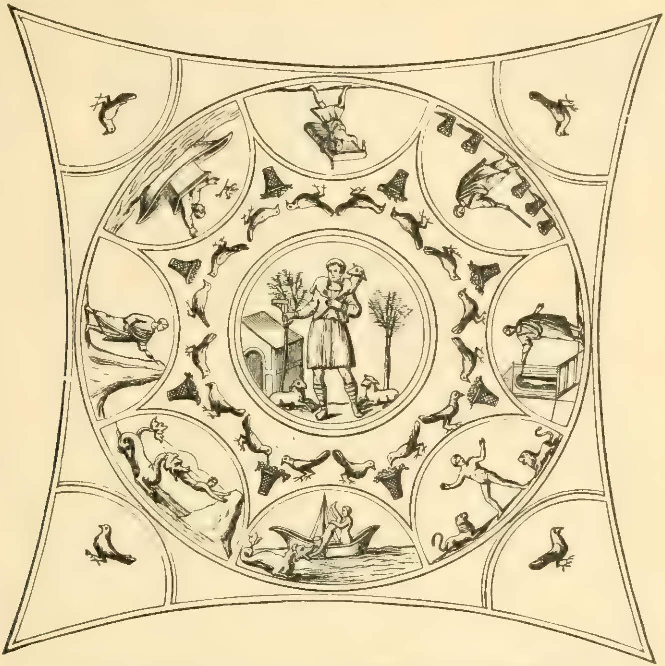

Fig. 30.—Fresco from the ceiling of a chamber in San Calisto, Rome.

But this type of Christ underwent a remarkable transformation. Fig. 31 is the representation of a fresco bust discovered by Bosio in the catacomb of San Ponziano, at Rome. This is a wide departure from the type found in the earlier frescos. The form of the cross, the richly jeweled

The later frescos depart from the earlier types.

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[1] *v.* Alt: *Die Heiligenbilder,* etc., pp. 4–7.

corona, the more grave and mature cast of countenance, the peculiar curve of the eyebrows, are positive proofs of a new era of art. A somewhat similar art type is seen in Fig. 32, which is from one of the catacombs of Naples. It is of the sixth century. The long, pointed beard, the elongated features, the countenance bearing an appearance of haggardness and of sorrow, are in directest contrast with the air of youthful vigor and cheerfulness that characterizes the frescos and bass-reliefs which represent the biblical cycle of Christ's works. The corona, the open book, and the hand raised in the manner of teaching, show that the conception of Christ has shifted from that of the benevolent wonder-worker to that of the severe, authoritative, and majestic teacher and ruler.

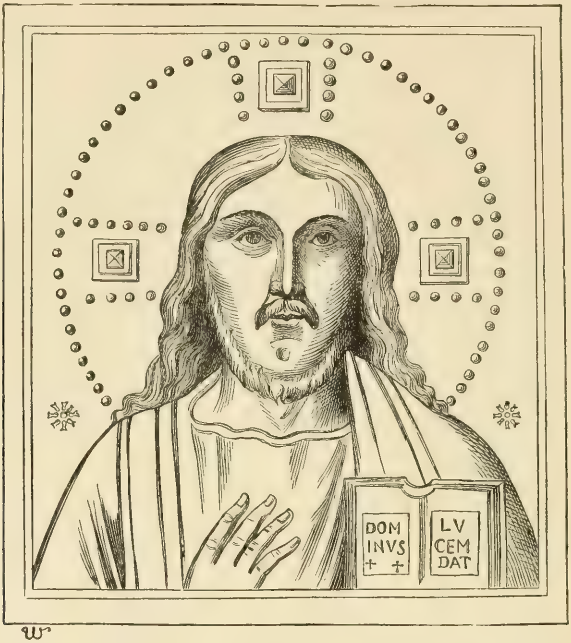

Fig. 31.—Bust of Christ from San Ponziano. Probably from ninth century.

The crypt of Santa Cecilia is among the most interesting in the immense cemetery of San Calisto. It is connected with the martyrdom of one of the most revered female saints of the early Church, and is rich in epigraphical and pictorial objects which aid in the understanding of some portions of her curious history. The pictures now preserved in this crypt are manifestly of a much later date than the original ornamentation, since there are unmistakable evidences that mosaics and slabs of porphyry have in some instances been removed.

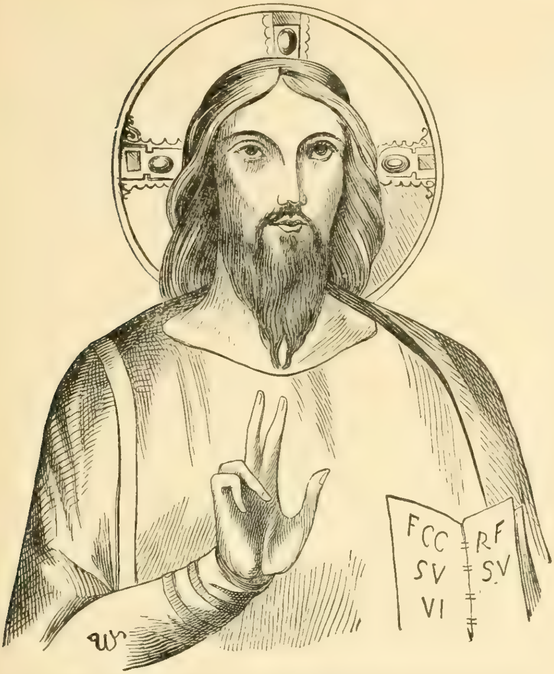

Fig. 32.—Bust of Christ from a cemetery of Naples. Probably of the sixth century.

In one of the burial niches is found a bust of Christ, represented by Fig. 33, which has been referred to the seventh century. The Greek nimbus, the hand in the position of blessing or of teaching, and the book held in the left hand, are symbols of authority. The whole expression and execution of the fresco suggest a distinctively Byzantine influence, and indicate that the art of the Church has fallen under the direction of ecclesiastics, and has lost the freedom and grace of the pictures produced under the influence of the classic spirit.

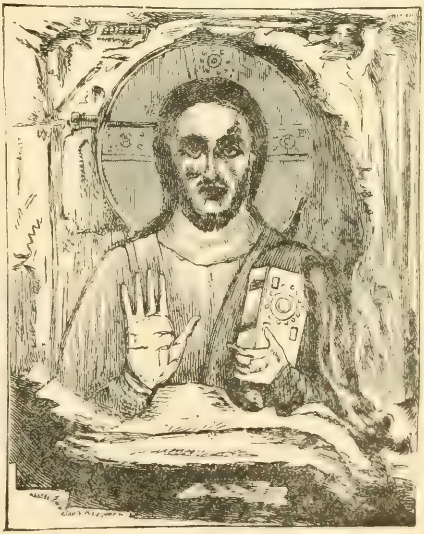

Fig. 33.—From the crypt Santa Cecilia, cemetery of San Calisto. Probably of seventh century.

The tendency to increased decoration, and to clothe the person of Christ with the insignia of authority, in contrast with the simplicity of the earlier frescos, is further seen in the accompanying representation of a mural painting found in the small suburban cemetery of Santa Generosa, near Rome (Fig. 34). It is believed to belong to the seventh or eighth century. Christ is here associated with saints, whose names are inscribed on the walls in the style of the later Byzantine pictures. He is clad in the customary tunic and *pallium*, whose drapery lacks grace and flexibility; his right hand is extended in the fashion of the teacher, or, as some discover in it, in the act of benediction after the Greek manner; in the left is held the book, highly ornamented with jewels. The entire picture indicates a later origin, and a wide departure from the youthful vigor and naïve simplicity of the earlier figures of Christ. The jeweled crowns, and the excessive ornamentation in the case of the female figure, are further evidences of art decadence.

While the fact is unquestioned, the reason of the transition from the youthful type of Christ, as it is met in the earlier frescos and sculpture, to the more severe and majestic type of the later representations is not manifest. A change so marked and general could not result from fortuitous or transient causes. Had the earlier type of Christ tallied with the conceptions of the later Church it would have continued.

It is not improbable that the Arian controversy left its impress upon the art representations of the Saviour in the fourth and following centuries. It is well known that interest in the nature and person of Christ was not limited to the theologians, but the question of his divinity was debated by all classes of the Roman world. The adoption of the Nicene and Constantinopolitan creeds must necessarily have greatly exalted the conception of the dignity and power of Christ. This personage, "the one Lord Jesus Christ, . . . Light of Light, very God of very God, . . . by whom all things were made, . . . who cometh to judge the quick and the dead," must find a representation in art which should correspond with this sublime conception. Evidently the earlier simpler forms of the Good Shepherd and of the benevolent Wonder-worker failed to express the thought which the creed had embodied. To develop a type which might more fully accord with the prevailing belief was but natural and necessary. Moreover, a victorious Church demanded that the elaborate mosaics which now adorned the apses and triumphal arches of the basilicas should impress upon the worshippers the truth of the accepted symbols. The dogmatic interest must have influenced the art development, and may have occasioned the introduction of the new type which is the representation of the mighty, the exalted, and superhuman Christ. This type became common in the imposing mosaics, in some of the frescos, and on some of the more prominent portions of the sarcophagi, while the earlier type was continued in the cycle of biblical history and in symbolic representations.

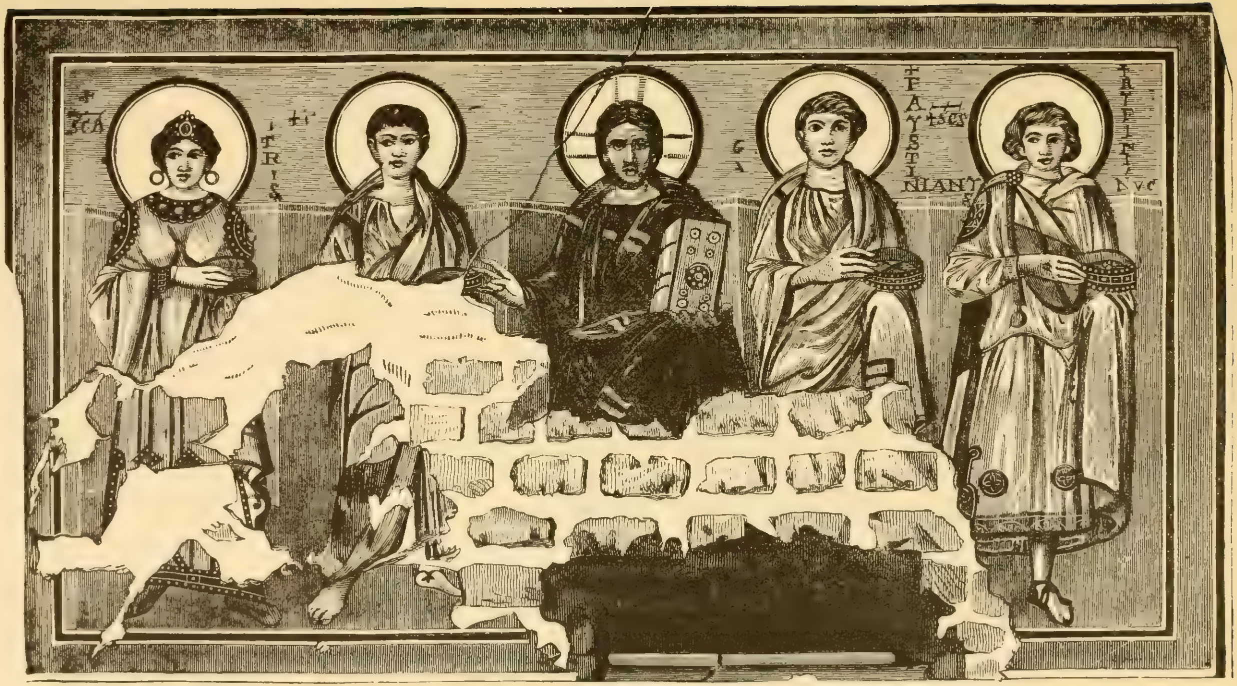

Fig. 34.—Fresco from the Cemetery Santa Generosa, near Rome. Christ with saints.

Orants.

Representations of men and women with uplifted hands, as in the act of prayer, technically called *Orants*, are often found. Various opinions are held as to their interpretation. That the portrait of the deceased is meant has some support from the fact that where the Orant occurs on sarcophagi it usually is placed where the medallion portrait of the dead is customary.[1]

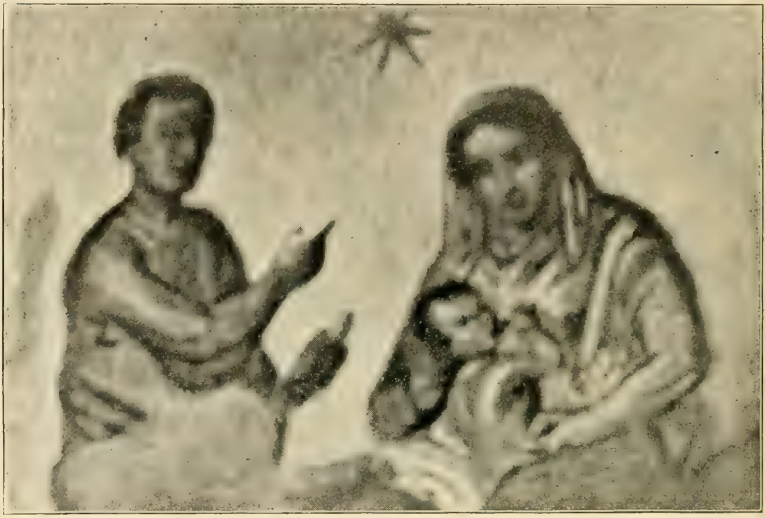

Fig. 35.—Virgin and star from Santa Priscilla, Rome.

No symbolical representation of the Virgin.

Representations of the Virgin are quite frequent.[2] Generally she is associated with the child Jesus, who sits upon her lap or is held in her arms. The Virgin is never, like her divine Son, represented symbolically.[3]

The Virgin with the star (Fig. 35) is probably the oldest fresco of this subject. It is found in the cemetery of Santa Priscilla, and is claimed by de Rossi to belong to the first century[1] or early part of the second. The most natural suggestion of the scene is that of the holy family. Joseph points to the star, which is the key to the subject of the fresco, and thus confines it to the cycle of biblical history. The more labored interpretation of de Rossi, that the male figure refers to one of the prophets of the old covenant (probably to Isaiah), who points forward to the Star of Bethlehem which was to indicate where the Virgin mother and the infant Jesus were to be found, seems unnecessary, and adds little to the value of the testimony of such paintings. In either interpretation the fresco would have a purely biblical character, and represent an historical event wholly void of the dogmatic significance which has been attributed to it by some Catholic commentators.

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[1] Wilpert: *Ein Cyclus der Christolog. Gemælde*, 1893. Schultze: *Archæologie der Alt Chr. Kunst*, p. 175. Heussner: *Die Bedeutung der Oranten in Alt-Chr. Kunst, Christlichen Kunstblatt*, 1893.

[2] De Rossi mentions more than twenty.

[3] Eckl: *Die Madonna als Gegenstand christlicher Kunstmalerei und Sculptur.* 1883, p. 3. On a few gilt glasses of a later origin she appears alone, and a single example of a marble found in Gaul, much defaced and of unknown date, bearing the inscription, MARIA VIRGO MINISTER DE TEMPLO GEROSOLA, has sometimes been referred to as showing her consecration to the temple service during her infancy. This opinion finds very slender monumental support—probably none earlier than the seventh century. See also Kraus: *Gesch. der Alt-Chr. Kunst.*

The Virgin and child from Santa Domitilla (Fig. 36), has been referred to the second half of the third century. There is evidence that it was originally a part of a representation of the "adoration of the magi," since faint traces of four of these magi are here seen, as in the fresco from SS. Pietro e Marcellino outlines of two only appear. The whole scene is simply biblical. It has a severity of artistic treatment suggesting a very early origin. The fresco in the cemetery of Santa Agnese (Fig. 37), on the Via Nomentana, belongs to the fourth or fifth century. It represents the Virgin Mary and the child Jesus.

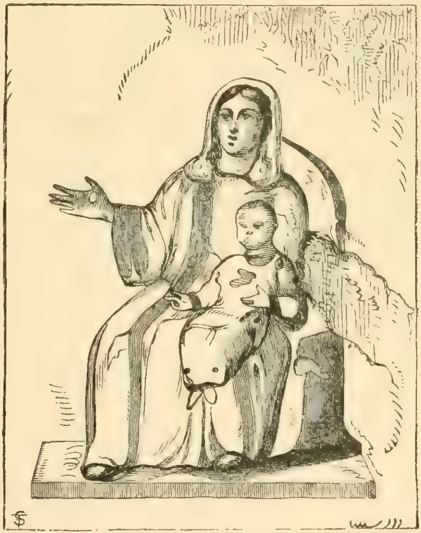

Fig. 36.—Virgin and child, from Santa Domitilla, Rome.

The Virgin extends the hands in the attitude of prayer, in harmony with the class of figures called *Orants.* Neither the Virgin nor child is encircled with the nimbus, but the sacred monogram clearly indicates[1] the subjects. This seems to be the first attempt to produce any thing like a portrait of Mary The growing taste for ornamentation is noticed in the jeweled necklace; the wide departure of the details of the figure from the noble simplicity of the earlier frescos points to a later origin, and plainly suggests a possible Byzantine influence.[2]

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[1] We give this and a few other photographs to convey to the uninitiated some idea of the real condition of these frescoes. Our plate is after a photograph by Roller. Late discoveries confirm the antiquity of this fresco, for in this cubiculum have been found inscriptions of a very early date; among them those of two *Ulpii*, a name common in the time of Trajan. *v.* de Rossi: *Bulletino di Arch. Christ.*, 1890.

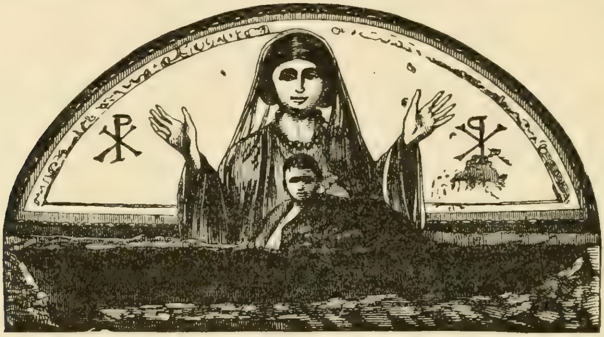
Fig. 37.—Virgin and child, from Santa Agnese, Rome.

From the close of the fourth century the artists who portray the Virgin and the child depart from the simple biblical story. The frescos, and especially the elaborate mosaics,[3] seem to be "little less than embodied creeds, reflecting from century to century the prevailing tone of opinion on the part of those of highest authority in the Church."[4] The simplicity of faith and the supporting trust and hope which characterized the Christians in the age of obscurity and persecution yielded to the pomp and splendor of a triumphing and protected Church.[5]

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[1] The circumstance that the P of the monogram points in both instances *toward* the figures is manifestly of no dogmatic importance. The claims of some Catholic writers, based on this seemingly accidental circumstance, must be regarded as unscientific.

[2] From the absence of the corona in case of both mother and child, and from the general style, de Rossi has been led to place this in the time of Constantine.

[3] These are described later in this chapter.

[4] Mariott: *The Testimony of the Catacombs*, etc., p. 34.

[5] "It was the truth of the Incarnation which they (the early Christians) embodied in their pictures of the Virgin mother and her holy Child. 'Christ crucified' they recalled, even in the emblematic letters inscribed beside him; Christ the Good Physician of body and soul, in their oft-repeated pictures of the healing of the sick, or the giving of sight to the blind: Christ the Bread from Heaven, in the miracle of the loaves; Christ the Prince of life, in the raising of Lazarus from the grave; Christ, the Star risen out of Jacob, and the Desire of all nations, in the star-led magi, laying their offering at his feet in Bethlehem; Christ, above all, in that form which to Christian hearts is the tenderest and most loving embodiment of their Lord, the Good Shepherd, bearing back upon his shoulders the lamb, that, but for him, had been lost." Mariott: *Op. cit*, p. 30.

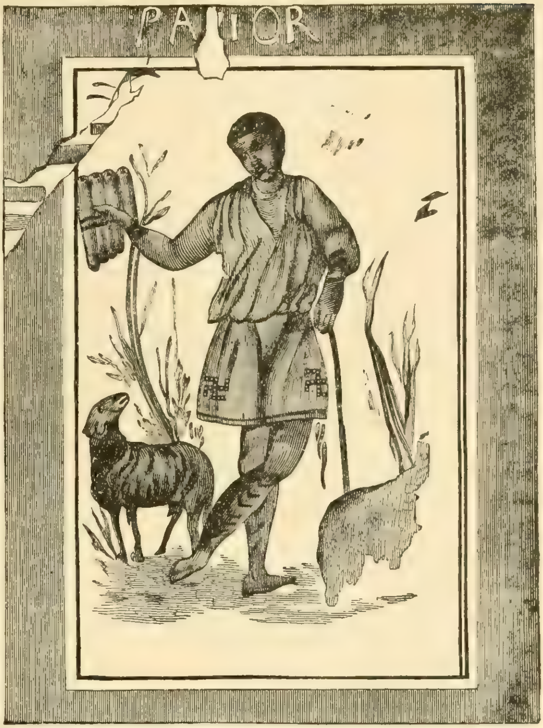

Fig. 38.—A Good Shepherd, from the cemetery of Santa Generosa.

A like transition in other subjects.

Fig. 38, a fresco of the Good Shepherd from the seventh century, shows a like decadence. The peculiar shepherd's pipes, the *crux gammata,* or swastika upon the tunic, the inscription "Pastor" above the head, are new elements which find no place in the simpler and nobler figures of the "Good Shepherd" from the earlier period of Christian painting.

So also in Fig. 39, which is a representation of Saint Cecilia, found in the crypt of Santa Cecilia in the catacomb of San Calisto. It gives evidence of having been painted over an earlier mosaic, some traces of which still remain. From the peculiar ornamentation, the richness of dress, etc., it seems justifiable to refer it to the seventh century, or to the very close of the period of which we propose to treat. It shares the general inferiority of the works of this century, and plainly reveals the subjection of art to the influence and authority of the Church.

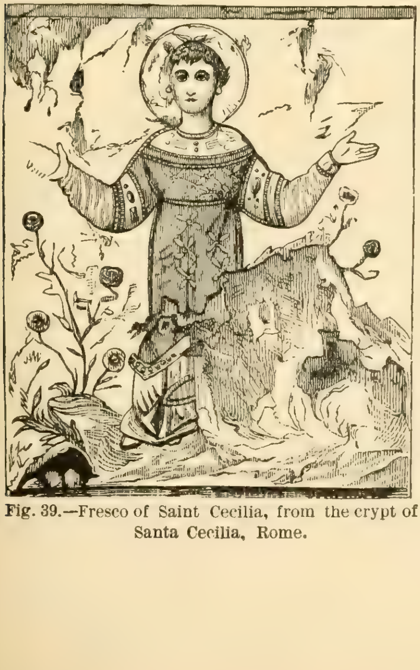

Fig. 39.—Fresco of Saint Cecilia, from the crypt of Santa Cecilia, Rome.

The simple vintage scenes undergo like transitions of style. Figs. 1 and 2 (*v.* pp. 57, 58) show the ease and grace of the treatment of these subjects as found in the early frescos of the catacombs. Nothing could be more completely natural than the arrangement of the vine in Fig. 1, while the action of the genii in Fig. 2 is most free and charming. When compared with Fig. 40 the change in treatment is manifest. "Nobody can fail to notice how widely they depart from the truth and beauty of nature, and with what arbitrary violence the branches are twisted into regular form, so as rapidly to degenerate into a mere decorative pattern."[1] Later still a further hardening of the lines and an artificial restraint are noticed, till in the mosaic decorations in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia (Fig. 41), at Ravenna, "Græco-Roman art has reached the Byzantine stage of high conventionality, still retaining great beauty."[2]

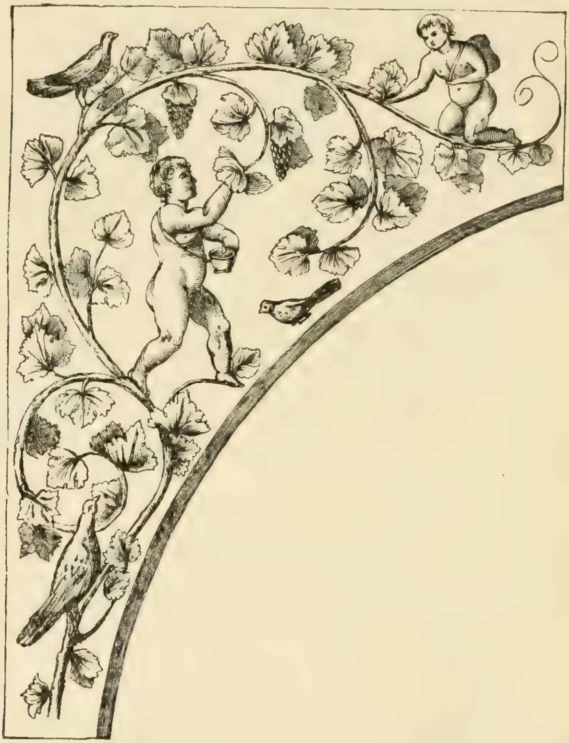

Fig. 40.—Vine ornament from San Calisto, Rome. Fourth century.

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[1] Northcote and Brownlow: *Roma Sotteranea*, vol. ii, p. 151. To these authors we are indebted for permission to use these and other plates.

[2] Tyrwhitt: *Christian Art Symbolism*, pp. 66, 67, and *The Art-Teaching of the Primitive Church*, p. 117, quoted by Northcote and Brownlow. It is difficult to see

Paintings on gilt glasses, or Pondi d'Oro.

From the fourth and fifth centuries a considerable number of ornamented gilt glasses which possess much artistic and dogmatic interest have been preserved. A few probably belong to the third and sixth centuries. They can hardly be regarded as paintings, but are rather drawings made by a sharp pointed instrument upon gold foil which was placed upon glass; this plate was then covered by another, and the whole fused together. These have been fully described by Garrucci and others.[1] Their cycle is not essentially different from that of the catacomb frescos, except that the representation of saints is somewhat more frequent, and the dogmatic element seems to be more prominent. On these the Virgin is found associated with Christ, with the apostles, Paul and Peter, and in a few instances of late date she is the solitary figure.[2] The frequent pictorial association of Peter and Paul is instructive in the examination of the art testimony to the dogma of the primacy of Peter (*v.* Plate I).

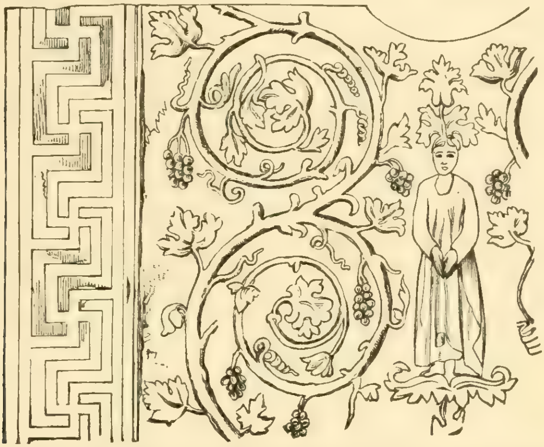

Fig. 41.—Mosaic vine ornament from dome of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna, A. D. 440.

Primacy of Peter.

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how these mosaics can with any propriety be described as "rich acanthus scroll-work." *v.* Venables: "Mosaics," in *Dict. of Chris. Antiquities*, p. 1330.

[1] *v.* especially *Vetri ornati di figure in oro travati nei cimiteri de' cristiani primitivi di Roma*, 4to, Roma, 1864, and his extensive work, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, etc., 6 vols., 4to. Prato, 1873, *seq.* Also, de Rossi: *Roma Sotterranea*, 3 vols., 4to. Roma, 1864, 1867, 1877. Roller: *Les Catacombes de Rome*, 2 vols, 4to. Paris, 1882.

[2] It has been questioned whether this name may not apply to some saintly person named Mary, rather than to the mother of Jesus; since the earlier Christian monuments seem not to introduce the Virgin in her individual and independent character, but the infant Jesus was the *raison d'être* for the representation of the mother.

With the exception of a very few of late origin there is in these gilded glasses no intimation of any preëminence of Peter over Paul. In some instances, where these apostles are associated with Christ on the same glass, Paul has the place of honor; in others, Peter is at the right hand of Christ; thus showing that the primacy of either would not once be suggested by the pictorial representations. Both wear the corona, as in Fig. 3 ; both are represented in like dress as youthful and beardless, as in Fig. 4 ; both are receiving a common crown, as in Fig. 5 ; both are seated upon like Roman chairs, and bear equally the rolls as a symbol of apostolic authority, as in Fig. 7 ; both alike are being crowned from above, as in Figs. 8, 9, 10. In these art representations there is no intimation of a superiority or primacy of any sort whatever. This is more noteworthy from the fact that these glasses belong to a period when the primacy of Peter had already been asserted. Their teaching, however, entirely accords with the general tradition of the joint agency of Peter and Paul in founding the Church of Rome. In Fig. 1 there is manifestly an attempt at portraiture. The bronzes, Figs. 1 and 2, have given rise to much discussion relative to their age and character. Many archæologists believe that in Fig. 1 are found the traditional characteristics of these chief apostles. Peter has a firmer, rounder head, thick curled hair, and a short matted beard ; Paul has more elongated features, thinner hair inclining to baldness, a longer yet more scanty beard. Amid the contrariety of opinions it is impossible to pronounce absolutely upon the age of bronze Fig. 1, or the person represented in Fig. 2. The artistic excellence of the work would suggest an early origin.[1]

The cycle of subjects uniform.

It is quite remarkable that in the cemeteries and churches of Italy, and in the art monuments of the first four centuries in other lands, the cycle of the subjects of painting, of sculpture, and of the glyptic arts is nearly uniform. The same symbols from the animal and vegetable kingdoms, the same biblical events, the same historical characters, are everywhere repeated. Some archæologists have accounted for this uniformity on the supposition that the Church had given its sanction to these as a means of expressing and perpetuating a common faith, and of teaching doctrines which were regarded as fundamental, thus guarding against the attempts of heretical teachers to divide the Church.

Outside the catacombs the number of surviving paintings of the first six centuries is very limited. From documentary evidence

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[1] While these bronzes properly belong to the department of plastic art or sculpture, it seems more convenient to refer to them here in connection with the gilded glasses containing like subjects.

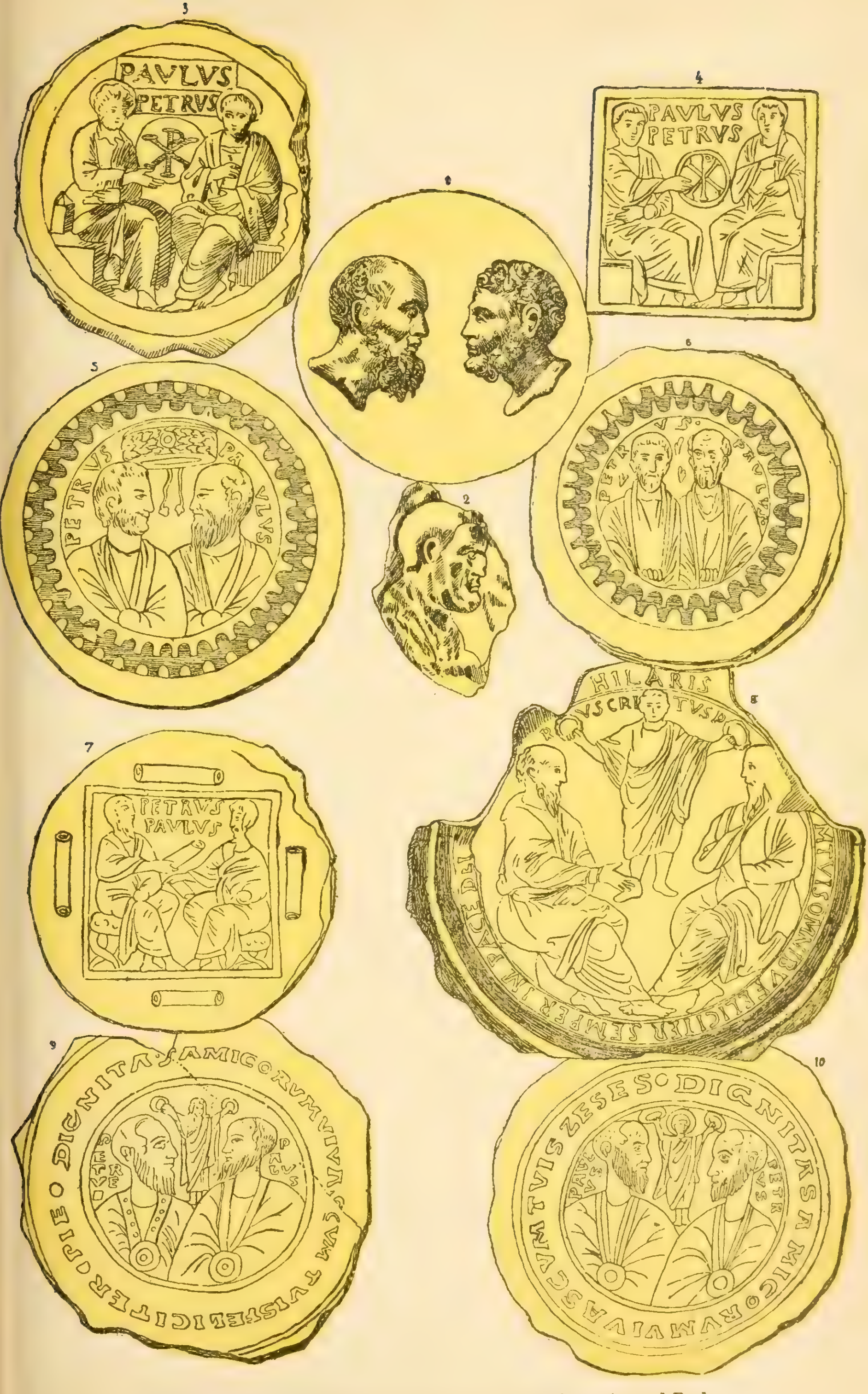
3
PAVLVS
PETRVS
4
PAVLVS
PETRVS
1
5
PETRVS PAVLVS
6
PETRVS PAVLVS
2
7
PETRVS
PAVLVS
8
HILARIS
VS CRISTVS
IN PACE DEI SEMPER FELICITER OMNIBVS TVIS
9
DIGNITAS AMICORVM VIVAS CVM TVIS FELICITER PIE
PETRVS
PAVLVS
10
DIGNITAS AMICORVM VIVAS CVM TVIS ZESES
PAVLVS
PETRVS

Plate I.—Gilded glasses and bronze busts, representing Peter and Paul.

we are justified in believing that the art influence of the Roman-Christian world extended far and wide in the countries of western and northern Europe which had been Christianized through the zealous labours of missionaries. We infer that painting was extensively used in the decoration of imposing churches in Gaul, along the banks of the Rhine, and in Spain. The style and subjects of such paintings were probably similar to those of Christian Rome, somewhat modified by influences peculiar to the barbarian peoples. Ireland, which was converted in the first half of the fifth century, and had developed its ecclesiastical life almost independently of Roman influence, was not wanting in attempts to ornament the churches with appropriate mural paintings. Of these none of an earlier date than the seventh century have survived.

Paintings still in existence.

A few illuminated manuscripts have been preserved to our time. The art of illumination common to the classic peoples was practised by the Christians from the fourth century, and reached its highest perfection in the Middle Ages. Such manuscripts were sometimes dedicated to persons of high official station, or were given by the wealthy to religious houses. This was probably one reason of their rich ornamentation. The purpose of the illumination was partly artistic and partly didactic. The beautiful illuminations of portions of the Scriptures, of Psalters, and of prayer-books which have come to us from the mediæval period suggest a similar practice of the Church from the fourth to the seventh century.

Miniatures and illuminations.

A fine example of illumination of Greek origin, believed to date from about the close of the fifth century, is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. This work comprises biblical characters and allegorical figures which are helpful in the interpretation of the text. "It contains twenty-four leaves illuminated on both sides, in most cases with pictures arranged in two rows on purple vellum. The execution is slight, almost superficial, but yet shows certainty of touch. We still find here a close observation of the life of men and animals; the figures show considerable power of bodily expression and movement; they are of sturdy build, for slenderness of proportion is not, as often supposed, the sign of Byzantine as distinguished from Western art, but rather of a later period as opposed to an earlier." [1]

Book of Genesis.

The religious books are generally more fully and carefully illustrated than the ancient treatises on science, or even the fragments of classic literature. The pictures are not of persons only, nor are they confined to the representation of historical events or places, but delineations of mental qualities, virtues and vices, protective powers, etc., are not infrequent. The borders of these manuscripts are often rich with ornamentation in which the harmony of proportions and colour is carefully studied.

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[1] Woltmann and Woermann: *History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 190. Labarte: *Histoire des Arts industriels*, etc., 2d ed., 1872. Plate 42 gives a colored reproduction of a single scene—the interview of Jacob with his sons.

Fragment of a Latin Bible.

The few leaves of a Latin Bible preserved in the Royal Library of Berlin belong to the sixth century. On these are found somewhat mutilated representations of the history of Saul. It is to be regretted that they have suffered so much, since their artistic excellence appears to have been exceptional.

Syrian Gospel-book.

The first pictorial crucifixion.

A Syrian Gospel-book, of the last quarter of the sixth century, is specially interesting for containing one of the earliest pictorial representations of the crucifixion. We have already seen that the early Christians avoided depicting the painful and more repellent scenes in the life and passion of Christ. Later, however, when the Church had secured complete recognition, and art had declined, these subjects were represented in all their literalness. In the border of this manuscript the crucified Lord appears fastened to a cross by four nails; on either side are the thieves, while below St. John, the Marys, and the soldiers casting lots for Christ's garments are pictured; in another part the resurrection, the Marys at the tomb addressed by the angel, and the Saviour appearing to the women are delineated. As might be expected, this provincial work, the manuscript of which was written in the convent of St. John at Zagba, in Mesopotamia, and the painting executed by Rabula, a monk, is quite inferior in execution to much that is preserved in the great centers of commerce and enlightenment.[1]

Most of the illuminations of the sixth century exhibit considerable artistic power, and give evidence of an attempt at art revival after the fearful destruction and decadence of the fifth century.

MOSAICS.

How classified.

A very interesting class of monuments, illustrating the thought and artistic power of the early Church, are the Christian mosaics. They can be classified neither with paintings nor with sculpture. They can hardly be ranked among the fine arts at all, since their production seems in some respects to depend more upon the mechanical than upon the artistic faculty. This consideration would lead us to classify the musivist among artisans rather than among artists. To what extent the musivist was also the creator of his design cannot now be known. Since, however, mosaic is a branch of pictorial art, or art on a surface including two dimensions, in which color effects are studied, it is most nearly allied to painting, and can best be studied as the historic successor of the frescos of the catacombs.

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[1] On this illuminated manuscript *v.* Garrucci: *Istoria*, etc., Plates 128–140, and Labarte, *Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 164, 165, Plate 44.

Nearest allied to painting.

With other arts the Christian Church inherited from the heathen world the mosaic also. Some of the most elaborate decorative works of antiquity were in this style. The Scriptures speak of pavements "of red, and blue, and white, and black marble in the palace of Ahasuerus" (Esther i, 6). The frequent mention of mosaics by Pliny, and the preservation of such beautiful examples as the "Bellerophon," the "Doves of the Capitoline Museum," the "Battle of Arbela," and the fountain pieces of Pompeii, show that this art had been carried to great perfection by pre-Christian peoples. The Romans recognised three kinds of mosaics: 1. The *opus tessellatum*, which consisted of small pieces of stone or bits of marble, arranged in regular geometric forms. This was the most ancient style. 2. The *opus vermiculatum*, which received its name from the fineness of the pieces of marble of which the work was composed. 3. The *opus sectile*, which was formed of plates of marbles of different colors, making thereby a decorated veneer.

Borrowed from antiquity.

The genuine Christian mosaic, that is, the use for decorative or didactic purposes of cubes of colored glass on walls or ceilings, instead of in pavements, is but very sparingly found in the catacombs. The few examples which still survive adhere quite closely in general style and subjects to the contemporaneous frescos. The Saviour seated between Peter and Paul, the raising of Lazarus, the healing of the paralytic, Daniel in the lions' den, a couple of medallion busts of a man and wife, the latter with arms outstretched in prayer in the general fashion of the *Orantes*, comprise nearly all the subjects treated in these mosaics. They are usually of inferior workmanship, and promise little for that wealth of ornamentation afterward met in the Constantinian and post-Constantinian churches.

Limited use in the catacombs.

An incidental benefit of the study of the mosaics from the fourth to the tenth century is the aid thus afforded in determining the age of the paintings in the catacombs themselves.[1] Little doubt can be entertained relative to the progressive ornamentation of subterranean burial places through the zeal and devotion of the popes. Careful study of the Church mosaics be-

Utility of the study.

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[1] de Jouy: *Les Mosaïques chrétiennes*, etc., Paris, 1857, p. 6.

tween A. D. 350 and A. D. 450 (the latter date marking the destruction attending the terrible irruption of Attila) shows three types: those of Santa Constantia, which are allied to classic art; those in the Chapel of Galla Placidia at Ravenna, whose Good Shepherd suggests immediately the primitive paintings of the catacombs, belong to the cycle of symbolic art; and the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome, which represent purely historical and biblical events. All belong to the old Roman rather than to the Byzantine school.[1] The latter school seems to have had complete sway from the middle of the fifth to the seventh century, except where the Lombard churches show a partial emancipation from its influence.

Their extensive use for decorative and dogmatic purposes, and their great durability, give to mosaics almost a first rank among archæological monuments. With regard to no other objects, however, are greater skill and caution needed to ensure correct results.

Caution against restorations.

Such is the nature of the materials, the permanence of the colors, and the ease with which insertions can be made, that experts may be deceived. It is probable that hardly an important mosaic has escaped attempts at restoration. Their evidential value may thus be seriously impaired. Only when there is some assurance that even the restorations are in the spirit of the original can these monuments be regarded as witnesses to the life and thought of their age.

Where found.

The location of mosaics is various in different churches and in the same church. They are more usually employed in the vaulted ceilings of the tribune, in the broad spaces on the face of the triumphal arch, on the spandrels of arches in the main nave, and on the entablatures. These positions place the pictures in the most favorable light for study. (See Plate I^{a}.)

Chronology.

The question of the chronology of these, as of other early Christian monuments, has greatly divided the opinion of archæologists. Rome is probably the site of the earliest and best preserved, unless we except the remarkable group in the dome of St. George in Thessalonica (modern Salonica).

St. George of Thessalonica.

If this church was dedicated by Constantine during his sojourn in that city in A. D. 323,[2] then its mosaics excel all

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[1] Tyrwhitt: *Art Teaching of the Primitive Church*, London, 1882, pp. 148, 149. For a tentative classification of mosaics, see *Am. Jour. Arch.*, June, 1888.

[2] Texier and Pullan: *Églises Byzantines*, plates xxxi–xxxiv. In this work the origin of the church is discussed at some length. Especial stress is laid upon the fact that the portraits in mosaic are all of those saints who lived before Constantine. The character of the symbols on the bricks of the pavement is regarded as of great

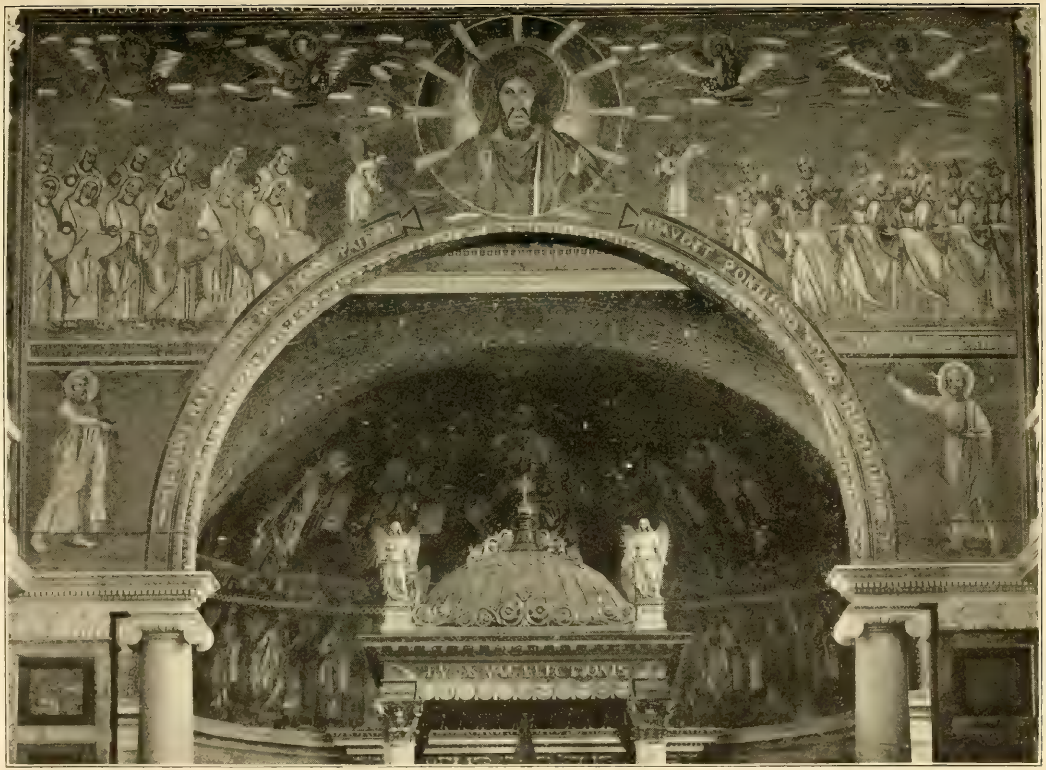

PLATE I^{n}.—St. Paul's without the walls, Rome.

other extra-catacombal ones in age, extent, and magnificence. Its dome (*v.* Fig. 106), two hundred and sixteen feet in circumference, is almost entirely covered with elaborate and imposing designs which have been estimated to contain more than 36,000,000 *tesseræ*, or small cubes of glass. The style of the decoration is somewhat like that on the walls of Pompeii, and immediately reminds the student of some of the early frescos of the catacombs. This circumstance would suggest an early origin.

Character of these mosaics.

The grouping of the figures is more easy and natural than in the later Byzantine art. There is manifest attention to perspective, while the variety of character and expression is indicative of artistic power and freedom. The cupola is divided into eight nearly equal compartments. The handling of subjects is generally uniform, though in some particulars there is striking variety. Each segment contains the representation of a building, evidently designed for Christian worship, wonderfully elaborated, decorated, and furnished with the paraphernalia for ritualistic service. In the foreground of each are two majestic figures, clad in the robes of the officiating clergy, with hands extended in the attitude of prayer or benediction. In the fashion of the Byzantine art the names of these are written upon the wall near the figure.[1] They refer to some of the noted men of the Eastern Church whose labors were effective in shaping its history and in formulating its doctrines.

Santa Constanza of Rome.

The only rival of St. George in the age of its mosaics is the circular Church, Santa Constanza of Rome. As elsewhere stated (*v.* Fig. 118), this building was erected by Constantine, and is therefore of the fourth century.[2] What was the original purpose of its erection, whether for a baptistery to the adjacent basilica of Santa Agnese, or as a burial place for the emperor's daughters, Constantia and Helena, may not be known. The style of some of its mosaics certainly indicates an early origin.

Its style.

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importance. *v.* pp. 133–135. Unger: *Ersch u. Gruber's Encyclopædia*, lxxxiv, 407, places these mosaics at a much later period. Woltmann and Woermann: *v. History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 198, note, share Unger's opinion. Bayet: *Recherches pour servir a l'histoire de la Peinture*, etc., *v.* p. 85 and note, inclines to place them between the age of Constantine and that of Justinian, but is in doubt. Kraus also accepts Unger's opinion.

[1] This is generally quoted in proof of a later origin, though not decisive.

[2] The age of these mosaics has likewise been a subject of controversy. Doubtless one reason of the widely different opinions is the failure to discriminate between the originals and the restorations. That some of the restorations belong to the seventh century is conceded, but that some portions reach back to about the middle of the fourth can hardly be doubted.

The rich decoration upon a white ground, representing the vintage, together with many figures of genii, birds, fruit, etc., liken it very strongly to the heathen art of the period. There is in it very little which is distinctively Christian. The space is divided into twelve sections or compartments, two of which extend into the form of an apse. The subjects seem to be arranged on the general principle of artistic balancing, somewhat after the style of some early frescoed ceilings of the catacombs. The mosaics of the dome have long since disappeared.[1]

Chapels in San Giovanni in Laterano.

Change in the subjects of mosaics in the churches.

A like classical spirit is noticed in the slight mosaic remains in two chapels of the Baptistery of San Giovanni in Laterano, at Rome. They belong to the latter part of the fifth century. While the opinion that they were part of the palace of Constantine has been questioned, they nevertheless bear the peculiar character of naturalism which associates them in the same class with Santa Constantia of Rome, and St. George of Thessalonica. But this richness of decoration soon passed away. The later mosaics are executed with a very different feeling. A more sober, didactic purpose seems to control the artists. Dr. Woltmann says: "This decorative style, with its playful symbolism, did not in the long run suit the seriousness of the Christian spirit. When St. Nilus (A. D. 450) was consulted about the decoration of a church he rejected, as childish and unworthy, the intended design of plants, birds, animals, and a number of crosses, and desired the interior to be adorned with pictures from the Old and New Testaments, with the same motive that Gregory II. expressed afterward in the following words: 'Painting is employed in churches for this reason, that those who are ignorant of the Scriptures may at least see on the walls what they are unable to read in the books.' From this time, accordingly, church pictures become no longer purely decorative; they serve for edification, for instruction, for devotion. With this object Christian art makes the great step from mere symbolic suggestion to real representation."[2]

Santa Pudenziana.

This statement finds happy illustration in the remarkable mosaic of Santa Pudenziana, on the Esquiline, in Rome. The work also shows the necessity of careful discrimination between originals and restorations. Labarte[1] believes that the apostles and female figures are from the close of the fourth century, but that the Christ, the symbols of the evangelists, and some other portions are of later origin.[2] Garrucci, Woltmann, and others refer this mosaic to Pope Siricius, who built the church in 390 A. D. It certainly marks a transition from the decorative style to the historic and didactic. In the center is a colossal figure of a bearded and nimbused Christ, seated in a richly jeweled chair and clad in flowing robes. He extends his right hand in the manner of blessing, while in his left is an open book. On his right and left are arranged the apostles, Peter and Paul being next to the Saviour. On the heads of the latter, female figures of great dignity, supposed to represent the Jewish and the Gentile Churches,[3] place wreaths of triumph. Behind the Christ is a richly jeweled cross, standing on a mountain apart by itself. Rising in the distance are architectural structures representing the two sacred cities, Bethlehem and Jerusalem, while above in the clouds float the symbols of the Evangelists. The whole work is of a most serious, yet artistic, character.

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[1] E. Müntz: *Notes sur les Mosaiques chrétiennes de l'Italie*, in the *Revue Archeologique*, 1875 and 1878, attempts to show that this cupola displays a composition entirely pagan in character. He claims that it represents a triumph of Bacchus, which is indicated by the accompanying satyrs, bachantes, tigers, etc. Possibly this may furnish a ground for the opinion that this church was originally a temple of Bacchus, as advocated by Ciampini (*v. De sacris ædificiis*), and by other more recent archæologists.

[2] *History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 167.

Description.

The transition from the style of Santa Constantia to that of Santa Pudenziana is most remarkable. That within a half century there should be presented so great a contrast in interior church decoration certainly suggests some exceptional cause. The classic character of nearly every part of this mosaic differs much from the art of the age of Constantine and of his immediate successors. Moreover the seriousness of the religious teaching embodied in it is noteworthy. The Christ seems to stand midway between the youthful, and for the most part impersonal, Christ of the catacombs and that severer and more gloomy type which is prominent in the later frescos and mosaics. Probably the art historians are correct in attributing this result mainly to the impulse given to art studies by the legal enactments of the emperors. The demand of the now established religion for churches not only of greater dimensions, but also of increased magnificence, was in itself a stimulus to art activity. There is also discovered in some of the mosaics of this period a tendency

Transition in style, and the cause.

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[1] *Arts industriels*, vol. ii, pp. 338–342, and 454, plate lvii. *v.* also Vitet: *Études sur l'Histoire de l'Art*, Paris, 1864, vol. i, pp. 18–39.

[2] Crowe and Cavacaselle: *History of Painting in Italy*, London, 1864, vol. i, pp. 12, 13, recognise numerous restorations in these figures.

[3] Garrucci: *Istoria*, etc. Woltmann and Woermann: *History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 167. Others see in these the representations of the sisters SS. Pudentiana and Presedes. *v.* Gerspach: *La Mosaïque*, p. 140; also Barbet de Jouy: *Les Mosaïques chrétiennes*, p. 49.

to return to classic models, and to subject the artist to the rules of the ancient school.[1]

Santa Sabina.

The mosaics of Santa Sabina at Rome belong to the fifth century. They consist of two female figures, one marked "*Ecclesia ex circumcisione*," or the church of the circumcision; the other "*Ecclesia ex gentibus*," or the church of the Gentiles; also of an inscription of seven verses, which gives the occasion of the origin of the mosaic, and contains a highly eulogistic notice of the artist.[2] The type of these is entirely Roman.

St. Paul beyond the walls.

The few remnants of the mosaics of San Paolo fuori le mura, on the Via Ostia, must also be referred to this century. The destruction of this interesting church by fire, in 1823, removed some of the most valuable Christian monuments of the fifth century which had anywhere survived. The few original mosaics upon the triumphal arch were prepared by the order of Galla Placidia, daughter of Theodosius.[3]

Santa Maria Maggiore.

The completest series of mosaics at Rome, dating from the fifth century, is in Santa Maria Maggiore, called also the Liberian Basilica. Their exceptionally artistic character has frequently been noted by critics. They seem to be entirely isolated from works before and after the period. The suggestion has been made that the artists formed these mosaics after the fashion of the classical bassreliefs, especially those of the columns of Trajan and of the Antonines, while their predecessors had taken the frescos of the baths as their models, and their successors were influenced by Greece or Byzantium.[4] The arch of the tribune, divided into three zones, is decorated with New Testament scenes. In the first are the Annunciation and the Presentation in the temple; in the second the Adoration of the Magi, and the Dispute of Jesus with the doctors

Description.

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[1] "Laws were enacted by Constantine (A. D. 334 and 337) to promote the training of architects, and to grant them specific exemptions, as well as to painters, sculptors, and workers in mosaic. In A. D. 375 the emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian promulgated an edict granting important privileges to professors of painting." Woltmann and Woermann: *History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 169.

[2] C. J. Hemans claims that of the whole mosaic composition in Santa Sabina only these two figures, representing the Jewish and Christian covenants, are original. *v. Academy*, 1874, p. 415.

[3] Barbet de Jouy: *Les Mosaïques chrétiennes*, etc., pp. 18, 19. Förster: *Unter Italien*, p. 276. Gerspach: *La Mosaïque*, pp. 47, 48. See Plate I^{a}.

[4] *v.* Edmund Venables: Article "Mosaics" in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. ii, p. 1327. Also Lord Lindsay: *History of Christian Art*, 2d edition, London, 1885, vol. i, p. 264; Vitet: *Études sur l'Histoire de l'Art*, Paris, 1864, vol. i, p. 241.

in the temple. In the first division of the third zone are found the Massacre of the Infants and all the accompanying circumstances and persons—as Herod, his guards who execute his orders, and a group of females who shield their little children in their arms. The second division is occupied by the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, made sacred by the birth and death of the Saviour. The mosaics which are arranged on the entablatures on either side of the main nave are given to the illustration of Old Testament history. By destruction and replacement, the original forty-two distinct pictures of the series have been reduced to twenty-seven. The first series begins in the upper left hand portion with the interview of Abraham with Melchizedec, and terminates with the history of Isaac and Jacob. On the right hand the series begins with the finding of Moses, and ends with the battle of Beth-horon. The treatment of the mosaics in the nave is far superior to that on the triumphal arch. Much animation and spirit characterize some of the figures. The presence of a classical freedom and excellence is manifest in many of the forms. Yet the strong biblical character of these mosaics indicates the introduction of a didactic principle into the decoration of the churches, in harmony with the teaching of the more influential Christian fathers.[1]

Their teaching.

Some of the most interesting mosaics of Ravenna must also be referred to this century. In no other city can this art be so consecutively studied in the monuments. They are well-preserved, and have suffered fewer changes from restoration. Moreover, they seem to have been arranged as an integral part of the architectural plan, rather than to serve the purposes of mere decoration. Nearly all of them, too, were constructed upon classical principles, free from that Byzantine influence which a little later so effectually repressed the naturalness of art expression.

Mosaics of Ravenna.

The earliest mosaics of Ravenna[2] are preserved in the baptistery

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[1] For a description see Bunsen: *Basiliken Roms*, Bd. iii, Th. 2, pp. 262, etc. For good views see Bunsen: plates ix, x; and Garrucci: *Istoria*, etc., plates ccxi–ccxxii. For art estimates see Vitet: *Histoire de l'art*, vol. i, pp. 241–243; Lord Lindsay: *Hist. of Christ. Art*, vol. i, p. 265. For a very full description of this church v. Valentini: *La patriacale basilica Liberiana*. This is one of four treatises on the four great basilicas of Rome, prepared and published under the auspices of the Roman Academy of Fine Arts.

[2] For the mosaics of Ravenna among others see *London Times*, Sept. 25, and Dec. 30, 1876. Gerspach: *La Mosaïque*. Richter: *Die Mosaiken Ravennas*, Wien, 1878. Quast: *Die alt-christlichen Bauwerke von Ravenna*, Berlin, 1842. Woltmann and Woermann: *Hist. of Painting*, vol. i. Texier and Pullan: *Les Églises Byzantines*. Labarte: *Histoire des arts industriels*, etc., vol. iv.

San Giovanni in fonte.

The apostles and the baptism of Christ.

of the church formerly called Ecclesia Ursiana, now San Giovanni in fonte; they date from A. D. 430. The building is octagonal, surmounted by a cupola. The spandrels of the lower tier of arches are enriched with eight noble figures of prophets upon a background of gold, and decorated with acanthus leaves and scroll work. The cupola is divided into two zones, the lower of which is ornamented with colonnaded churches, throned crosses, altars, chairs, tombs ; the upper contains the twelve apostles, who circle round the crowning scene, the baptism of Christ by John in Jordan. The action of the apostles, as they advance with jeweled crowns toward the figure of Christ, is spirited and in the style of the best classical work. The Baptist, a strong, half nude figure, pours water from a shell upon the head of the Saviour, who stands in the stream, while the descent of the Spirit in the shape of a dove ratifies the sacrament. The one incongruous element is the representation of the Jordan by a river-god, in true mythological style. This is a further illustration of the religious syncretism which was so widely prevalent. (See Fig. 132.)

Mausoleum of Galla Placidia.

St. Laurence.

Equally interesting, and even richer in mosaics, is the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, built in A. D. 440. It is a church in the form of a Latin cross, and is now known as SS. Nazario e Celso. It is impossible by mere description to give an adequate idea of the magnificence of this church. Nearly the entire interior, both walls and ceiling, is covered with mosaics of exceeding richness and high artistic excellence. They can be classified under neither the earlier nor later school, but have been justly regarded as representing a transition from the style of the earlier catacombs to that of genuine Byzantine art. Amid the multitude of interesting objects two figures especially arrest attention and challenge careful study. The first is in the chief lunette opposite to the entrance. It is that of a man of earnest mien striding rapidly along, his robe flying in the wind, bearing a cross upon his shoulder and an open book in his right hand. Before him is a burning grate; behind, a closet, where rolls supposed to represent the gospels are seen. The old reference of this to Christ now finds few defenders, since it is essentially different from all other delineations of our Lord known to art. The reference of it to St. Laurence and his martyrdom seems to be the most reasonable interpretation of the scene.[1] The second notable figure

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[1] Woltmann and Woermann: *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 174. Venables: Article "Mosaics" in *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.* Contra, Gerspach : *La Mosaïque*, p. 50, who regards it a picture of Christ. Also Quast: *Op. cit.*, pp. 14, 15.

The Good Shepherd.

of this church is that of the Good Shepherd, found in the arch over the entrance. He sits in the midst of a somewhat rugged landscape, clad in a golden tunic and purple mantle, holding in one hand a shepherd's staff which terminates in a cross, while the other is stretched across the breast to caress a lamb. The face is that of a young and beardless man, the hair is long and flowing, and the head encircled with the nimbus. The general mien is dignified, and the figure seems to express the personality, as well as to symbolize the office, of the Redeemer. The animals and plants are of inferior style, indicating little sympathy with a purely naturalistic treatment.[1] The mosaics of this church are exceedingly important in revealing the art tendencies and the character of the religious and dogmatic thought of the fifth century.

Other mosaics of the fifth century.

Some instructive mosaics are still preserved in the churches of San Lorenzo and San Ambrogio in Milan. The Christ in the chapel of San Aquilino (San Lorenzo) is of youthful appearance, beardless, and in some features suggests the type found in the earlier catacombs. There is an almost entire absence of Byzantine influence. The figures of Christ and the apostles are varied in expression and attitude, and the landscape is treated with unusual naturalness. The A. Ω. in the cruciform nimbus encircling the head of Christ leaves no doubt respecting the personage here represented.

The mosaics in the chapel of San Victor (San Ambrogio) are of a high order of merit. They have by some archæologists been assigned to the fifth century.[2] The treatment of the wreath encircling the head of San Victor is skilful, and the balancing of the parts by the figures of the evangelists is artistic and pleasing.

The beautiful chapel of the archbishop's palace in Ravenna, which still survives, has usually been ascribed to Bishop Peter Chrysologus. This view would regard it as a work of about the middle of the fifth century.[3] The interior arrangement is quite similar to that of SS. Nazario e Celso of the same period (*v.* Fig. 120).

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[1] Compare the representation of vine ornamentation in the dome-vaulting of this church, Fig. 41, with the frescos of Santa Domitilla, Figs. 1 and 2.

[2] The chronology of these mosaics has been a matter on which archæologists and historians of art have widely differed. Here, as in so many other cases, may not the failure to discriminate with sufficient care between the original parts and the restorations be one reason of this wide divergence of opinion? It is certainly very difficult to refer the entire work of these mosaics to the fifth century. Some portions point rather to the eight or ninth century.

[3] Schnaase: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iii, s. 206.

Under the dome of this chapel are mosaic medallions of Christ and six of the apostles, three on either side, and in the side arches on either side are like medallions of six male and six female saints. Fig. 42 represents the mosaic of Christ. The jeweled corona in the form of a Greek cross, the treatment of the hair, and the general facial expression are quite unique. Vigorous young manhood is here expressed, yet the cast of countenance is somewhat sedate; the drawing is accurate, the coloring appropriate. A somewhat striking red tints the cheeks, while a brilliant white sets off the eyes and higher lights. As a whole this mosaic scarcely conforms to any of the known types of Christ.[1]

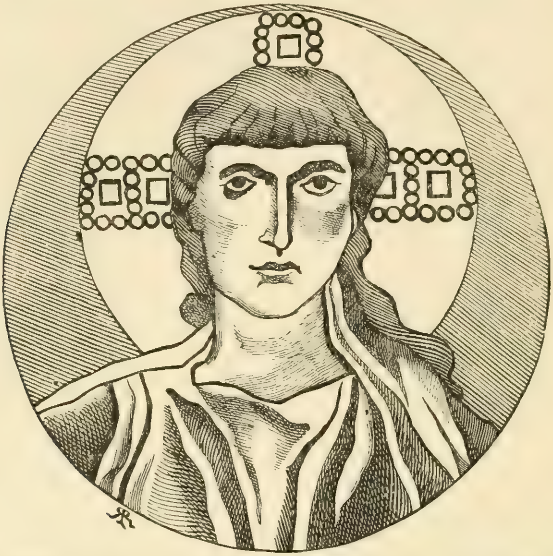

Fig. 42.—Mosaic of Christ in the archbishop's palace, Ravenna. Fifth or sixth century.

Mosaics of the sixth century.

After the destructive invasions and the political disruptions of the fifth century, art activity at Rome experienced a very considerable revival. More clearly than ever before the power of the Church in preserving the elements of civilization in the midst of threatened barbarism is seen. Of the mosaics of the sixth century we can refer only to some of the more important. Well preserved examples are found in Rome, Ravenna, Parenzo in Istria, and Constantinople.

SS. Cosmas and Damian.

The most important mosaic monuments of this century at Rome are preserved in the Church of SS. Cosmas e Damiano, which was built by Felix VI., A. D. 526–530 ; they are in the apse and triumphal arch. These represent three distinct scenes or conceptions. On the triumphal arch the apocalyptic vision of the Lamb amidst the seven churches is pictured. A lamb, surmounted by a cross, rests upon a jeweled altar, on either side of which are the golden candlesticks. Beyond these, right and left, are two angels, while still further toward each extreme are symbols of the Evangelists. The most elaborate and imposing work is in the apse (Fig. 43). The central figure here is Christ, who is represented as floating on fleecy clouds. He extends the right hand in benediction, while in the left he holds a roll—the symbol of authoritative teaching. The head is nimbused, the face bearded, the drapery rich and flowing, and the mien severely majestic. On the right (spectator's) of the main figure is Peter leading forward St. Cosmas, who bears a crown indicative of martyrdom; beyond is St. Theodore. On the left Paul in like manner is leading St. Damian, who also bears a martyr crown, while beyond is Felix, the founder of the Church. The extremities are occupied by palm trees, on one of which is perched the phœnix, symbol of immortality. In a narrow zone below, the third scene is depicted. A nimbused lamb stands upon a hill or mountain, from whose base flow four rivers marked by their names.[1] On either hand, pressing toward the central figure, are six lambs, representing the twelve apostles, while on the extremes the sacred cities Jerusalem and Bethlehem appear. The entire mosaic, in each of its three scenes, is full of naturalness and life, and is a remarkable example of the recuperative art power of the Church.

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[1] Schnaase: *l. c.*

The Christ.

The lower zone.

A class of mosaics of exceeding richness and value in Ravenna and Constantinople must be referred to the sixth century. The reign of Justinian was powerful in its influence on Church and State. The convenient codification of the civil law was only a single illustration of the painstaking care of this ruler for the varied interests of the empire. Among the best preserved and most instructive mosaics of the sixth century are those of the Church of San Apollinare Nuovo, in Ravenna.[2] The friezes on either side of the nave are occupied by triumphal processions of holy men and women. On the south side martyrs and confessors, chiefly of the Ravenna church, clad in white garments, press toward the tribune to present their crowns to Christ, who is enthroned, and attended by four angels. The figure of

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[1] These are not shown in the cut.

[2] *v.* d'Agincourt: *Architecture*, p. xvii, 17–22, who gives ground plan, section, and a few details of this church. Quast: *Die alt-christliche Bauwerke von Ravenna*, ss. 19, 20, Taf. vii. Garrucci: *Storia dell' art crist.*, iv, Tav. ccxlii–cclii. Richter: *Die Mosaiken von Ravenna*, 1878, s. 69.

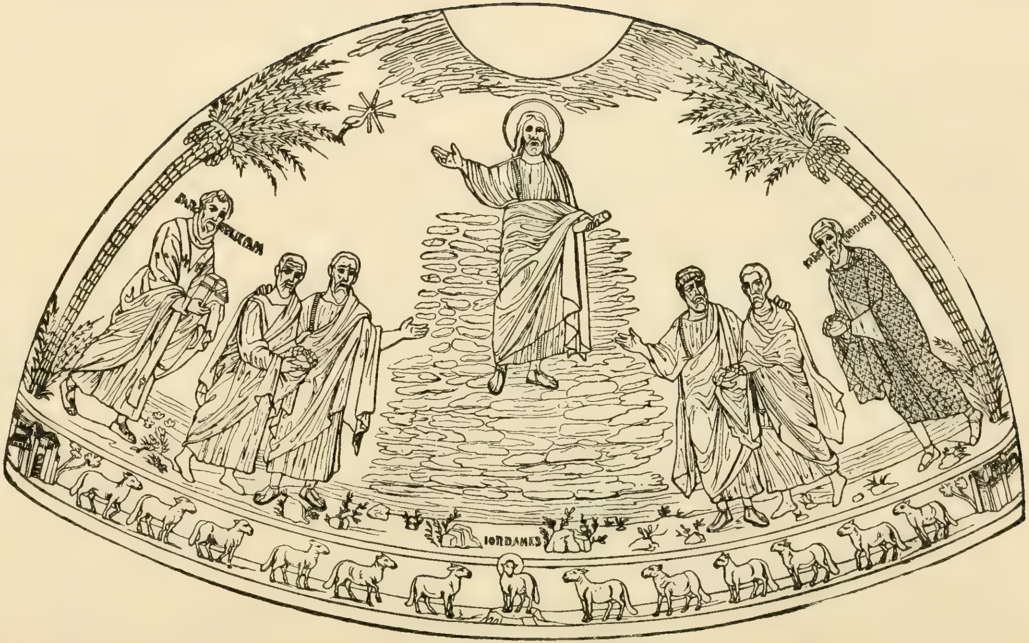

Fig. 43. - Mosaic from the apse of SS. Cosmas e Damiano, Rome. Sixth century.

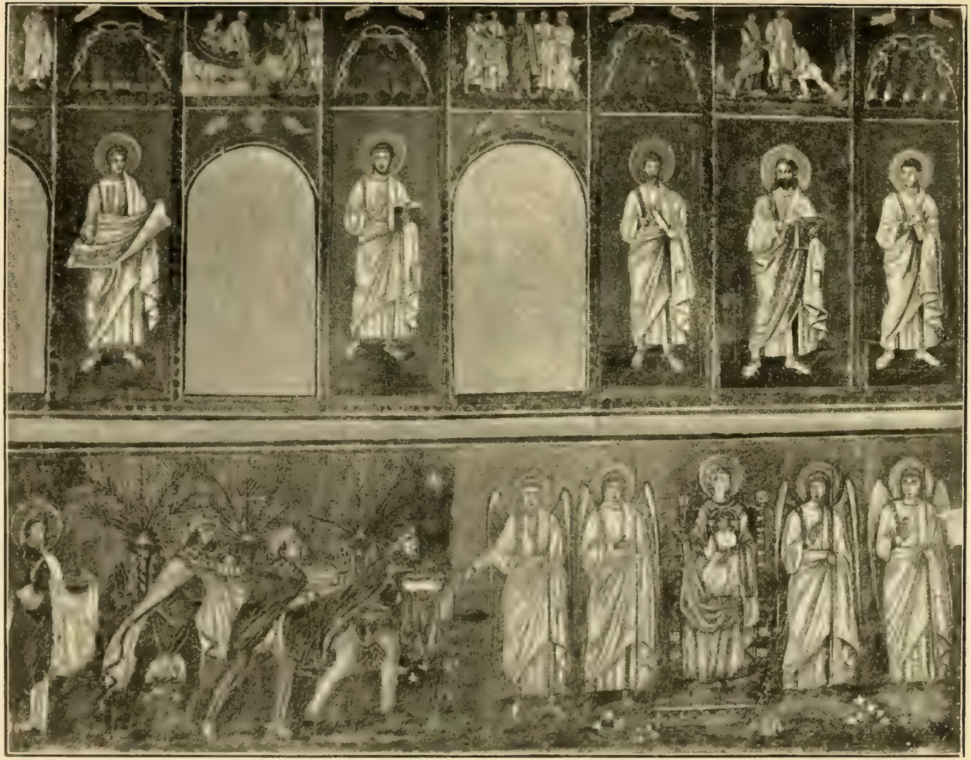

Fig. 43^{a}. – Mosaic from San Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna. Prophets and the visit of the Magi.

Christ (a partial restoration) is most imposing (*v.* Fig. 44). The expression is dignified, the face bearded, the hair long and flowing, the head encircled with the cruciform nimbus, and the right hand indicative of the teaching office. On the opposite or north frieze is a similar procession of holy women clad in rich attire, bearing crowns, passing from the city of Classe to join the Magi who reverently offer their gifts to the Holy Child sitting upon the lap of Mary, also enthroned and attended by four angels bearing sceptres in their hands. Fig. 43ª gives an idea of the richness and variety of these mosaics. Here are represented five prophets, a part of the procession of women, and the visit of the Magi. Fig. 97 represents a portion of the north frieze. This helps us also to understand the arrangement of the mosaics between the windows and in the cornice above, also the medallions in the spandrels of the arches. The peculiar relations of Mother and Child in this mosaic, especially their like attitude in the act of blessing, would suggest that the cultus of Mary, which soon afterward exalted the Mother above the Son, had already made considerable progress.[1]

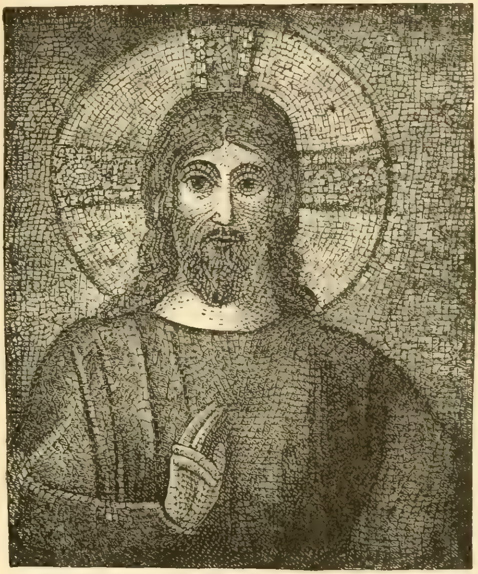

Fig. 44.—Mosaic of Christ in San Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna. Sixth century.

Interesting mosaics are also found in other churches of Ravenna, as Santa Maria in Cosmedin, San Vitale (the arrangement of whose mosaics can be seen from Figs. 107, 109), and San Apollinare in Classe (*v.* Fig. 99).

In extent and richness the mosaics of St. Sophia were entirely worthy of the grandest church of the Byzantine Empire. The magnificent pavements and dados of richly variegated marble found their counterpart in the brilliancy and perfection of the mosaics upon the vast and varied expanses of ceiling and dome. The historic value of these monuments is somewhat lessened by the uncertainty of their age.[1] The repeated attempts of the iconoclastic Mussulman to obliterate the mosaics by removing the *tesseræ*, and by covering the whole with coats of whitewash, greatly marred their original incomparable beauty. The repairs of this church, under the direction of the Italian architect Fossati, gave opportunity for careful drawings of the parts which have survived.[2] These mosaics differ from those of Galla Placidia of Ravenna, Santa Pudenziana of Rome, and others, in that there is little attempt at pictorial effect or perspective. They are for the most part isolated figures of prophets or saints, generally of great dignity, with the attendant ornamentation of vines, borders, flowers, etc. The fixedness of type which later characterized nearly all the pictorial art of the East is not prominent in these mosaics of St. Sophia. The adornments of the panels, of the spandrels of the arches, etc., are free and cheerful. In the sections of the vast dome the outlines of four colossal figures of seraphs with overshadowing wings are still seen.[3] They have a vigor and freshness of treatment indicative of an age of considerable artistic freedom. Also the mosaics of the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, exhibit much skill in the origination of independent forms and expression, while their variety of attitude argues wholesome exemption of the artist from the rigid ecclesiastical art canons which later became imperative.

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[1] Quast: *Die alt-christlichen Bauwerke von Ravenna*, s. 20, also Taf. vii, Figures 3, 5.

The immense mosaic picture (*v.* Fig. 45) of Christ, with the prostrate emperor and the medallion busts of Mary and an angel (St. Michael?), is believed to be of later origin. This is shown by the style and accessories of the composition. Christ, seated on a magnificent throne, raises his right hand in the attitude of blessing or teaching, while the left supports the open book. His head is surrounded by the nimbus, the face is bearded, the whole mien impressive. Before him, in the attitude of servile prostration, is the emperor,[4] clad in most gorgeous attire, with nimbused head and jeweled crown. Oriental taste is prominent, and art decadence is here painfully manifest. The subjection of the temporal to the spiritual power is plainly taught by this mosaic; the supremacy of the "Divine Wisdom," to whom the gorgeous temple was dedicated, is most conspicuous. The other mosaics of this church, many of which are of exquisite workmanship but of varied artistic merit, cannot here be described. Each has a valuable lesson for the historian of art and for the student of the history of the Greek Church.

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[1] Woltmann and Woermann: *History of Painting*, vol. i, pp. 233, refer these mosaics to the reign of Basil the Macedonian, in the latter part of the ninth century. Evidently they are of various dates, but some bear evidence of an earlier origin than these authorities suppose.

[2] Fossati: *Aya Sofia*, Constantinople, as recently restored by order of H. M. the Sultan, Abdul Mejid. London, 1852. Salzenberg: *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinople*, with magnificent plates.

[3] See Fig. 116, a section of St. Sophia, where two of these are shown.

[4] Opinions relative to the sovereign here represented are various. Some (Woltmann and Woermann and others) have seen in it Basil I., who restored the western apse of the church into which this entrance leads; others (Venables, *et al.*) call it

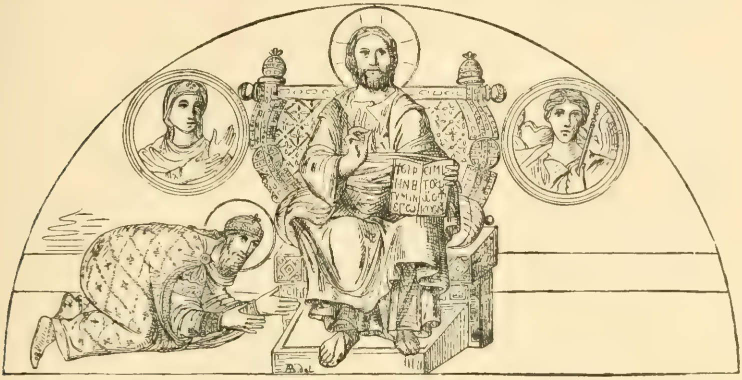

Fig. 45.—Mosaic of Christ from St. Sophia, Constantinople.

Nearly contemporaneous with St. Sophia at Constantinople is St. Sophia of Thessalonica. An immense expanse of mosaics, said to cover nearly six hundred square yards, represents the ascension. The parts in the center of the dome have suffered much. This was occupied by the ascending Christ, attended by angels. The other prominent personages were the Virgin and the apostles, wrought out in colossal figures more than twelve feet high. Texier and Pullan[1] are of the opinion that these mosaics were produced before the influence of ecclesiastical art traditions had checked the freedom of the Eastern artisans. They notice the survival of creative and technic power in the variety of posture and of the facial expression in the figures. Instead of the stiff uniformity of a later period, the Virgin and the two angels (one on either side), who address the apostles, have each decided personal characteristics. The treatment is vigorous, and the handling of the colors in the drapery, etc., is

Constantine Pogonatus; while still others (Gerspach, *et al.*) call it Justinian. The general style of this figure in expression and dress is so different from well known pictures of Justinian elsewhere preserved that it is very difficult to believe that it is intended for this emperor.

[1] *Églises Byzantines*, plates xl, xli, pp. 142–144.

free and pleasing. Instead of the fixed attitude of the eighth and ninth centuries, each one of the apostles has an individuality ; some look upward into heaven, others with downcast face are in prayerful meditation, while others raise the hands in expression of surprise.[1]

Considerable mosaic work is also found in the apse of St. Catharine's on Mount Sinai. The subjects have been variously described by travellers. The transfiguration, with figures of Christ, Moses, and Elias, is the central scene. The accompanying figures of prophets, apostles, and saints, medallion busts of Justinian and Theodora, and the oft-repeated scenes of Moses at the burning bush and the receiving of the tables of the law, contain little that is peculiar.[2]

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[1] There seems to be a very intimate connection between this church and St. Sophia at Constantinople.

[2] No thorough study of these has yet been made by competent specialists. The want of trustworthy photographs or plates leaves the chronology and technical execution, as well as the archæological value, of these mosaics undetermined. Many valuable articles upon Christian mosaics have appeared from time to time in the European reviews. Attempts have been made to supply the lack of monuments by the literary references to many now lost mosaics. Among the most skilful and successful of these workers must be reckoned Eugene Müntz of Paris, and Professor Frothingham of Princeton University.

CHAPTER V.

EARLY CHRISTIAN SCULPTURE.

We have before (Book i, chap. ii) traced the effect of the Jewish law and of the Semitic imagination upon the cultivation of the arts of form; also the influence of these factors in the development of the Christian art of the first two centuries.

Reasons of the seeming hostility to art.

The avoidance of the seductive power of beauty, as embodied in the matchless creations of the heathen artists, and of art in its associations with a corrupting polytheism, was most manifest with respect to sculpture.[1] As before noticed, the pictures of Christ were more readily tolerated than his presentation in free statuary. This was probably due to the fact that sculpture is the most materializing of all the fine arts. It was most employed in connection with the pagan cultus, and was therefore most threatening to the purity of a monotheistic faith.

Reasons of decadence of sculpture.

No protraitures of Christ.

There was no agreement in the traditions of the early Church respecting Christ's physical characteristics and appearance. Moreover, when the Christian Church was in circumstances favorable to the cultivation of the fine arts, sculpture, which had formerly been almost the foremost art among the Greeks, had fallen into a condition of sad decadence,[2] and painting had assumed the chief prominence. Hence few, if any, works of Christian sculpture of an earlier date than the last of the third or the beginning of the fourth century have been preserved to our day. Indeed, the number of free statues of early Christian origin is exceptionally small. Scarcely a half dozen of Christ have survived from the first five centuries. While Eusebius[1] testifies to having seen at Cæsarea Philippi a statue of Christ extending his hand toward the woman having an issue of blood, to cure her, and Philostorgius[2] speaks of its being destroyed under Julian, it is generally agreed that the traditions respecting the early portraitures of Christ, pictorial or plastic, have very slender support. The free statues which remain are manifestly not designed for portraitures, but are of a symbolic character. In all alike Christ is represented as the Good Shepherd "who careth for the sheep." The dress is that of the shepherd of the period, the ordinary tunic; the feet are either naked or sandaled, while the implements of the shepherd's vocation, the purse and the staff, are sometimes present.

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[1] We have already said that this seeming hostility of some of the Christian fathers to the patronage and production of works of art was not due to a lack of æsthetic feeling, but it arose from fear of the contaminating influence of heathen worship. The same tendency is noticed from time to time in the history of the Church. The denunciations of the revived heathenism in the Italian painting at the close of the fifteenth century, by Savonarola, produced a marked revolution in the style of some of the great painters of the period. A like result is noticed in the attempts of Zwinglius, Calvin, and others in removing statues from the churches. *v.* Lecky: *Hist. of Rationalism*, vol. i, pp. 259, 260; and Grueneisen: *De Protestantismo artibus haud infesto.*

[2] Labarte: *Histoire des arts industriels*, tom. i, p. 12.

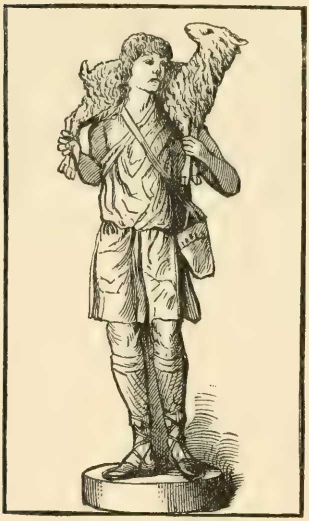

Fig. 46.—Statuette of the Good Shepherd. Lateran Museum.

The Good Shepherd in free statuary.

Figs. 46 and 48 are representations of the finest and best preserved of these free statuettes.[4] It is now in the Lateran Museum at Rome. It has been restored in parts. The spirit and naturalness of the work are exceptionally fine, and readily suggest a classic sympathy and origin.

A second example is given in Fig. 47. The original is also in the Lateran Museum. The execution is rude, and the general tone of the work is far inferior to that represented by Fig. 46. The general spirit of the biblical symbol is, however, fully preserved. Instead of the shepherd's purse, as in Fig. 46, here is the shepherd's staff or crook.[3]

There are two other statuettes, one preserved in the church museum of the College of Rome, the other in the basilica San Clemente, which differ little in general art character from the last, and are in close affiliation with it in subject and spirit. Hübner[1] has described a small statue of the Good Shepherd found in Seville, Spain. The figure of the lamb is wanting. The origin and chronology are uncertain, although he inclines to place it near the close of the fourth century.

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[1] *Hist. Eccles.*, vii, 18.

[2] *Hist. Eccles.*, vii, 2.

[3] These and all other autotypes used in this chapter are taken by permission from the excellent work of Th. Roller: *Les Catacombes de Rome.* We have preferred these impressions from photographs to elaborate engravings, since they give to the lay reader a juster idea of the original objects. With great generosity, M. Roller placed all his plates at the disposal of the author of this handbook.

[4] See Frontispiece.

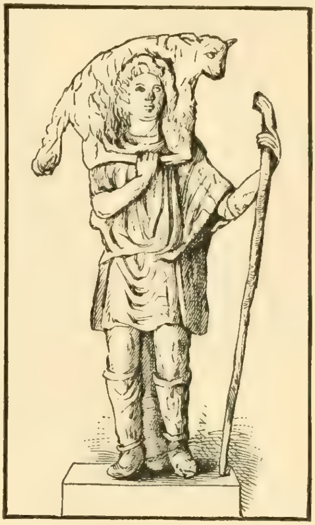

Fig. 47.—Good Shepherd with crook or staff. Lateran Museum.

Difference of the Good Shepherd from the ram-bearing Mercury.

The general artistic treatment of these statues closely conforms to the contemporary heathen art; nevertheless, in all alike the subject is distinctively Christian: the office work of the Good Shepherd in bringing back to the fold the lost sheep.[2] The difference between these and the statues of the ram-bearing Mercury, Hermes-Kriophoros, is manifest. Invariably a full drapery is found in the statues of the Good Shepherd, while the pagan Kriophori have complete or partial nudity as a characteristic feature.[3] This is well illustrated by comparing Figs. 48 and 49.[4]

The bronze statue of St. Peter.

Another work, claimed by some able writers to be of Christian origin, is the celebrated bronze statue of St. Peter, now found in the middle nave of St. Peter's, Rome. Opinions repecting its origin, chronology, and motive have been various and sometimes contradictory. The statue is certainly very imposing, and, if genuine, must be regarded as by far the most important plastic work of the early Christian centuries. The apostle is represented seated in a chair of Roman style, uplifting the right hand in the attitude of teaching. The head is firmly set; the hair is thick and curled, and is of the type traditionally ascribed to Peter, which is met upon early sarcophagi and in frescos from the catacombs. The folds of the drapery are not unworthy the best classic period, while the general pose is equal to that of the more celebrated works of the fourth century. Every part of the statue indicates a careful adherence to some antique model, and therefore evinces little originality of treatment.[1] The key in the left hand is an addition of a later period, probably of the sixteenth century.

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[1] *Die antiken Bildwerke von Madrid*, Berlin, 1862, s. 324.

[2] *v.* Th. Roller: *Les Catacombes de Rome*, vol. i, p. 265.

[3] Chanot: In the *Gazette Archeologique*, 1878, pp. 17, *et seq.*, and pp. 100, *et seq.* We have elsewhere more fully examined these differences—Book i, chap. iii. *v.* also Veyries: *Les Figures Criophores dans l'art grec, l'art gréco-romain et l'art chrétien*, Paris, 1884, pp. 61–81, especially pp. 80, 81.

[4] Dr. J. P. Kirsch: "*Le Bon Pasteur*" *sur les monuments chrétiens de Salone. Ephemeris Solonitana*, 1894.

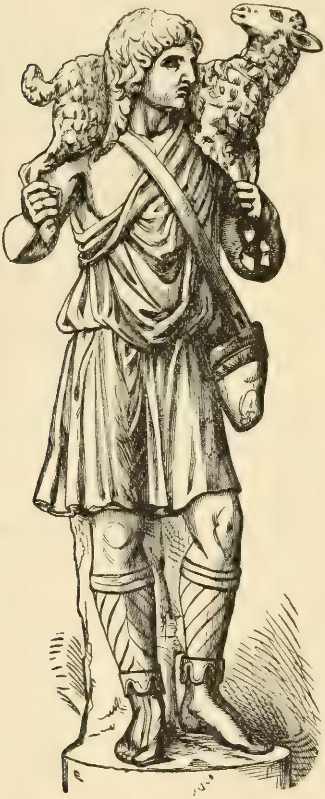

Fig. 48.—The Good Shepherd. To compare with Hermes-Kriophoros, Fig. 49.

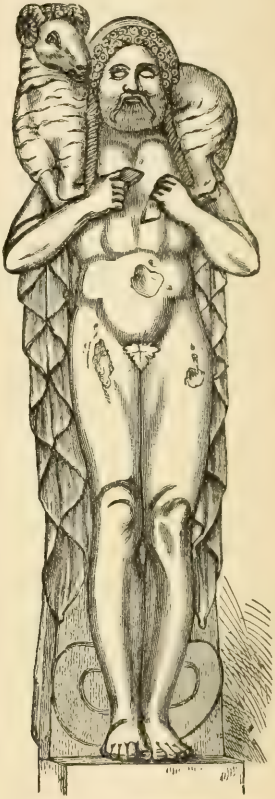

Fig. 49.—Hermes-Kriophoros from Wilton House. To compare with Fig 47.

Statue of St. Hippolytus.

Another work in free sculpture is the statue of St. Hippolytus, now preserved in the Lateran Museum, Fig. 50. It was discovered in 1551. Only the lower part of the figure and the chair are original, the other parts being modern restorations. In its present restored form it represents St. Hippolytus seated on a cathedra, clad in the garb usual to the ancient philosophers, holding in his left hand a book upon which rests the right elbow. The *Canon Paschalis*, or table for calculating Easter, which he is said to have invented, is engraved in Greek characters on one side of the chair; on the other is a partial list of his writings. The re-

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[1] Luebke: *History of Sculpture*, vol. i, p. 337. It is for this and other reasons that the Christian origin and subject of the statue have been stoutly denied.

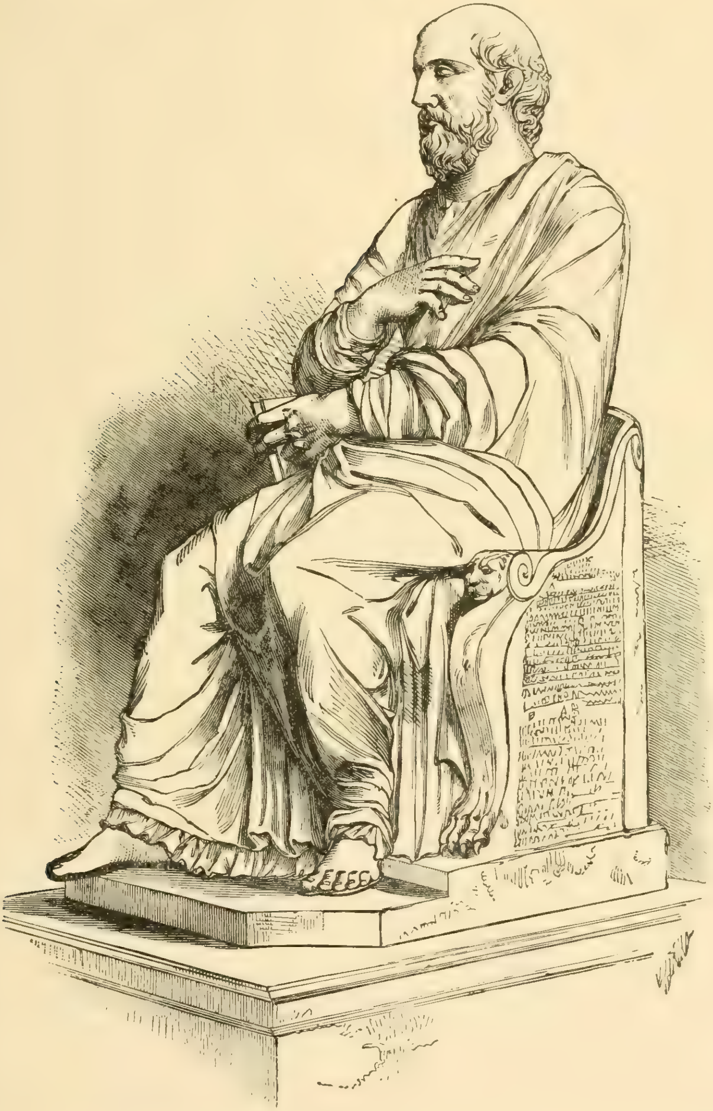

Fig. 50.—Restored statue of Hippolytus.

stored statue is a work of great dignity and excellence. As in the case of the statue of St. Peter, there has been much controversy respecting its Christian origin. There seems to be sufficient reason, however, for believing that it cannot be of a later date than the sixth century, while, from artistic considerations, some able archæologists are led to place it in the last quarter of the third, or the beginning of the fourth century. We have not space to enter into the examination of these arguments.[1]

Its Christian origin questioned.

The general type of Christ found in Christian sculpture is rather that of the early Christian frescos, and seems to conform more closely to the pagan conception of deity, that is, that divinity must be represented under the form of a beautiful and vigorous manhood. The historic scenes are usually realistic. The lessons are for the most part easily understood; mystery and an esoteric exclusiveness are seldom suggested. Sometimes a purpose to depict scenes in the order of their historic development, or of their dogmatic connection, is apparent; at other times the principle of artistic grouping or balancing seems dominant. Into some of the most noted sarcophagi an architectural principle is introduced, whereby the surface is divided into sections by means of pillars which support an ornamental entablature. Upon these surfaces are found inscriptions or figures in relief. Sometimes the space is divided into zones, in each of which a progressive history or a rich symbolism may be found.

Type of Christ in Christian sculpture.

The principles recognized in Christian sculpture.

The timid caution which influenced the Christian fathers to indulge but sparingly in the use of free statuary was not cherished respecting these works in relief. From the first part of the fourth century the sculptures on burial monuments are numerous. In general style they adhere quite closely to the contemporary pagan art. In the distribution of motives, in the pose and balancing of parts to make a harmonious whole, and in the character of their technique, the Christian sarcophagi can claim little originality. The marked difference is in the changed cycle of the embodied thought. In this respect they are in striking contrast with similar pagan monuments. Nevertheless the subjects sculptured on these sarcoph-

The Christian sarcophagi have little artistic originality.

But embody new thought.

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[1] Among many see Bucher: In Migne's edition of the works of St. Hippolytus. Engravings, giving both side views of the statue and the text of the *Canon Paschalis* are there given, and Bucher examines the content of the *Canon* itself. Bunsen: *Hippolytus und seine Zeit.*, 1te Abth., ss. 163, 164. Northcote and Brownlow: *Roma Sotterranea*, 2d ed., vol. ii, pp. 262–265. Appell: *Monuments of Early Christian Art* p. 5.

agi are very like those of the frescos and mosaics. Here, too, is found a rich symbolism ; here are seen the suggestive biblical type and antitype, as well as the instructive Scripture history. There is hardly a scene that has not already been met in the discussion of Christian painting. The creation of our first parents, the temptation by the serpent, the sacrifice of Isaac, Moses in the presence of the burning bush, or striking water from the rock, the history of Jonah, the three Hebrew worthies in the burning furnace, Daniel in the lion's den, and sometimes the translation of Elijah, are the chief subjects from the Old Testament history; while the various benevolent works of Christ, the first miracle in Cana of Galilee, the multiplication of the loaves, the healing of the paralytic, the opening of the eyes of the blind, the cure of the woman with the issue of blood, and the raising of Lazarus are the favorite scenes from the New Testament. Incidents in the life of Christ, the nativity, the teaching of the disciples, the arrest, the trial, the denial by Peter, the handwashing by Pilate, the resurrection, and probably the ascension are also found sculptured on these burial monuments. Representations of the crucifixion are for the most part avoided during the first four and a half centuries; also the other scenes of special suffering in the life of our Lord. The scope of these sculptures, as well as their art value, can best be learned from a few examples.

Fig. 51 represents one of the older Christian sarcophagi. The joyous scene of the vintage, the pastoral simplicity shown in the free association of the genii with the animal world, the rich luxuriance of the vine and its fruit, suggest a decorative rather than a symbolic principle, yet the peculiarities of the figures bearing the sheep clearly prove them to be designed for the Good Shepherd and not for representations of the ram-bearing Mercury. While, therefore, the vintage scenes may be regarded as mainly decorative, there may have been a reference to the symbol of the vine and its branches, and to the joys of those who are under the care and guidance of the Good Shepherd. The artistic treatment points to an origin prior to the decadence of the fourth and fifth centuries.

The translation of Elijah is a subject of occasional occurrence in early Christian art. We have already noticed its resemblance to heathen representations of the sun-god and his chariot, but the Christian character of this (Fig. 52) and of a similar sarcophagus given in Bosio's work cannot be doubted. A fresco of the same scene is found in the catacomb of SS. Nereus and Achilles, and it reappears on some of the sarcophagi of Arles. The main figures are understood without difficulty: the ascending prophet is giving to his successor his mantle, and therewith is to come a double measure of his spirit.

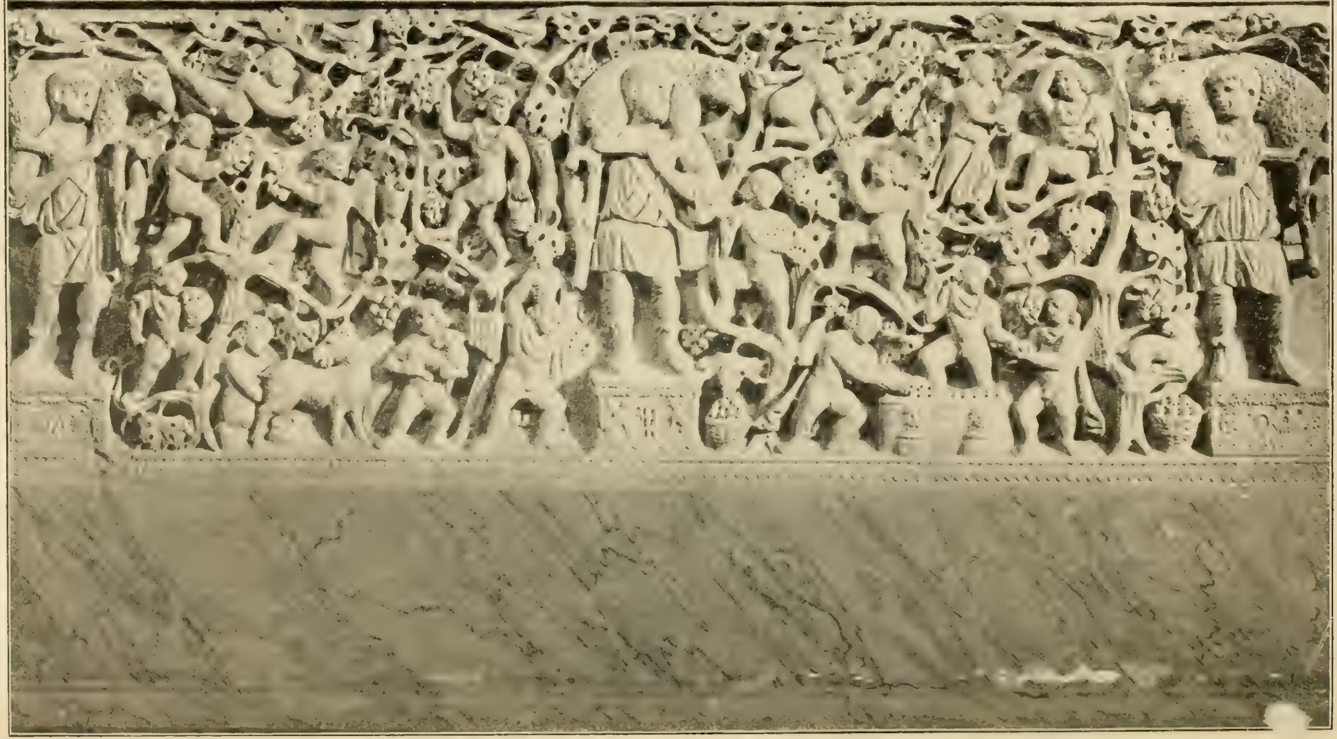

Fig. 51.—Sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum. Showing a vintage scene, with the Good Shepherd.

The significance of the small figures in the central background and of the bear in the lower right hand corner is not so manifest. Some have suggested a reference to the children who mocked the prophet and to the instrument of their fearful punishment. The other sarcophagus in Rome on which is sculptured this scene has a plainly mythological element in the form of a river-god that personifies the Jordan—a majestic, half-nude figure, in a reclining posture, with rich flowing hair held back by a band. He rests one arm upon an urn, from which flow the living waters, and holds in the right hand a reed, also symbolic of the river. The action is full of life, and the artistic quality of the work fairly good.

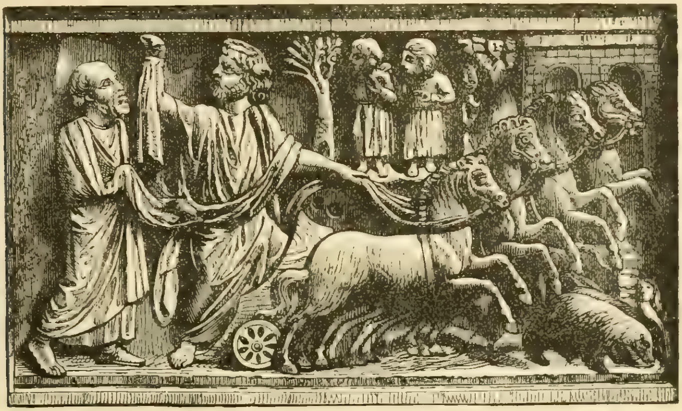

Fig. 52.—The translation of Elijah. Sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum.

Fig. 53 represents a sarcophagus from the crypt of Saint Peter's. The crowded condition of the objects in *alto relievo* causes a little obscurity, and consequent uncertainty in the interpretation. The main scene in the lower portion of the sarcophagus is plain; it illustrates the history of Jonah. The tempest is indicated by the full-swelling sail, and by the figure above, blowing upon it from the conch-shell. The sea-monster receives the erring

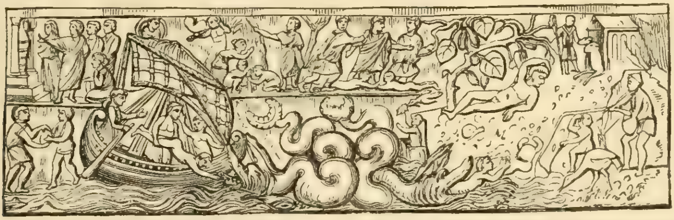

Fig. 53.—The history of Jonah and other scenes. From a sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum.

The history of Jonah.

prophet whom the crew cast overboard, and vomits him forth upon the land, while above Jonah is represented reclining in peace under the grateful shade of the gourd. On the extreme right of the upper zone the Good Shepherd leads forth the sheep from a house, the fold, the church, while at the extreme left appears the Wonder-worker raising Lazarus. The center is occupied with what appears to be the scene of the smiting of the rock by Moses, where the people slake their thirst with the refreshing water. The history of Jonah frequently recurs on the Christian sarcophagi,[1] since the truth it foreshadowed was among the most distinctive and precious of all which the apostles inculcated.

And its attendant scenes.

A work of much artistic excellence is represented by Fig. 54. It was formerly in the church San Paolo fuori le mura, Rome, but is now in the Lateran Museum. The two busts in the shell-like frame are in *alto relievo*, as are most other figures of the sarcophagus. The artistic handling and execution are exceptionally vigorous. The grouping is varied and natural, the pose well-studied, the drapery wrought out with unusual care. The division of the space into two zones is often met. While the reference in most of the scenes is readily understood, it is not easy to discover any necessary relation of these ideas one to the other in the order of a series. The principle of artistic balancing is manifestly observed, also the study of economy of space. In the upper zone on either side of the busts are noticed eight larger figures, while the cock, in the scene of the denial of Peter, is balanced by the child, in the sacrifice of Isaac. The hand of Moses, receiving the table of the law, is balanced by the outstretched arm of Abraham which is arrested by the hand breaking forth from the clouds. In the lower zone, also, eight adult figures are on either side of the central scene, while one of the lions on the left is balanced by the figure of the blind receiving his sight. It is noticeable that here, also, the type of Christ in each of his acts—of raising Lazarus, of rebuking Peter, of opening the eyes of the blind, and of multiplying the loaves—conforms to that of the earlier frescos of the catacombs, and is more consonant with the pagan notion that divinity should be represented under forms of highest physical perfection.

A notable sarcophagus of the Lateran Museum.

Its subjects and treatment.

The frequency of the recurrence of several Scripture scenes

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[1] Burgon: *Letters from Rome* (Letter xx), says that of fifty-five sarcophagi which he examined twenty-three contained the history of Jonah. Of one hundred and ninety-five in Rome, outside the Lateran Museum, twenty-eight contain this history.

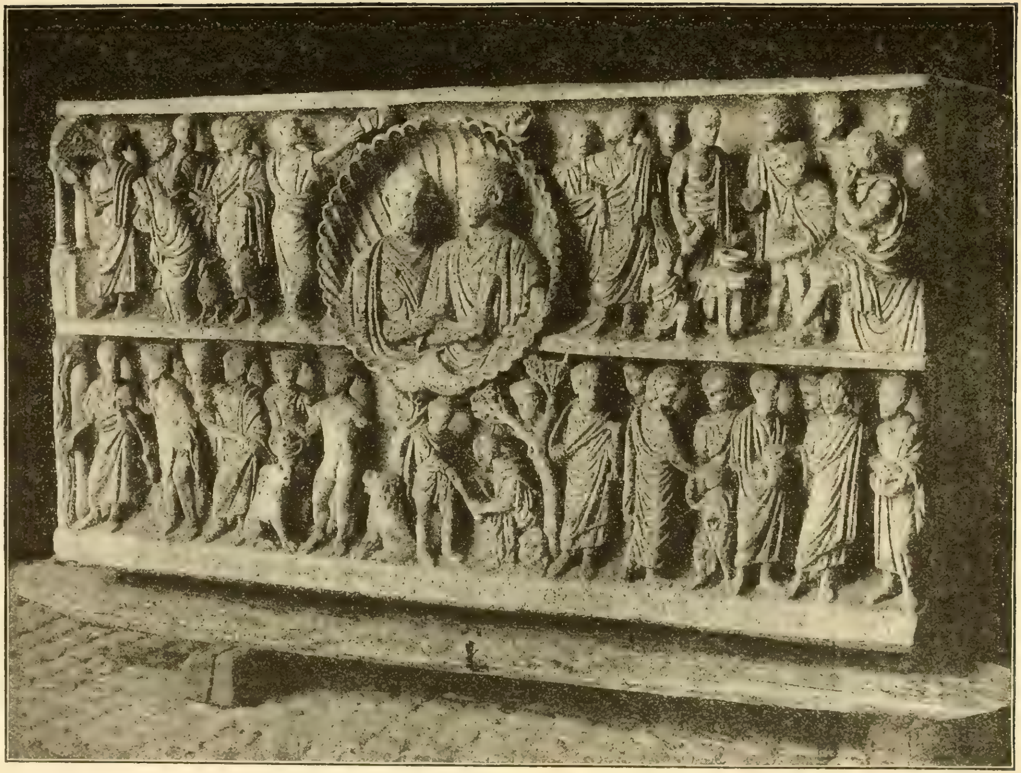

Fig. 54.—Early Christian sarcophagus. Lateran Museum.

Frequency of the recurrence of various subjects.

is quite remarkable. On fifty-five sarcophagi which Burgon[1] examined in the Lateran Museum, he found the smiting of the rock to occur twenty-three times; the miracle of the loaves, twenty times; the giving sight to the blind, nineteen times; the raising of Lazarus, sixteen times; Daniel in the lions' den, fourteen times; the sacrifice of Isaac, eleven times. While these are thus frequent, the crowning with thorns occurs but once, and of a real crucifixion there is no trace. One hundred and ninety-five Christian sarcophagi at Rome, outside of the Lateran Museum, contain the history of Jonah twenty-eight times; Moses smiting the rock, ten times; our first parents, nine times; sacrifice of Isaac, eight times; the raising of Lazarus, six times; the multiplication of the bread, and the miracle in Cana, each six times.[2]

Sarcophagus with architectural features.

Rich architectural effects are met upon several of the best sarcophagi in the vaults of the Vatican and in the Christian museum of the Lateran. One face of such sarcophagus is represented in Fig. 55. The seven compartments are formed by columns richly ornamented with the vine and its tendrils. The central figure is plainly Christ in the attitude of the teacher, in the midst of his apostles. The roll held in his left hand is supported by one of the disciples, while the positions of the hands, both of Christ and of those whom he is addressing, are indicative of conversation, rather than of the formal discourse of the great Teacher. The Christ is of the more youthful, vigorous, and pleasing type, and has in it elements which are suggestive of the better period of sculpture. The other figures are self-explanatory. On the extreme right is Christ before Pilate, who is washing his hands in token of his innocency of the blood of the royal Victim. On the extreme left is the frequently recurring scene of the sacrifice of Isaac, which here, more than is usual, seems to be a type of the great Sacrifice for the sin of the world. The curious figure beneath the Saviour, who is holding a veil above the head, is not easy of interpretation. It occurs in one or two other sarcophagi, notably in that of Junius Bassus. Perhaps the suggestion that a mythological element is here introduced, the figure representing either Uranus, the heaven, or Tellus, the earth, may be most satisfactory.[3]

A doubtful element.

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[1] *Letters from Rome*, Letter xx.

[2] Grousset: *Étude sur l'histoire des sarcophages chrétiens*, Paris, 1885, 8vo.

[3] Schnaase: *Geschichte d. bildenden Künste*, 1te Aufg., Bd. iii., s. 75. Lübke: *Hist. of Sculpture*, Transl., vol. i, p. 345, regards it as a figure of Oceanus. Northcote and Brownlow: *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. ii, p. 256, say, "The vault of heaven beneath His feet being expressed (as in pagan monuments) by the veil which the female figure holds above her head."

Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus.

Probably the most elaborate sarcophagus of the early Christian centuries which has been preserved is that of Junius Bassus, in the crypt of St. Peter's, Rome.[1] The inscription along the upper band of this monument gives the desired information relative to the character and age of the person whose memory is hereby perpetuated. It is as follows: IVN. BASSVS VC QUI VIXIT ANNIS. XLII MEN. II. IN IPSA PRAEFECTVRA VRBI. NEOFITVS IIT AD DEVM. VIII KAL SEPT EVSEBIO ET YPATIO COSS. "Junius Bassus, of patrician rank, who lived forty-two years and two months. In the very year in which he became prefect of the city, a neophyte, he went to God on the 23d of August, Eusebius and Hypatius being Consuls" (A. D. 359).

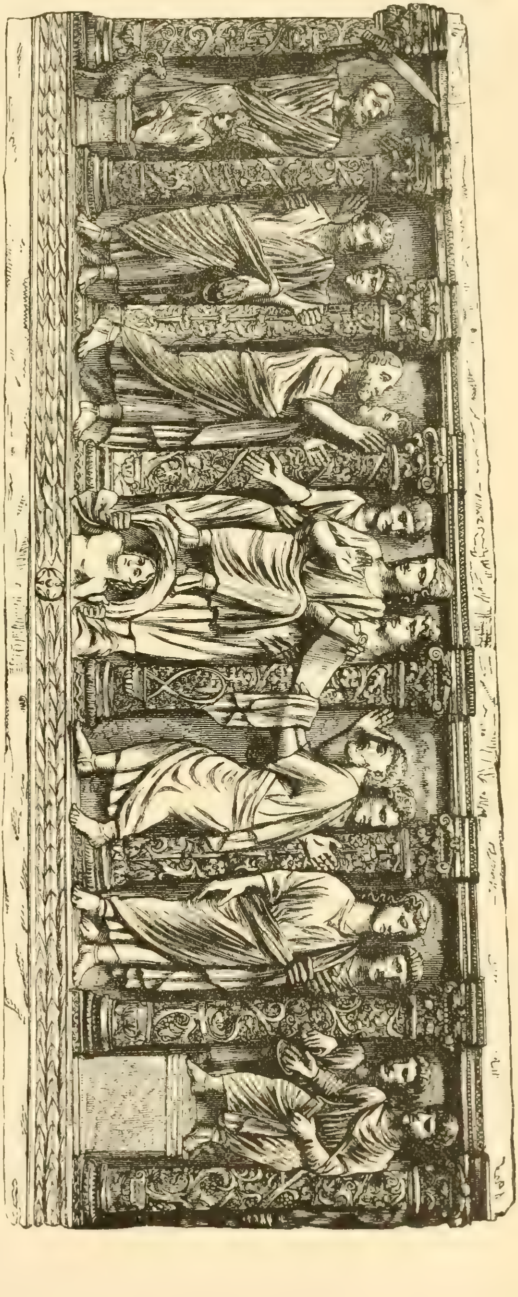

Fig. 55.—Sarcophagus of the fourth century. Lateran Museum.

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[1] Good casts of this sarcophagus are found in the Lateran Museum, also in the Museum of Christian Archæology, Berlin, which was founded by Professor Piper, and under his indefatigable labors has become one of the most useful collections in Europe for purposes of study.

Its inscriptions.

The subjects introduced.

The facts of the inscription are confirmed by contemporary historians, thus giving positive information respecting the time of the origin of the monument, and, therefore, aiding in appreciating the cycle of subjects here portrayed, as well as the artistic value of the work. The architectural principle is likewise introduced into this sarcophagus, dividing the surface into compartments, in each of which is found a scriptural scene. On the extreme left of the upper zone is the sacrifice of Isaac, in which the knife raised to slay the boy is arrested by a hand stretched out from the clouds, while, near at hand, the substituted ram is found. It is difficult to account for the frequent introduction of this event in Scripture history, except that it may have a typical or symbolical signification—pointing to the real sacrifice, the Lamb of God, who was to "take away the sin of the world." On the other extreme is the hand-washing of Pilate. The lower zone is equally significant, showing in the middle portion Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem. On the right is the representation of Daniel in the lions' den. Here in the case of Daniel a draped figure is introduced, while in other delineations of the same scene the figure is entirely nude. On the left is the temptation of our first parents. The serpent is winding around the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; the sheaf of wheat by Adam indicates the life of labor which he must lead, and the lamb symbolizes the employment of Eve. Some interpreters find in this figure of the lamb a symbol of the promised Redeemer. The relation of the elements of this scene can best be studied from Fig. 56. The middle figure of the upper zone has been variously interpreted. Some have seen in it the teaching Christ, the two figures being those of his disciples. The roll and the attitude of the hand would suggest this. Others have associated it with the central scene in the lower zone. As the latter is representative of his triumph before the people, so is the upper scene (*v.* Fig. 57) the transfiguration, with Moses and Elias as his companions. This, it is claimed, is indicated by the figure below, which is to represent earth as his footstool, under the form of Tellus, who holds a veil over the head, thus symbolizing the firmament. The latter interpretation appears hardly accordant with the principles of a rational symbolism. The other scenes are, respectively, on the ex-

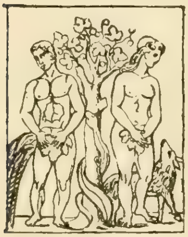

Fig. 56.—The Fall. From sarcophagus of Junius Bassus.

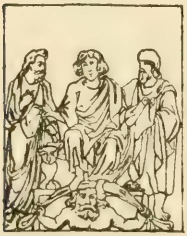

Fig. 57.—From the Junius Bassus monument.

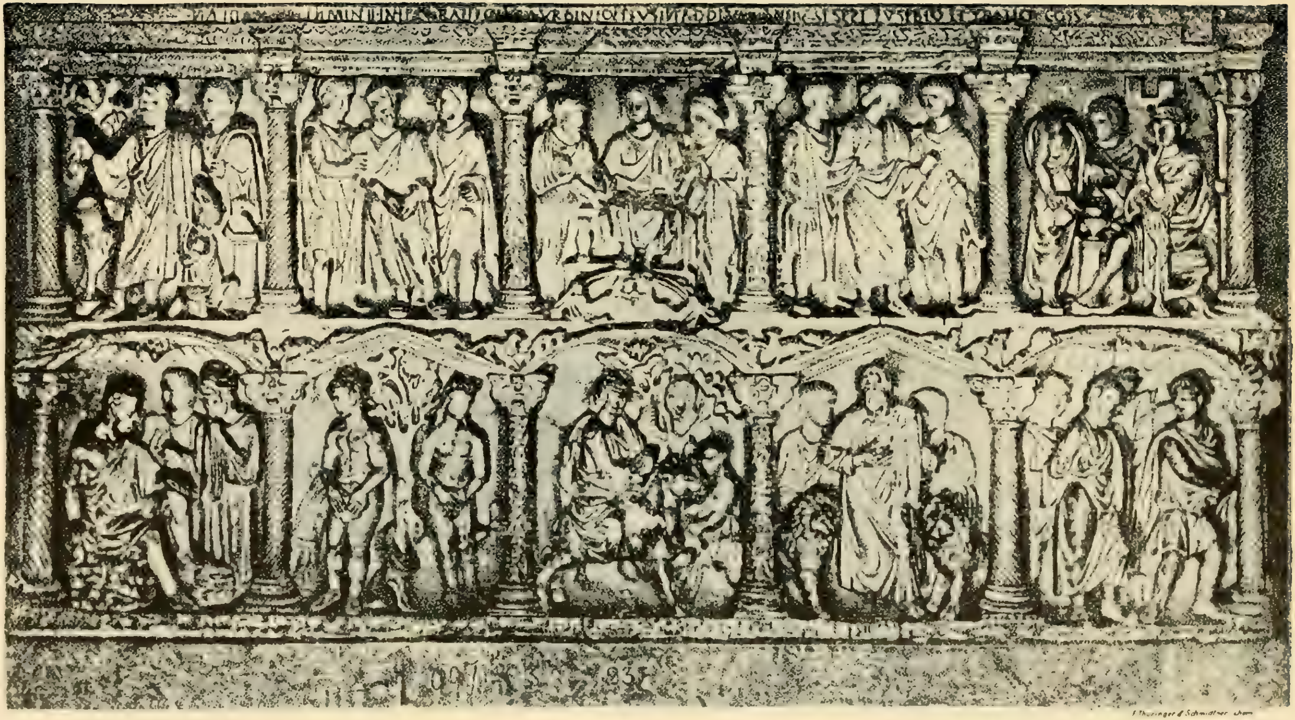

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PLATE II.—The Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus. Photograph.

treme left, in the lower zone, the humiliation of Job; on the right the arrest of Peter; on the upper zone, Christ's arrest, and his arraignment before Pilate. In the spandrels of the arches is a most suggestive symbolism.[1] In one part a sheep is striking with a staff the rock, whence flows water which another sheep is drinking. In another section a sheep is receiving the table of the law; in another it performs the miracle of the loaves; a third lays its forefoot upon the head of another, over which baptismal waters flow, while the rays stream from the beak of the dove which represents the Holy Spirit. Thus in all the symbolic character of the lamb is most manifest; the central thought being Christ the source of power, blessing, and life.

A suggestive symbolism.

The sculpture, Fig. 58, is of later origin, probably of the sixth century. The central figure is one quite frequently met in the frescos—an *orante*—on either side of whom stands a figure whose signification it is difficult to determine. The presence of the palm-trees points to the thought of victory or of joyousness in the heavenly inheritance. The extension of the hands in prayer is the usual attitude met in the early monuments—frescos, sculptures, and mosaics. It is plain that this position of standing with outstretched hands in prayer was the usual or prescribed one. No instance of prayer to God in the kneeling posture is met in the monuments. Supplication for aid from another, as in case of the woman with the issue of blood, etc., may be met; but that this was not the usual attitude in case of public worship seems evident. In this the monuments and the literary evidence are in entire accord. The other members of this sculpture are familiar. On the right the multiplication of the loaves in the hands of the disciples—a most favorite scene with the early Christians; on the left the first miracle in Cana of Galilee, which is hardly less frequent upon the early monuments. The extreme right has been by some interpreted to be the afflicted Job sitting in ashes, attended by one of his friends.[2] This is less certain in its reference than the other portions of the sarcophagus. As a work of art this is much inferior to many others: it indicates a wide departure from the classic spirit, a decay of originating power, and feebleness in execution.

A later sarcophagus.

Attitude in prayer.

The representation of the Nativity and its attendant circum-

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[1] Unfortunately, these do not appear with much distinctness in our plate. The best photograph of this fine sarcophagus, taken by magnesium light, appears in *Römische Quartalschrift*, No. 4, September, 1896.

[2] Roller: *Catacombes de Rome*, vol. i, p. 297.

The Nativity in sculpture.

stances is quite exceptional on the Christian sarcophagi. In the Lateran collection but a single example is met, upon a fragment of a small sarcophagus, represented in Fig. 59. The scene is easy of interpretation. Joseph and Mary occupy the extreme right. The central portion suggests the manger scene, the sacred babe in swaddling clothes laid in a basket, while the ox and the ass in their stall help to complete the picture of the lowliness of the birthplace of the Lord.[1] Toward the left the magi, clad in their usual dress, are bringing gifts. On the extreme left is a winged genius in the peculiar style of pagan art, showing the syncretism of thought in Christian sculpture, or, at least, the readiness with which these figures were introduced for decorative purposes.

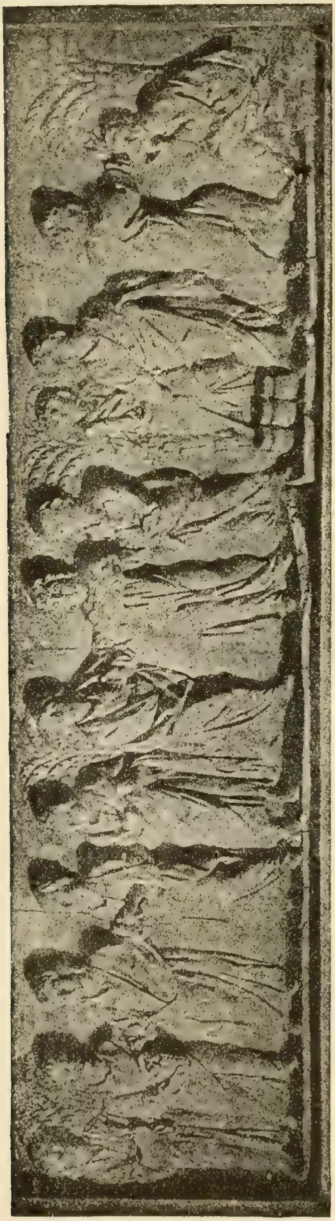

Fig. 58.—A later sarcophagus, now in the Lateran Museum.

The appearance of the real cross in sculpture.

The interesting sarcophagus represented by Fig. 60 is from the latter part of the fifth century. As a work of art it plainly belongs to the period of decadence. The scenes in the life of Christ also show by their peculiar treatment that the age of persecution is past, and the age of triumph has been reached. The hand-washing by Pilate is mani-

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[1] Some interpreters have suggested that reference may be had to Isa. i, 3; that while the brute creation recognise their Lord and Creator, and the heathen world (the magi) is full of expectation, and is ready to worship the infant Redeemer, "Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider."

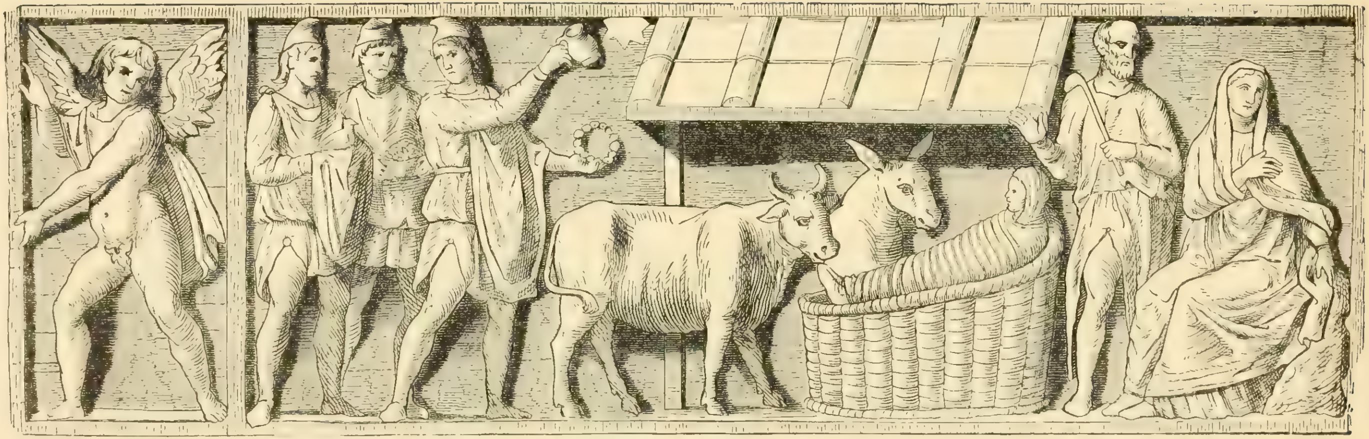

Fig. 59.—The Nativity and the offering of the magi. From a sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum.

festly the scene presented on the extreme right. This is indicated by the basin, the pouring out of the water from the pitcher by the soldier, the attitude of the sitting figure, etc. Next is the figure of Christ attended by the soldier, who bears a spear and wears the usual Roman helmet. Christ seems in the attitude of speaking. The position of the hand, with the two forefingers extended, as is customary with the teacher, might suggest the answer to the inquiring Pilate, "My kingdom is not of this world. . . ." "Art thou a king then?" "Thou sayest that I am a king." The scene first on the left of the center is plainly the crowning of Christ by the soldier. But may not the time of the origin of this sculpture be conjectured from the fact that the crown is no longer one of thorns but of garlands? On the extreme left is the cross-bearing. To what extent the crown of garlands may suggest triumph, or how far it may be merely ornamental, and is used to complete the artistic balancing required by the like crown in the hand-washing, may not be determined with certainty. The central portion is full of suggestion. A curious combination of elements indicates that the period of suffering and the time when the cross must be concealed are past. The Constantinian monogram rests upon the cross. This would be indicative of sacrifice, but it is

Interpretation of scenes.

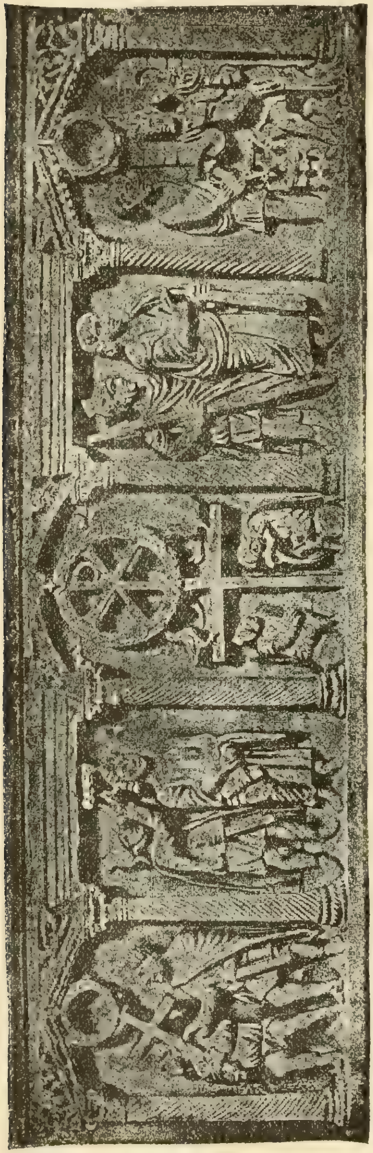
Fig. 60.—Sarcophagus from fifth century. Lateran Museum. The appearance of the real cross—no longer in symbol.

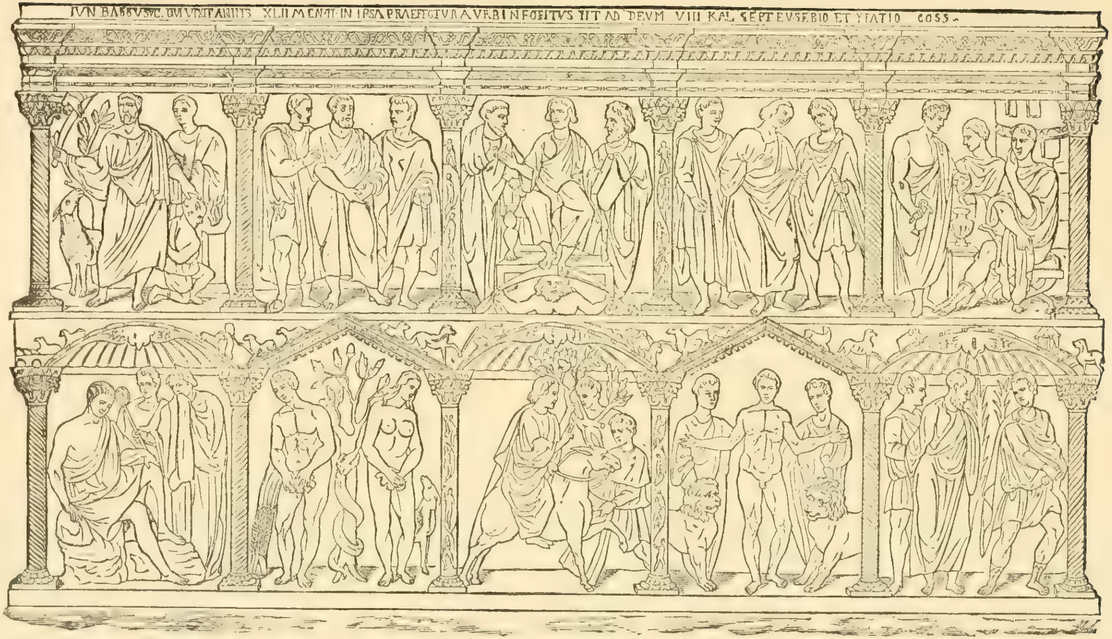
IVN BASSVS V.C. QVI VIXIT ANNIS XLII MEN II IN IPSA PRAEFECTVRA VRBI NEOFITVS IIT AD DEVM VIII KAL SEPT EVSEBIO ET YPATIO COSS

PLATE II^a^.—The Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus. Engraving.

crowned by a chaplet which is emblematic of victory. This would be further emphasized by the idea of the resurrection, suggested by the watch of Roman soldiers who were set to guard the sealed tomb.

Triumph rather than suffering suggested.

Early Christian art contains few references to the retributions of a future state. Herein it is in completest contrast with the art of the later Middle Ages, and with some of the most celebrated works of the Renaissance. In this we observe the influence of that spirit of simple faith and love which led the early Christians to dwell rather upon the beneficent offices of our Lord, and upon the more cheerful and winning aspects of the religion which he established. The statements already made in relation to the frequency on the early monuments of such scenes in the life of Christ, and of events in the biblical history which contemplate the elevation of the individual or of the race, fully confirm this opinion. In the sarcophagus, Fig. 61, is almost the only instance of a representation of the last judgment in early Christian sculpture. It is a simple reproduction of the Scripture statement in Matt. xxv, 31–46. Here is the shepherd, not the angry judge, separating the sheep from the goats. The whole action of the sculpture is most effective. The pressing forward of the sheep in obedience to the glad invitation, "Come, ye blessed of my Father," the hand laid approvingly upon the head of the nearest, the face of the shepherd turned toward those who had done his will in acts of beneficence, are in striking contrast to the attitude of the proud goats who were approaching with eager confidence, but who, arrested by the fearful words, "Depart from me, ye cursed," now shrink back from the touch of the averted

The last judgment.

Its scriptural character.

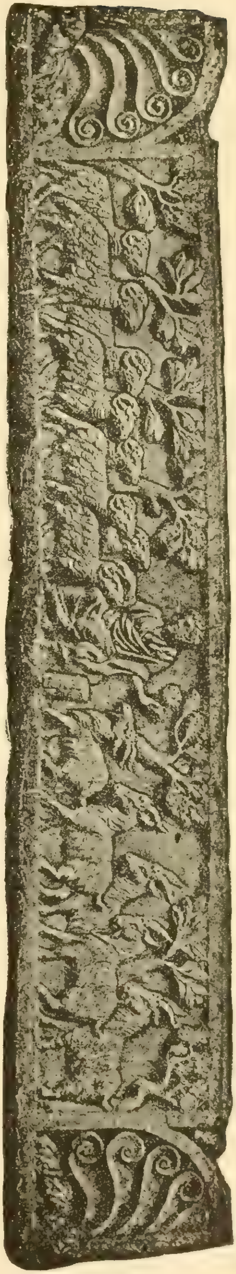

Fig. 61.—The Last Judgment. From a Christian sarcophagus of unknown date.

hand, and are troubled by the face turned away in sorrowful condemnation. Nothing could more fully and effectively express the decisions of the last judgment in a manner completely in harmony with the Scripture conception.[1]

CARVINGS IN IVORY.

Another very interesting class of objects are the carvings in ivory. They are considerable in number, and on account of the durability of the material have suffered less from the forces which have seriously marred works in stone and bronze.

Ivory diptychs.

Some of the most important of these ivory carvings prior to the eighth century are in the form of diptychs. This term, while properly applying to any thing folded together (δίπτυχον), has more especial reference to tablets used by the ancients for writing with a stylus of ivory or metal. They often had three leaves (triptychs), sometimes four and more. The inner surface was covered with a thin film of wax, the outer, or cover proper, was often elaborately carved.

Consular diptychs most important for chronology.

For general art archæology the most important of these are the consular diptychs, since they are usually larger, more elaborate, and bear dates and legends which are often helpful in the solution of historic and chronologic problems. These were usually presents which the newly appointed consuls were accustomed to send to their friends and adherents, and differed in value and artistic excellence according to the social rank or political influence of the recipients. Some of the consular diptychs were afterward presented to churches and ecclesiastical communities, and were changed in their character from secular and heathen to Christian by the removal of portions of the original carving and the substitution of subjects of religious significance. As might be anticipated, they sometimes present a commingling of heathen and Christian elements.

Ecclesiastical diptychs.

Diptychs were also quite common in the public service of the early Church. Their uses have been well summarized as follows: First, like the church registers of modern times, they contained names of all baptized and unbaptized persons of the parish or district; secondly, in them were recorded the names of bishops and chief personages who had been benefactors and patrons of that particular church; thirdly, they contained the names of those who had suffered martyrdom, or who were of specially saintly character—these names being often read at the public services to show the unity of the Church militant and the Church triumphant;

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[1] Roller: *Catacombes de Rome*, vol. i, pl. xliii, No. 3.

fourthly, there were diptychs in which were written the names of the deceased members of the particular church or district, who were to be remembered at mass.[1] This was regarded a matter of extreme interest, since the erasure of a name from the diptychs was equivalent to actual excommunication, and the name so erased could no longer be mentioned in the prayers of the church.[2] The number of ecclesiastical diptychs prior to A. D. 700 is very small; yet they are of peculiar interest in the illustration of the sculpture of the period prior to the liberation of Christianity from Græco-Roman influence, and of the development of an art peculiarly its own.

Their importance.

Examples.

A single leaf of a beautiful Christian diptych, plainly of Byzantine origin, is now in the British Museum. It represents an angel of young and vigorous mien standing under an arch supported by Corinthian columns. He is clad in a tunic and flowing mantle. In the right hand he bears a globe surmounted by the cross, very much in the style of the Byzantine emperors, and with the left supports a long scepter similar to the lance borne by warriors. The general character of the work is good, and suggests that the artist must have been influenced by the classic statues with which Constantinople then abounded.[3] A second example from the sixth century is now in the British collection; both leaves are preserved. One represents the Virgin and child enthroned, with two angels in waiting; on the other leaf Christ is seated between SS. Peter and Paul. A third, now belonging to the treasury of the Cathedral of Monza, also from the sixth century, has both leaves preserved. It has been suggested that it was early converted from a consular diptych to the cover of an antiphonarium of Gregory the Great.[4] On one leaf is a figure in consular robes; but the head shows the tonsure, and the staff terminates in a cross. It has been claimed to be a representation of Gregory himself. The other side contains a somewhat similar figure, but lacks the tonsure, and is associated with the inscription, DAVID REX. This association of Gregory and David has been thought to be very appropriate on account of their similar interest in sacred music and song. While the work is rude, and indicates great artistic decadence, it is nevertheless of great importance in the art study of a period from which comparatively few examples of sculpture have survived.

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[1] Gori: *Thesaurus veterum diptychorum,* Florentiæ, 1759, t. i, pp. 242, 243. Bingham: *Antiquities of the Christian Church,* Book xv, ch. iii, §. 18.

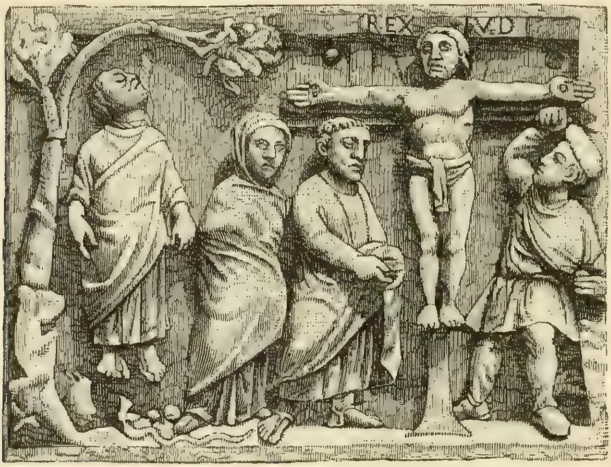
[2] Among others see Bingham: *Op. cit.,* Book xvi, ch. iii, § 12; Book xix, ch. ii, § 11. Dodwell: Fifth Cyprian Dissertation. *Ad Epistolam X. De nominum e diptychis ecclesiæ recitatione in Eucharistia.* Oxen, 1684.

[3] Labarte: *Op. cit.,* t. i, pp. 30, 31. Oldfield: *Select Examples of Ivory Carving from the Second to the Sixteenth Century.* London, 1855, p. 10.

[4] Gori: *Op. cit.,* t. i, p. 201. Oldfield: *Op. cit.,* p. 10. Maskell: *Ivories, Ancient and Mediæval,* etc., p. xxxvi. *Contra,* Pulszky: *The Fejérváry Ivories,* p. 23. Labarte: *Op. cit.,* t. i, p. 16.

It has often been remarked by investigators of early Christian monuments that they are remarkably free from scenes of suffering, as the early inscriptions furnish few examples of the expression of a spirit of complaining, despair, or vindictiveness. It is quite generally agreed that in the first four centuries no instance of a representation of the crucifixion of Christ upon the monuments has yet been found. The reason of the avoidance of these scenes has elsewhere been suggested (*v.* p. 104). Hence the agony in the garden, the scourging, the cross-bearing, and the crucifixion, all of which became favorite subjects of art portraiture in the mediæval period, are rarely met in the art of the first three and a half centuries. Fig. 62 is from an ivory carving, and is believed to be one of the oldest representations of the crucifixion yet discovered. It cannot be of a date earlier than the fifth century. From its general style and resemblance to the sculptures of the Roman sarcophagi, its genuineness has come to be accepted by the best critics, and its date determined. It is now in the collection of the British Museum, and was part of the celebrated Maskell cabinet of ivories which have come to be so highly prized. The scenes here represented, one of four divisions of the ivory, are manifest. The

The earliest representation of the crucifixion.



Fgi. 62.—A Crucifixion. From an ivory in the Maskell Collection in British Museum. Probably of the fifth century.

Saviour, extended upon a Latin cross, receives the thrust from the soldier's spear, while on the other side appear the beloved disciple and the sorrowing mother (John xix, 26, 27). On the extreme left is the representation of the history given in Matt. xxvii, 5: "And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself." Previous to the discovery and description of this ivory carving, the earliest representation of the crucifixion was believed to be that contained in the decoration of a Syriac manuscript of the gospels, now in Florence, which bears the date A. D. 586.

Carvings on the covers of books.

An interesting instance of ivory carving upon covers of books is found in the National Library of Paris. Three principal scenes are represented; namely, above, the Annunciation; in the centre, the Adoration of the Magi; below, the Massacre of the Innocents. The entire composition is in very superior style of art, indicating the thorough acquaintance of the artist with the best works of antiquity.[1]

A second example of like character is in the treasury of the Cathedral of Milan. Both covers have been preserved. The central portion of the one is occupied by a richly jeweled *Agnus Dei* with circled and jeweled nimbus. In the upper part is represented the Nativity, flanked by symbolic figures of Matthew and Luke. In the lower portion is depicted the massacre of the Innocents, while on either side of the cover are three scenes from Gospel history. The center of the other leaf contains a jeweled cross, above which is the adoration of the Magi, with symbolic representations of Mark and John; below is the marriage in Cana, while six scenes from the life of Christ enrich the sides. From the circumstance that Christ is represented as young, unbearded, and without a nimbus, as well as from the fact that while his presentation to the women after the resurrection is the subject of one of the carvings, the crucifixion is here avoided, some have been inclined to assign this ivory to a very early date. It is probable, however, that it cannot antedate the fifth century.[2]

Cathedra of Bishop Maximianus.

This last work in ivory is surpassed in value and interest by the noted cathedra of Bishop Maximianus, now preserved in the sacristy of the Duomo in Ravenna. It is entirely covered with carvings, many of which are of the finest design and technic. Ten scenes from the life of Joseph are of very superior workmanship, while the animals and plants reveal a warm sympathy of the artist with nature. Only the figures of saints that fill the front side show the stiffness and artificiality of the later Byzantine style. Fig. 63 represents one of these figures—an ecclesiastic in the attitude of preaching. The sacred book lies open upon the ambo, or reading desk, and the two forefingers of the right hand indicate the office of the teacher. The attitude of the figure itself is constrained, while the whole artistic treatment, from the head to the sandals upon the feet, is stiff and unnatural. This and other like figures are specially helpful as a means of ascertaining the vestments of the clergy and their position in preaching, as well as suggesting the quality of the church furniture then in use.

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[1] Labarte: *Op. cit.*, t. i, p. 32.

[2] This celebrated work has been described by many writers. Labarte, *Op. cit.*, t. i, p. 32, has given a very fine plate; and Oldfield, *Op. cit.*, p. 11, has given a partial description.

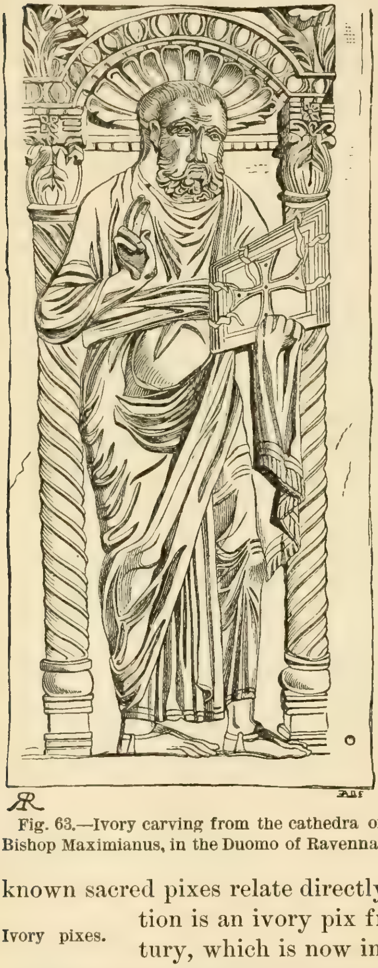
Fig. 63.—Ivory carving from the cathedra of Bishop Maximianus, in the Duomo of Ravenna.

Ivory pixes.

In a few instances ancient ivory boxes, or *pixes*, are still preserved.[1] They were generally placed upon the altar to contain the consecrated eucharistic elements which were to be distributed to the sick. Garrucci claims that the subjects depicted upon fourteen of the fifteen known sacred pixes relate directly to the eucharist. The only exception is an ivory pix from the early part of the sixth century, which is now in the British Museum. Upon it are represented the martyrdom and glorification of the Egyptian saint, Menas. This circumstance has therefore suggested another use of these sacred pixes; namely, to contain relics of saints and martyrs.[2] This St. Menas was held in highest veneration by the Egyptian

[1] *v.* Hahn: *Fünf Elfenbein-Gefässe des frühesten Mittel-alters.* Hanover, 1862. Lebarte: *Histoire des arts industriels.*

[2] *v* Garrucci and Nesbitt, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xliv, pp. 320–330, and plates x and xi.

Christians, and also in Rome. He is often represented upon the flattened flasks or bottles which are found in considerable numbers in Egypt.

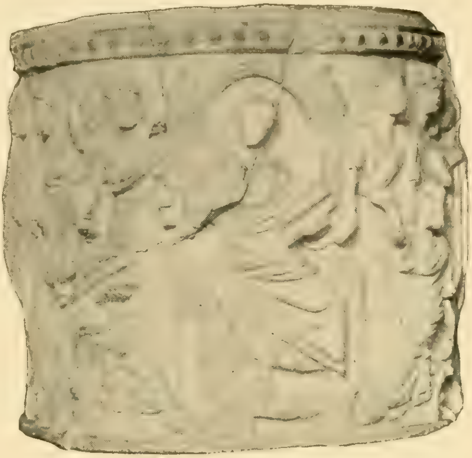
Fig. 63ª.—Ivory Pix from Berlin Museum: Christ Enthroned among the Apostles.

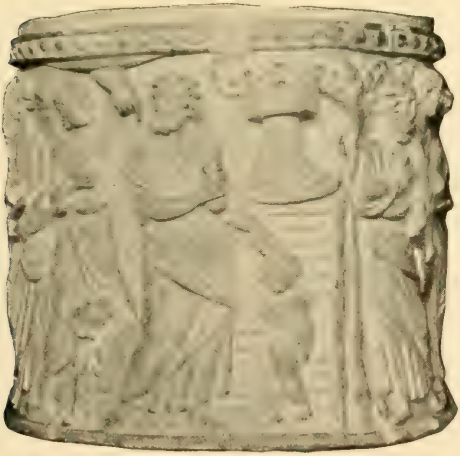
Fig. 63ᵇ.—Ivory Pix from Berlin Museum: Sacrifice of Isaac.

The finest of the early Christian work in ivory is a pix in the Berlin Museum. It is a cylindrical box, 5x5½ inches, elaborately carved with great skill. The chief figure is Christ enthroned, surrounded by the twelve apostles. The drapery, attitude, and general treatment approach the classical style. The Saviour is a youthful, beardless figure with short hair. In his left hand he holds a scroll; his right hand is uplifted in the gesture of teaching. A second subject is the sacrifice of Isaac. The head of Abraham is remarkably fine, suggesting the Æsculapius or Zeus type. This work belongs to the best of the Greco-Christian art of the fourth century. It was found in a village on the Mosel.[1]

Sculptured lamps.

Another interesting class of antiquities are the Christian lamps. They are numerous and of different materials, as terra cotta, bronze, silver, and amber. They are of various forms, and contain a great variety of symbols, as the dove,

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[1] O. Crämer: *Die Elfenbein Pyxis des Berliner Museums. Christliches Kunstblatt,* 1895.

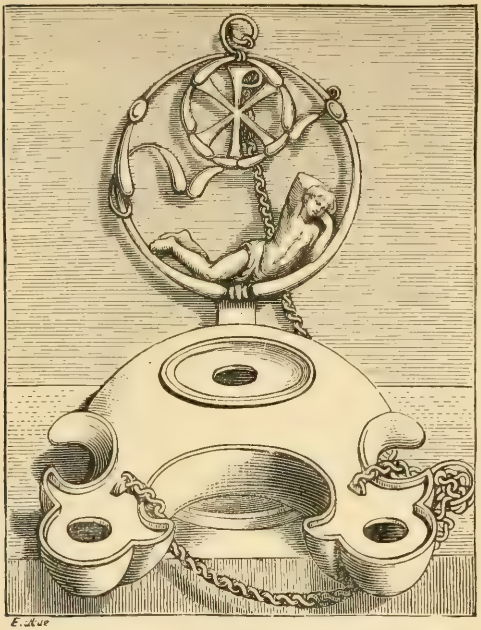

Fig. 64.—A Christian lamp, with Constantinian monogram.

the cross, the Constantinian monogram, A Ω, etc. The Christians used these lamps not only to lighten the otherwise gloomy recesses of the catacombs, but, in common with the heathen peoples, attached to them a symbolic significance, especially when used in connection with the burial of the dead. Some of these lamps are works of high art, and show an exquisite taste in matters of form as well as in respect to workmanship and symbolic import. Fig. 64 is one of the finest of the hanging lamps in bronze. It contains three orifices for lighting, and its handle is wrought out in an elaborate ☧ and the representation of Jonah reclining under the shadow of the gourd.[1]

Ampullæ, or blood-phials.

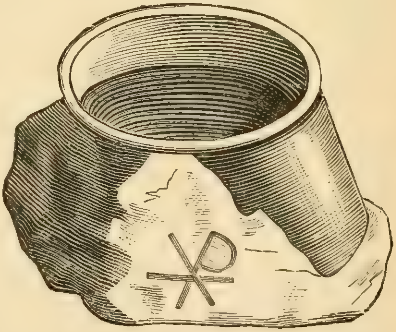

Fig. 65.—A so-called Blood-phial. From Roman catacombs.

For over two hundred years great interest has attached to a class of relics found more especially in the Roman catacombs and crypts of churches ; these are the so-called *ampullæ*, or blood-phials, Fig. 65. An almost acrimonious controversy has continued respecting the uses of these clay and glass phials and their contents. One cause of this controversy was a decree of the *Congregatio Rituum et Reliquarum*, issued in 1668, to the effect that the marks of true relics of the martyrs, as distinguished from the false or doubtful, shall be the presence of the palm-branch and a vessel coloured with their blood. This test was maintained as decisive by nearly all the old archæologists, and has been very vigourously defended by many in the present century. Two opinions of the contents of these phials have been held : one, that they contained the blood of martyrs ; the other, that the colouring matter found in them was due to wine used for eucharistic purposes. The question is not yet satisfactorily settled.

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[1] See Fig. 12^{a}–12^{c}.

Many other interesting and instructive objects of antiquity are found in museums and private collections. The subject of seals and rings has received careful attention. Numismatics has become a special science, also glyptic art has contributed much toward a knowledge of Christian thought during the first six centuries. The special examination of these archæological remains is, however, precluded by the limits of this handbook.

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE.

Section I.

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE DURING THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES.

The primary Christian church edifice was a room dedicated to the uses of a worshipping congregation. There is a fundamental difference, therefore, between a heathen temple and a Christian church. The temple was substantially a building whose chief artistic glory was on the outside. It was practically closed to the masses of the people, and was the home of the deity, into whose presence approached the sacrificing priest; the church, on the other hand, was an assembly room for the masses of the people, before whom and through whom divine worship was conducted. The early church buildings were very simple places of assembly, but, as the Church obtained recognition by the state, church architecture advanced beyond the mere structure for utility and blossomed out into the great building in which there was a rich union of architecture with the decorative arts. There is, therefore, a marked contrast between the church architecture before and that after Constantine.

At the beginning of the fourth century in Alexandria the great Christian Church of that splendid city worshipped in small and unsightly edifices; the churches of Ravenna, about the middle of the same century, are described as "hovels."[1] The recognition of Christianity as the religion of the state had the effect of stimulating church building. Heathen emperors vied with one another in the erection of magnificent temples; Christian emperors caused the erection of great churches. The treasure of the state was poured out for the building of these great cathedrals. Constantine the Great was an enthusiastic builder, and numerous churches arose in different parts of the empire under his patronage. Hardly less zealous in this direction was Theodosius II, but to Justinian must be awarded the palm as an unprecedented builder of churches, not surpassed in any century. In Byzantium he built or restored St.

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[1] Agnellus: *Lib. pont. eccl. Rav. Mon. germ. hist. Script. rer. Lang et Ital.* Hanover, 1878.

Sophia, St. Irene, St. Anna, the Church of the Apostles, the Church of St. Michael, three churches to Mary, besides churches or chapels in honor of Sts. Paul and Peter, Sergius and Bacchus, Akacius, Plato, Moschus, Thyrsus, Theodorus, Thekla, Theodota, and Agathonicus. He built at Ephesus a magnificent church in honour of the apostle John. He enriched Jerusalem with churches and cloisters. Hardly a great centre was omitted in this enlarging and enriching of the architectural splendour of Christianity. Preeminent in this post-Constantine church architecture stands the magnificent St. Sophia in Constantinople, the most beautiful church edifice ever erected, costing sixty-four millions of dollars, and focusing upon itself the thought and the treasures of Justinian, who in his rapture at its completion exclaimed, "I have surpassed thee, O Solomon!"

The bishops emulated the state. It was counted an honour to erect beautiful churches. With the decline of heathenism many temples were transformed into churches. Cloisters arose. In the middle of the fifth century there were fifteen great churches in Constantinople, besides numerous chapels and oratories. Antioch was hardly surpassed in this respect by Constantinople.

The West had not kept pace with the East in church building. This was owing largely to the material backset of the country, the unsafe condition of affairs, and the presence of powerful and widely spread masses of the heathen. Apart from Rome only one great city rivalled the Orient in church architecture, Ravenna. Through the influence of Galla Placidia, the daughter of Theodosius the Great, a decided activity in church building was aroused in Ravenna. Between the fifth and sixth centuries this city was enriched with many beautiful structures, basilicas and domed churches, which were gorgeously decorated with the most elaborate sculpture and mosaic. We must look to Rome for the greatest activity in church building during this period. As the "world capital" and the seat of the chief bishop we should naturally seek in this great metropolis the richest examples of church architecture. In addition to smaller basilicas in and about the city, already in the fourth century we find great structures erected over the reputed graves of Peter and Paul, the Basilica Constantiniana (the Lateran), the Basilica Liberiana (S. Maria Maggiore), to say nothing of other noble edifices.

The zeal of the bishops not only filled Rome with churches, but at Ostia, Capua, Albano, and Tibur splendid buildings were erected. Also in Gaul and in North Africa were notable basilicas which approached in splendor those in Italy. Gregory of Tours tells us that in the sixth century there were in Gaul numerous churches and cloisters. The type of building which prevailed was the "basilica."

Very distinctly marked are two classes of this form of church edifice—the Greek and the Latin. The Greek basilica seems most widely scattered. Beginning with Greece proper, we find this form in Thessalonica, Palestine, Egypt, North Africa, and in the farthest East. The Latin form prevailed in the West, with the exception of Ravenna and its neighborhood. The difference between the two classes is found chiefly in the arrangement of the various apartments adjoining the main room and in the disposition of the vestibule. In the time of Justinian in the East there came into existence a style of church architecture which has taken its name from the place of its origin, Byzantium. The Byzantine building, or "central building," with its characteristic dome, rivalled the prevailing basilica. St. Sophia claims the preeminence as the first and most perfect building of this style.

The discussion of ecclesiastical architecture most naturally falls into two divisions—the basilica and the central or domed structure.[1]

From the point of view of their origin and structure the churches of Rome of the first six centuries may be divided into six classes :[2]

1. Rooms of private houses, where the first prayer meetings were held. Those of Pudens and his daughters and of Aquila and Priscilla are still represented by churches named from the respective owners.

2. Scholæ, memorial or banqueting halls in public cemeteries, transformed into places of worship. The Christians took advantage of the freedom allowed to burial societies, to celebrate special occasions, receive gifts, and erect buildings suitable for their meetings.

3. Oratories and churches built over the tombs of martyrs and confessors. Buildings of this class, necessarily outside the city limits, were the origin of some of the grandest structures of Christian Rome.

4. Houses of confessors and martyrs. "This class of buildings has been splendidly illustrated by discoveries made under the Church of Sts. John and Paul, on the Cælian."

5. Pagan monuments, especially temples, converted into churches. "The experience gained in twenty-five years of active exploration in ancient Rome, both above and below ground, enables me to state that every pagan building which was capable of giving shelter to a congregation was transformed, at one time or another, into a church or a chapel."

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[1] *v.* Schultze : *Arch. der alt chr. Kunst.*

[2] Lanciani : *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 108, *ff.*

6. Memorials of historical events. "The first commemorative chapel erected in Rome [the Oratory of the Holy Cross] is perhaps contemporaneous with the Arch of Constantine, and refers to the same event, the victory over Maxentius. . . . The name must have originated from a monumental cross erected on the battlefield in memory of Constantine's vision."

SECTION II.

THE CHRISTIAN BASILICA.

1. *Origin of the Christian Basilica.*

Origin of the Christian basilica.

THE origin of the species of Christian church called *basilica* has been most earnestly investigated. The answer to the question, "Whence arose Christian architecture?" would also furnish a partial answer to the related questions of the condition of art feeling in the early Church, the originality of monuments usually called Christian, and the connection of the Roman Christian and Gothic architecture with the early Christian basilica in a process of organic art development.[1] The subject is one of great difficulty, on account of the fewness of surviving monuments from the first three centuries, and from the meagre references to this subject in the writings of the Christian fathers, or in Vitruvius, the only architect of the first century whose works have come down to our time. It is not, therefore, surprising that able writers should have differed in their account of the origin of the Christian basilica.

Alberti's theory, from the Roman basilica.

Various opinions have divided the archæologists. 1. The first is that advocated in the latter part of the fifteenth century by Alberti,[2] which claims that the early Christian basilica is a close imitation of the Roman pagan basilica, with unimportant departures from the original. By placing the plan of each side by side, to the superficial observer this similarity appears quite striking and the theory plausible. This opinion was accepted by leading archæologists for three and a half centuries.[3] 2. It remained almost unchallenged until subjected to a most rigidly critical examination by Zestermann[1] in 1847. This writer concedes that the resemblance of the churches of the fourth century to the Roman basilicas in respect to the rows of columns on either side, the lean-to roof, the enclosing wall, and the windows resting upon the columns beneath, justifies the classification of such Christian churches under the term basilica; but these are insufficient to establish an organic connection between the Christian and the heathen structures. He argues that the Christian basilica was chiefly developed through the needs and spirit of the Christian church itself, and is, therefore, a distinct style of architecture. In the solution of this question the *stoa basilica* and the *agora*, found at Athens in the time of Pericles, are successively examined with an earnestness and learning truly praiseworthy. The first of the so-called basilicas at Rome was built by Marcus Porcius Cato in B. C. 184. After this followed others, the most noted of which were the Basilicas Æmilia, Fulvia, Julia, and Ulpia. From Rome these buildings were extended throughout the entire empire. Zestermann claims that they fall under four general classes, according to the purposes which they served; namely, the law basilicas, the private basilicas, the basilicas for pedestrian exercises, and the wine basilicas. Each of these had peculiar features adapting it to its specific uses. All alike appear to have been suggested by the Roman forum, this general type being modified only so far as might be necessary by the greater or smaller building area. This author rejects the derivation of the word from the Greek, in the sense of "a house of the king," or "a royal habitation," but claims that even in the time of Plautus the word *basilicus* had already become a distinctively Roman adjective, meaning "magnificent," "imposing," "grand." Hence, to distinguish it from other porticos, the building of Cato was called "*porticus basilicus*," the magnificent house, and afterward simply "basilica."

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[1] "With respect to the discovery of new germs (of art) in the period of the downfall, the following questions especially would come under examination: First, the question in how far Christianity had a share therein?" etc. *v.* Mothes: *Die Baukunst des Mittelalters*, etc., Bd. i, ss. 2, 3.

[2] *De Re Ædificatoria.* Florentiis, 1485.

[3] The English authorities seem to know no other theory of the origin of the Christian basilica (*v.* article *Basilica*, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and in *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*); this also prevails in America.

Zestermann's theory.

A development from the forum.

Zestermann's four classes.

The Christians applied the term basilica to an imposing building used only for ecclesiastical purposes. Zestermann claims that the groundplan and the arrangement and development of all its parts had sole reference to the purposes and needs of Christian worship, and no relation whatever to Roman pagan buildings of like name. He sees the progressive growth of the Christian society revealing itself in the basilica, slowly transforming and perfecting it, as new wants arise, until the

Sole reference to the needs of Christian worship.

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[1] *Die antiken u. die christlichen Basiliken nach ihren Entstehung, Ausbildung, u. Beziehung zu einander.* This was crowned as the prize essay by the Belgian Academy of Arts, Literature, and the Fine Arts.

imposing structures of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries were the outcome. In harmony with this opinion he professes to be able to group the early churches into five classes, each one of which represents a stage in the attempt to properly adapt them to the needs of Christian worship :

Classification of early Christian churches.

(1.) Buildings of an oblong form with a middle and side naves.

(2.) Those of oblong form with middle and side naves and an apse.

(3.) Those of oblong form, middle and side naves, apse, and transept.

(4.) Those of oblong form, middle and side naves, apse, and transept; but without an atrium, and having the porch leaning on the main building.

(5.) Those having the characteristics of the last class, but having several apses.

This writer defends his theory with great learning, and concludes that "the origination and development of the Christian basilica are completely explained by, and find their justification in, the activities and needs of the Christian spirit."[1]

3. A third opinion has been defended with much earnestness and with great wealth of learning. It holds that the early Christian basilica was developed from the ancient private house and the Greek hypæthral temple.[2] The following considerations are urged in favor of this origin : After their complete separation from the Jewish Church the Christians assembled in private houses for worship. This is distinctly stated in the Acts of the Apostles, in the Epistles, and by the early Christian fathers. The accepted and regular form of the Roman house at the beginning of the Christian era can be well ascertained, and the adaptation or adjustment of such a room to the purposes of a Christian assembly can be easily traced. The resemblance of these

Hypæthral temple.

Private house.

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[1] Zestermann has a zealous disciple in J. Kreuser: *Christlicher Kirchenbau*, 1851 and 1860 ; and still more positively in his *Wiederum Christlicher Kirchenbau*, 1868. This author holds, 1. That the Christian basilicas had nothing to do with the attic royal hall. 2. Under the term, hypæthral temple, he can understand nothing more nor less than a building that is open and free to the light and air. Diogenes's tub in the street might be an example of a hypæthral building. 3. Zestermann is the foremost and best author who has written on the basilica, and his explanation of its origin is the only correct one. 4. Egypt had the first basilica. From two passages in the Talmud it is evident that this name was peculiar to Egyptian works of architecture. 5. The Egyptian, or, more strictly, the Africano-Palestine, method of building was copied in Rome, and from these arose the basilicas for holding the courts of law.

[2] W. Weingärtner : *Ursprung und Entwickelung des christlichen Kirchengebäudes.* Leipzig, 1858.

to the early Christian churches is seen in the peristyle, and the so-called *œci* lying behind it. These two rooms were related to each other both in space and situation very nearly as were the parts of Herod's temple at Jerusalem, which was built in the Grecian style. After the destruction of this temple, and the spread of Christianity over the known world, it was natural that the Christians, when erecting independent houses of worship, should take their suggestions from the Græco-Roman temples, which contained all the essential parts of a Christian church. It was also natural that the form should be selected which had been most perfected, and most nearly satisfied the demand for the observance of their own religious services. This was the hypæthral temple. It was open to the sky, thus giving abundance of light, and had a recess, the *cella,* where could stand the high altar for the celebration of the eucharist. This cella, which was taken from the circular or polygonal burial temples, was demanded by the Christian societies, since soon afterward a place of worship, and a place of burial for the martyr or saint to whom the church was dedicated, were combined in the same building. With the exception of the greater elevation of the middle nave, the outer form of the hypæthral temple corresponded to that of the Christian church. Still more close was the likeness of their interior arrangement. This influence of the pagan temple upon the Christian building was most apparent in the time of Constantine. It was seen in the use of like terms, in the adoption of the circular or polygonal groundplan, and in working out the details of the interior. The ground outline, the rows of columns, and the consequent division of the interior space into naves, the lower porticos, the choir and its general arrangement, the sacramental table, the baldachin, the place of burial for the martyr, the crypts beneath, the apse, and, later, the *ambos*, or reading desks near the front railing, are all prefigured in the Roman pagan temples. The purest form of the continuation of the antique temples were the Roman basilicas, which maintained their peculiar characteristics as late as the twelfth century.[1]

This writer thus attempts to show the intimate relation and dependence of the early Christian churches on the private house, and especially on the hypæthral temple, both in external form and interior arrangement. He holds that the law basilicas of the Romans were so entirely different from the Christian that it is unscientific to regard the latter as the continuation and perfection of the former, and claims that the Christian church could only be derived from the ancient private house, with such suggestions as were afforded by the hypæthral temple of the Greeks.

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[1] *v.* Weingärtner: *Op. cit.*, ss. 136, 137.

Messmer's theory.

From the triclinium.

4. A fourth theory of the origin and development of the Christian basilica has been suggested and very ably defended by Dr. J. A. Messmer.[1] He starts from the well attested fact that the earliest Christian societies were accustomed to assemble in the private house of some one of their number, and in the room most spacious and convenient for their services, and which at the same time would best afford protection from sudden interruptions by their enemies. Plainly this would be the triclinium, or banqueting-room. Among the Romans this was a rectangle, whose length was twice the breadth. The more wealthy the owner of the house the more spacious and elegant was this room, and the more nearly did it resemble the form of the basilicas which were found in the palaces of the more noted Romans. These dining-rooms of the nobles are so minutely described by Vitruvius that we cannot be in doubt with regard to their form, arrangement, and decoration (*v.* Fig. 78). Rows of columns, both Corinthian and Egyptian, often supported architraves and beams on which a place for promenading was constructed, while above were other columns supporting a roof or a wall pierced with windows for lighting the interior. In these rooms public business was frequently transacted and legal causes determined. We also read of a church in the houses of wealthy public men who had accepted Christianity, as in the case of Pudens and Aquila.[2]

Examples of noble Christians.

Jerome assures us that the noble Lateranus opened his private basilica for the assembly of the Christians, and that it afterward was transformed into one of the most splendid churches of Rome. Ammianus Marcellinus[3] says that a like assembly found a stated place of meeting in the Basilica of Sicinianus, another noted Roman. There is trustworthy evidence that such change from the triclinium of the house of a wealthy citizen, named Theophilus, to a Christian church took place at Antioch in the first half of the third century; and it seems incredible that the pseudo-Clement could mention in his romance these transformations of private basilicas into Christian churches unless the fact was well known. Thus, while the triclinium of the private house and the private basilicas of the more wealthy were used for the assembly and worship of the early Christians, it was found that they combined, more fully than any others, elements of architecture which were afterward developed into the distinctive edifice known by the generic name of Christian basilica. While the Roman name was retained, the building was transformed by the peculiar power of the new religion. Thus was provided a type of church architecture peculiarly adapted to the genius of Christianity, and in many respects the most convenient ever devised. Christianity became the heir to the late Roman art, but its inheritance was improved and perfected by a new and living spirit.

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[1] *Ueber den Ursprung, die Entwickelung, und Bedeutung der Basilika in der christlichen Baukunst.* Leipzig, 1854. Also and more thoroughly in an article, *Ueber den Ursprung der christlichen Basilika*, in the *Zeitschrift für christliche Archæologie und Kunst*, 1859, vol. ii.

[2] I Cor. xvi, 19. *v.* also p. 30.

[3] Ammian. Marcellin., xxvii, 3. "Et in concertatione," etc.

Dehio's theory, from the private house.

5. A fifth theory, very ably advocated by Dehio,[1] finds the germs of the Christian basilica in the private house, in which for two centuries the early Church was accustomed to meet for worship. He attempts to trace this development, step by step, from the simplest structure of the common Roman dwelling-house to its perfected form in the imposing basilicas of the fourth and fifth centuries.

From the scholæ.

Argued from the likeness of the church to other organizations.

6. The latest theory is that recently advanced by Professor Lange, of Halle,[2] and substantially accepted by Professor G. Baldwin Brown,[3] of the University of Edinburgh. This theory traces the beginnings of Christian architecture to the pagan *schola*. While the architectural evidence cited in support of this view is not decisive, it is believed that from the outward resemblance of the Christian communities to the various religious organizations and clubs of the heathen world,[4] and from the confounding of these by the legal authorities, it would naturally follow that their places of assembly must have been similar in outward appearance and in internal arrangement. The adaptation of these *scholæ* to the needs of Christian worship is pointed out, and the fact that the protection of government given to the clubs would thus be extended to the Christian assemblies is emphasized.

An eclectic view.

These different theories of the origin of the Christian basilica illustrate the difficulties of the subject. It seems probable that each contains a partial truth, and that by a judicious eclecticism a juster view of the beginnings and growth of early Christian architecture may be gained. Let us look at some well-established facts.

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[1] *Die Genesis der christlichen Basilika.* München, 1883.

[2] *Haus und Halle.* Leipzig, 1885.

[3] *From Schola to Cathedral.* Edinburgh, 1886.

[4] Hatch: *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, London, 1892, has developed this subject, using with great effect the monumental evidence.

The first Christians assembled for worship in the temple,[1] in private houses,[2] in upper rooms, through fear of disturbance and persecution from their enemies,[3] in the synagogues of the Jews,[4] and by the river side.[5] In the synagogues, which had been founded in every chief city of the empire, the apostles could address a multitude composed of Jewish and non-Jewish elements.[6] Doubtless the free republican spirit which characterized the service, in marked contrast with the exclusiveness of the temple, was another reason for the assembling of the apostles and first Christians in these buildings. Moreover, the synagogues were places for consultation, and for discussion of questions upon which the opinions of the rabbis were divided; so that persons of vigorous intellect and of inquiring spirit were often attracted to them. This is manifest from the accounts given of the Berean Jews,[7] as well as from the fact that Paul could speak freely in the synagogue at Ephesus "for the space of three months, reasoning and persuading as to the things concerning the kingdom of God.[8]

Advantages of the synagogue.

The fact that some of the Judaizing sects, as the Ebionites, still resorted to the synagogues for worship[9] may suggest one reason why, during the first century, the pagan world regarded the Christians as only a sect of Jews, and why the fierce opposition of the latter to the Christians was judged by the Roman governors to be of little importance in the eye of the civil law.[10] While despised by the pagan world, the Jews had, nevertheless, received at the hands of some of the emperors very favorable regard, and were granted some most valuable immunities. The inscriptions and art remains of the Jewish catacombs at Rome entirely confirm the testimony of the literary monuments touching this point. With this erroneous conception respecting the true nature of Christianity was connected a decided advantage to its first adherents. There can be little doubt that thereby the early Church secured exemption from sweeping persecution just at the time of its greatest need. Even at the close of the second century a Christian father of eminent ability recognises this obligation.[11]

Christians judged a sect of the Jews.

Privileges of the Jews.

Incidentally advantageous to the infant Church.

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[1] Acts iii, 1; v, 12.
[2] Acts xii, 12, *seq.*
[3] Acts i, 13; xx, 7–9.
[4] Acts ix, 20; xiii, 5, 16, *et al.*
[5] Acts xvi, 13.
[6] Acts xiii, 16, 26, 44, 46, 48; xiv, 1; xviii, 4.
[7] Acts xvii, 11.
[8] Acts xix, 8.
[9] Irenæus: *Adv. Hœres*, lib. i, c. 26.
[10] Acts xviii, 12–17.
[11] Tertullian: *Apologet.*, c. 21.

But from the first it was manifest that Christ had established a Church whose spirit could not be confined within the narrow limits of Judaism. The events at Ephesus are instructive. The awakened hostility compelled the withdrawal of the Christians from the synagogue, and they assembled in the school of one Tyrannus,[1] where these meetings were "continued by a space of two years." A somewhat similar state of things existed in Corinth.[2] Various passages in the history of the apostolic Church clearly prove that the customary places of meeting were in upper rooms[3] or in private houses.[4] This was the case at Troas;[5] and Aquila and Priscilla,[6] "with the church that is in their house," send salutations to the Corinthian brethren. Also Paul sends greetings to "Nymphas and the church which is in his house,"[7] and to Philemon and "the church in thy house."[8] His own custom for two years was to receive all who came unto him in his own private house at Rome, "preaching the kingdom of God and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ."[9]

A separate place of gathering in private houses.

The continuance of the custom of gathering in private houses after the apostolic age is clearly evidenced from the literary monuments both Christian and pagan. It is well-nigh demonstrable that the worship of the Christian Church for nearly two hundred years was chiefly a private service, avoiding the publicity permitted to a religion already recognised and protected by the state.[10] So far as can be known, to the close of the second century no stately or characteristic buildings for the ceremonies of Christian worship had been erected. Probably some houses had already been erected and set apart for Christian services, but they must have been unpretentious, and probably mostly of the nature of private halls, or of the class of buildings called *scholæ*, which were either given by the wealthier members, statedly thrown open for the use of the societies,[11] or built by means of a common fund. Doubtless, however, these unpretentious buildings contained evidences of the art susceptibility which had already found expression in the earlier pictures of the catacombs.

The custom continued.

Scholæ.

In consequence of the high esteem felt for the confessors and

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[1] Acts xix, 9.
[2] Acts xviii, 7.
[3] Acts i, 13.
[4] Acts vii, 15.
[5] Acts xx, 7, 8.
[6] 1 Cor. xvi, 19.
[7] Col. iv, 15.
[8] Philem. 2.
[9] Acts xxviii, 30, 31.
[10] Pliny: *Epist.*, lib. x, ep. 96.
[11] The houses of Pudentiana and of Lucina at Rome, and of Briccius and Eutochius at Tours, are familiar examples.

Burial festivals and chapels.

Pagan suggestion.

Influence of the tombs of martyrs.

martyrs, the practice of burial feasts and festivals soon arose. Celebrated sometimes in the houses and sometimes in the catacombs, these festivals exerted a powerful influence on the architectural arrangement of the places of meeting, and on the furniture and art of the church. Feasts in honor of the dead were very common among the pagan peoples, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the Christians found in them many suggestions for their own practices. From the reign of Marcus Aurelius burial festivals became especially frequent, on account of the great number of devoted men and women who were victims of the terrible persecutions. It is plain that the arrangement of the meeting-houses and the nature of the services were modified through the great reverence for those whose remains were deposited in crypts beneath the altars of the churches, or in the small chapels where the hunted Church gathered for the celebration of the meal in memory of the sainted dead.

Meetings in private houses in the third century.

Notices of churches in the third century.

There is abundant evidence that at the beginning of the third century private houses were still in general use for divine worship, and for the meetings of the Christian societies. Optatus is very specific in his information touching this subject, speaking of various members in whose houses such assemblies were accustomed to be held.[1] But the changed social condition of the Church, which now reckoned among its adherents some of the noted families of the capital and of the empire, was more favorable to the erection of buildings devoted exclusively to Christian uses. It is impossible to determine their number, size, and degree of elegance. Optatus informs us that the schismatics destroyed forty churches which had been the property of the orthodox party at Rome. He calls them "basilicas," but their peculiar character he does not indicate. We also have the account of the erection of a very imposing structure at Nicomedia in the last part of the third century,[2] as well as of its destruction at the beginning of the execution of Diocletian's edict to raze all the Christian churches and burn the sacred books.

It must, however, be remembered that not until the reign of Commodus did entire families of the Roman aristocracy pass over to the Christian Church, and that, two generations after Constantine, Christianity could claim hardly a majority of the prominent families of Rome. For the first two hundred and fifty years the adherents of Christianity were largely of the middle and lower classes, and were, therefore, accustomed to the simple Roman dwelling-house, or were crowded together in the many-storied tenant houses of Rome and of the larger towns. While there is good reason to believe that, from the second century, converts from noble families opened or devoted their spacious dwellings to the Church for Christian worship, this number must, nevertheless, have been comparatively insignificant. In times of peace the common dwelling-house was the usual place for the celebration of the sacraments, and for the instruction and edification of believers. It is incredible that these forty so-called basilicas at Rome, near the close of the third century, were elegant dwellings furnished by the richer and nobler members. Rather must we suppose that the main features of the rooms in which the Christians were accustomed to assemble, and of the service which had been adjusted to this environment for two and one half centuries, would impress themselves upon the more imposing churches which were erected during the peaceful interval of forty years between the reigns of Decius and Diocletian, and after final exemption from persecution had been ensured. It is, therefore, important to examine the form and arrangement of the ordinary dwelling-house of the empire.

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[1] *De schism. Donat.*, i, 14, 23; *v.* also *Acta Martyrum*, cc. 8, 9.

[2] Eusebius: *Hist. Ecclesiæ*, lib, viii, cc. 1, 2.

Few noble and wealthy Christians.

Relations of the private houses to the churches.

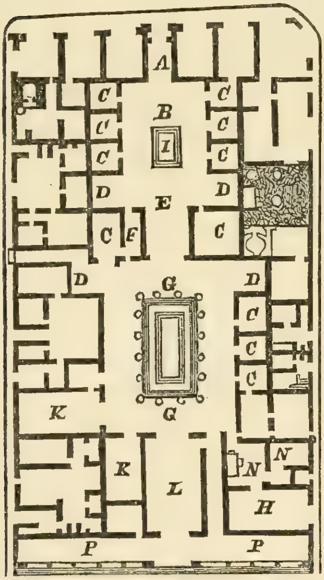

Fig. 66.—The House of Pansa (*Casa di Pansa*), Pompeii. An elegant Roman house.

There was a general uniformity in the internal arrangement of the early Greek and the Italian private house.[1] The chief sources of information are Vitruvius, the Capitoline Fragments, and the houses which have been disinterred on various sites, as Pompeii, Herculaneum, etc. From these we infer the most important portions of the Roman house. First was the *vestibulum*, which was a vacant space before the door, forming a kind of court, one side of which opened upon the street, the other sides bounded by the house itself. From the vestibule a passage or hall, called the *ostium* (*v.* Fig. 66, A), led to the main room of the interior, which

The Roman dwelling-house.

Its arrangements.

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[1] Mommsen: *History of Rome*, vol. i, pp. 46 and 307.

went under the names of the *atrium* and *cavædium*, B (*cavum ædium*). This was roofed over, with the exception of an opening in the center, the *compluvium*, toward which the roof sloped to conduct the rain into a cistern in the floor, the *impluvium*, I. In the rear of the atrium was the *tablinum*, E, and right and left the *alæ*, DD. On the sides of the atrium were found the sleeping-rooms, *cubicula*, CC, and behind and on either side the triclinium were the servants rooms, CC. The triclinium is open, and allows an uninterrupted view of the other parts of the house. Vitruvius refers to five kinds of atria,[1] representing as many stages in the development of the Roman house. The *atrium Tuscanicum* was the earliest and most simple (Fig. 67). In this the roof was supported by four beams, crossing at right angles, thus forming the compluvium. It is plain that this construction was available only in the smaller houses. The *atrium tetrastylum* differed from the first in that the beams were supported at their intersection by columns, instead of extending to the walls of the house. This would admit of an enlargement of the atrium. In the *atrium corinthium* the beams were supported by rows of columns, thus giving opportunity of farther enlargement.[2] In the *atrium displuviatum* the roof sloped outward toward the walls, instead of inward toward the compluvium—thus carrying the water away from the interior impluvium (v. Fig. 68). The *atrium testudinatum* was entirely roofed over, and lacked the compluvium, and consequently the interior impluvium (*v.* Fig. 69). The atrium was the chief room. In the ordinary dwellings it was devoted to a variety of uses, to the customary intercourse and the festivities of the family; in the houses of the wealthy it was fitted up with magnificence, and was the reception room where the patron was accustomed to meet clients, hear petitions, and dispense favors.

Five classes of the atrium.

Description.

Uses for the atrium.

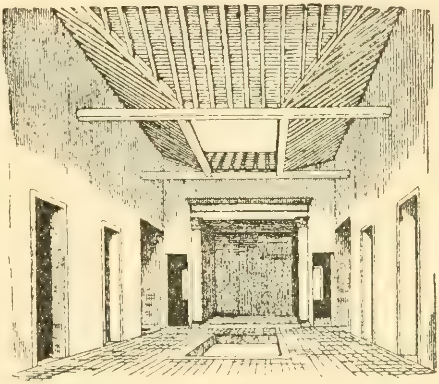

Fig. 67.—Atrium Tuscanicum.

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[1] vi, 3.

[2] In fig. 67 these columns and the changed interior thus resulting can be easily supplied by the imagination.

At the further end of the atrium, opposite the entrance, was the deep recess or room, called the *tablinum*, which could be made private by means of folding doors or hangings. It was the place of honor, the seat of the householder. On either side of the atrium, leading right and left, were small recesses or rooms, called *alæ* (v. Fig. 67). Such seems to have been the simple arrangement of the Roman house at the end of the republican period. In the country, and during the early history of the cities, it was of one story, or, at most, it added a second story in which were the *cubicula*, or bed-chambers, whose breadth and height to the cross beams were one third or one fourth the length of the atrium.

In the republican period.

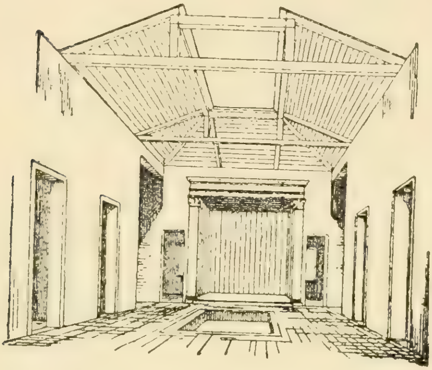

Fig. 68.—Atrium displuviatum.

But in the period of the empire, when the crowded condition of the towns made building sites expensive, and the increasing wealth of leading families created a demand for more elegant dwellings, the construction of the Roman house underwent an important change which is connected with the history of early Christian architecture. The enlargement of the dwelling could be attained only by increasing its length; hence the more elegant Roman houses, after the manner of the Greeks, added to the simple atrium a large space in the rear. This, the *peristyle*, (Fig. 66, GG), was a court open to the sky in the center, which was surrounded by columns, and was somewhat larger than the compluvium of the atrium. In the center of this peristyle was a plot for grass and flowers, and at the sides the *triclinia*, KK, or rooms in which the couches and tables were usually placed for social or religious feasts.[1] At the rear of the peristyle in the larger and more imposing houses was found the *œcus*, L, which held the same relation to the peristyle as did the

Enlarged in the imperial period.

The peristyle and triclinium.

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[1] Fortunately the excavations have revealed examples of each class of the Roman house. The so-called *casa di Sallustio* (Sallust's house), in Pompeii, has a groundplan almost precisely answering to our description of the atrium, with its alæ raised to admit the light; while the *casa di Pansa* (Fig. 66) is a fine example of the more pretentious houses, with the peristyle and its architectural accompaniments.

Examples from Pompeii.

tablinum to the atrium. It was sometimes semicircular.[1] From the œcus a passage led to the porch, PP, whence was a way to the garden in the rear.

Doubtless the private basilicas of the more wealthy families that had embraced Christianity contained architectural elements which afterward found expression in the churches of the Constantinian and post-Constantine periods, but it is difficult to believe that they furnished all the essential norms of the Christian architecture of the fourth and fifth centuries.[2]

Lighting the interior.

The lighting of the dwelling-house is connected directly with the history of Christian ecclesiastical architecture. In the simplest Roman house the atrium was lighted from the vestibule. At a later stage of the development, the alæ were extended to the roof and sides, thus admitting abundant light to the interior. When the houses in the towns became continuous, and the sides were bounded by continuous walls, a new method of lighting the inner rooms was required. The most obvious way was to admit light through the compluvium. But the defence against moisture and cold required that this central opening be protected, while light might still be admitted. The construction of a gabled roof, supported by columns above the compluvium, thus shielding the interior from cold and rain and yet allowing a free admission of light, was the next step in the solution of the problem. This gave rise to a structure represented by Fig. 68, which is a conjectural reproduction of the form which the atrium displuviatum would thus assume. From this figure it may be seen how the spaces on the enclosing walls, as well as on those separating the atrium from the lateral apartments, were preserved, and which afterward furnished opportunity for the extended ornamentation introduced into the churches.

Guarding the compluvium.

The cella and schola.

The more recent excavations in Rome, Syria, and North Africa have brought into prominence other architectural forms which had manifest influence on the development of the Christian basilica. They are the *curia*, the *cella*, and the *schola*. These terms were applied to the meeting-houses of associations, where the members were accustomed to assemble for business purposes

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From Herculaneum and Rome.

[1] The celebrated villa of Herculaneum, the largest and richest which has yet been excavated, lacks the œcus. The villa in the Farnese garden and the house of Livia on the Palatine have no peristyle; while the recently discovered atrium of Vesta, which is one of the most elegant dwelling-houses yet excavated in Rome, has a very spacious œcus, but lacks the peristyle.

[2] This is virtually the theory of Messmer and of Schultze.

or for advancing the interests of their organization. These societies were very numerous, and were carefully guarded by legal enactments. The places of gathering were called curiæ, or scholæ, according to the dignity and importance of the body therein assembling; usually the term curiæ being applied to halls of greater size which were used for public business, the term scholæ to buildings occupied by private clubs. Among the more important of such organizations were the burial guilds. On account of the great regard of the Romans for their dead, special privileges were granted to these associations to hold groundplots for the interment of their deceased members. On them (which were beyond the city walls) a building was erected for the celebration of the memorial feasts, and still others for the occupancy of the persons specially charged with the care of the cemeteries. This space, having the technical name of *area*, usually enclosed by walls and often embellished with statues, flowers, etc., was a spot of peculiar privacy and sacredness.

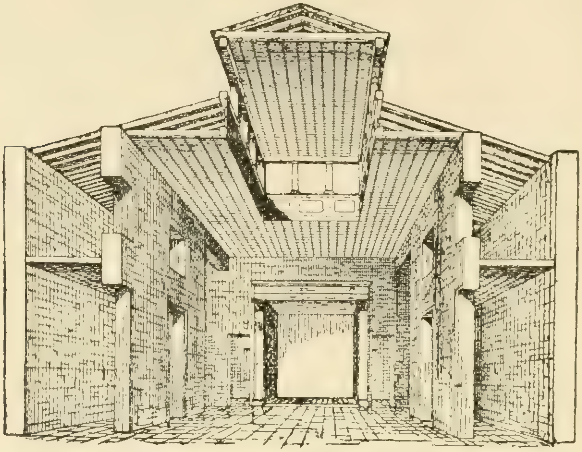
Fig. 69.—Atrium displuviatum with covered compluvium.

The burial guilds.

The area.

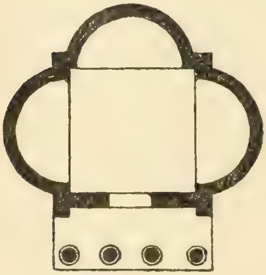
Fig. 70.—Heathen schola, Via Appia, Rome.

On the Via Appia are found the remains of these scholæ of heathen origin. Fig. 70 is the groundplan of such a one.[1] It was a building of square form, with three semicircular niches, fronted by a columned portico.

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[1] *v.* Canina: *Via Appia*, Tav. xx.

One represented by Fig. 71 is likewise on the Via Appia. Here are six niches, and the tendency is to the circular form. This portico is lacking in columns.[1] Some whose outlines closely resemble those of the earliest Christian churches have also been excavated at Pompeii. Moreover, the testimony of the inscriptions is full and explicit respecting these structures. Much information is given concerning their legal tenure, the donors of the grounds and of the buildings erected thereon, the purposes to which they were devoted, the character of the feasts, etc.

Testimony of inscriptions.

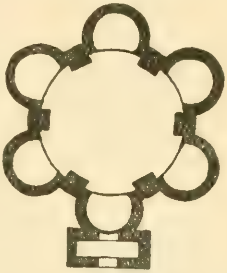
Fig. 71.—Heathen schola, Via Appia, Rome.

Structures of like form and used for like purposes have also been discovered in connection with Christian cemeteries in various parts of the Empire. Two such cellæ, measuring about thirty feet on each side of the square, have been found in the open-air portion of the catacomb of San Calisto in Rome[2] (Fig. 72); also the oratories in the cemetery of San Pretestate are of like general character.

Connected with Christian cemeteries.

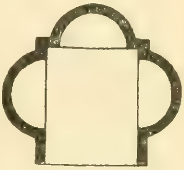
Fig. 72. — Christian schola above San Calisto, Rome.

Many suggestions relative to the forms and arrangement of these earlier Christian meeting-places are found upon the sarcophagi, in the buildings which are depicted in the great mosaics of Rome, Ravenna, and Thessalonica, and sometimes in objects of less striking character. Fig. 73 represents a

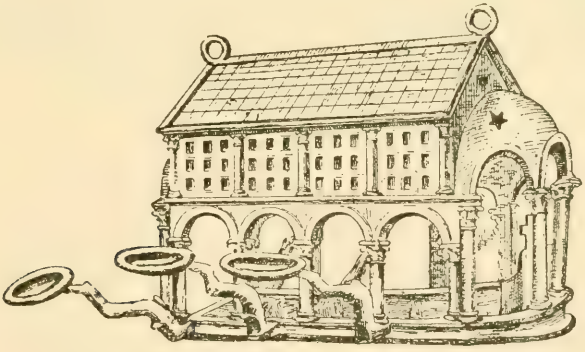
Fig. 73.--Form of an early basilica, a bronze lamp found in Africa.

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[1] Canina: *Op. cit.*, t. ix.

[2] De Rossi: *Roma Sotterranea*, iii, p. 468. Ritter calls them "the first early Christian churches built above ground."

bronze lamp discovered in Africa.[1] It is in the form of a primitive basilica or schola. Almost precisely the same form is met in the great mosaics of St. George, Thessalonica.[2] By a comparison of these with the plans and outlines of buildings found in the Capitoline fragments and at Pompeii, little doubt can be felt relative to the resemblance of the early Christian meeting-houses to the scholæ and curiæ of pagan Rome. By a comparison of Figs. 70 and 72 the likeness of the heathen burial chapel to the Christian cella will be obvious. That like principles of construction and arrangement held in each must be manifest.

Cella of San Sisto.

The cella of San Sisto at Rome, situated in the midst of an open air cemetery (Fig. 74), affords a good illustration of the form of these burial chapels, and of their relation to the places of sepulture and the enclosed area. It was a principle, holding in the arrangement of the cemeteries controlled by the burial clubs, that the area of the open-air plot should exactly correspond to that of the subterranean space. Great care was observed that no society should intrude upon the rights of another. It will be seen that this cella terminates in a semicircular apse, whose upper portion suggests the beginning of the semidomical or conchoidal style. It also shows the probable location of the altar, and the space for the distribution of the couches, etc., in the celebration of the burial

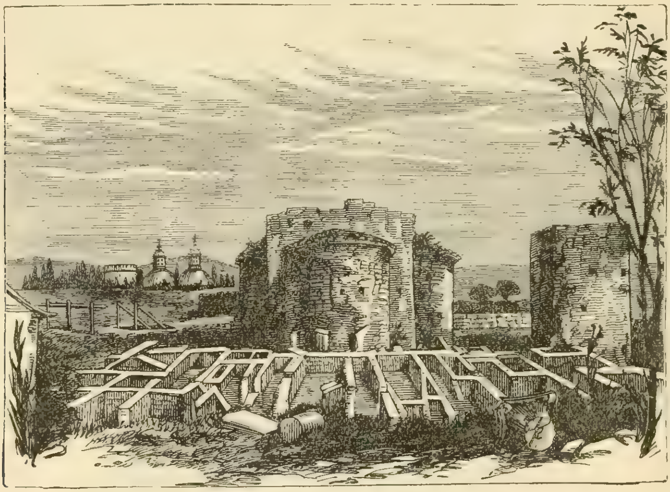

Fig. 74.—Cella and arrangement of graves above San Sisto, Rome.

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[1] de Rossi: *Bullettino di Archeologia cristiana*, 1866.

[2] Texier et Pullan: *Arch. Byzantine*, pl. xxx-xxxiv.

feasts. The principle of the cella, oratory, or schola finds further illustration in the room discovered in 1868 in the cemetery of Santa Generosa, near Rome (Fig. 75). The apse is almost perfect. In the extreme rear part is found another smaller recess or apse for the cathedra of the bishop; back of this is a window. Further excavations behind the window revealed a cubiculum on whose walls were frescos, the style of which points to the seventh century as the time of their origin.

Santa Generosa.

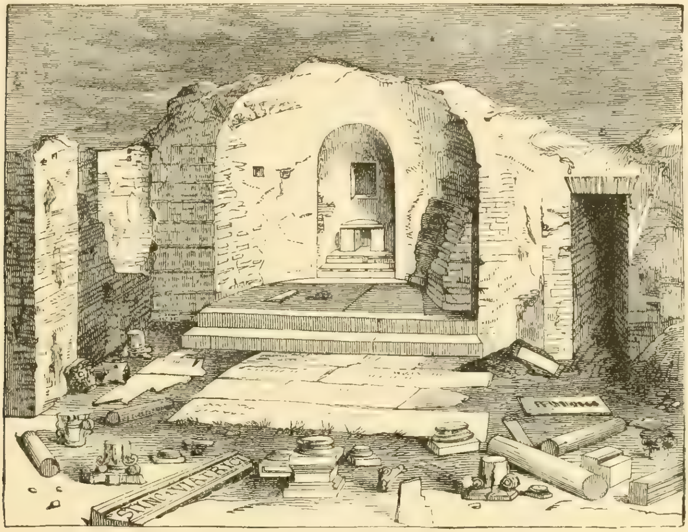

Fig. 75.—Basilica in Santa Generosa, Rome.

Another interesting example of an excavated Christian basilica, illustrating the same structural arrangement, is Santa Petronilla, at Rome, Figs. 76 and 77. The vestibule, the four rows of columns, dividing the interior space into five naves, the terminal semicircular apse, are clearly preserved. Moreover, the mural paintings, of a style not inferior to the best contemporary art, the ornamentation in stucco, crypts of great extent, not hewn in the rock as elsewhere, but carefully and elegantly constructed out of terra-cotta and building stone, with pilasters and other architectural details, show that the Church was not opposed to art, nor in a condition of extreme poverty and persecution, but all the reverse. Also a large number of inscriptions, not materially different in form from the best heathen work, whose dates in some cases reach back to the second century, further confirm this view.[1] De

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[1] Kraus: *Roma Sotterranea*, ss. 87, 88.

Rossi[1] has shown that this Petronilla belonged to the Flavian family, and lived in the first century. The groundplan (Fig. 76) shows the complexity of the structure.

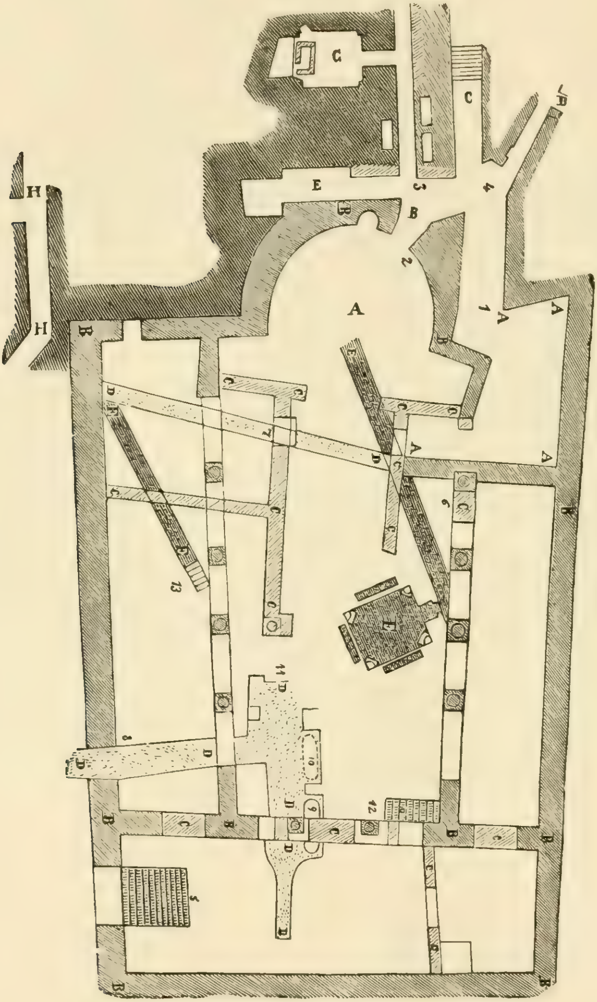

Fig. 76.—Groundplan of basilica in Santa Petronilla, Rome.

De Rossi[2] reported a most important discovery made at the entrance of the most ancient catacomb at Rome, Santa Domitilla.

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[1] *v. Bullettino Arch. crist.*, 1874, 1875.

[2] *Bullettino Cristiano*, 1865.

The use of the interior space was suggested by the stone bench which runs along the walls; "an immense triclinium for a great number of guests; in fine, a *schola sodalium* very like to those of the pagan brotherhoods founded for burial purposes." Somewhat similar triclinia have been discovered at Pompeii, whose internal arrangements bear a very close resemblance to this anteroom to the cemetery of Santa Domitilla.

Santa Domitilla.

Also at Pompeii.

Origin of the pagan Roman basilica.

We must here consider the structure of the pagan basilicas, and determine their influence upon early Christian architecture. They are believed to have been derived immediately from the Greeks, but had been brought to their greatest perfection at Rome during the later period of the republic, and the reign of the first emperors. The resemblance of the Roman basilica to the Roman forum is well known. Their uses, also, somewhat corresponded.

The opinion that the basilica derived its form from the forum has good foundation. Vitruvius connects the basilicas with the markets, and says they should be built in the warmest places in order that the traders might there meet in winter.[1] In this statement he seems to mistake the object of these buildings, since among the Romans, as among the Greeks, they were certainly used as halls of justice.[2] So far as can be known the first basilica was built at Rome, B. C. 184, by Marcus Porcius Cato, from whom it was named the Basilica Porcia. Seven of rare magnificence are mentioned during the republic.

Form of the law basilica.

An enclosing wall.

The law basilicas of Rome were oblong, rectangular buildings, whose length was usually twice their breadth. They were of one, three, or five naves, were usually without roof, and open to the sky. The rectangular space was inclosed by a wall. This has been questioned by some writers[3] who believe that the early basilica lacked the full enclosing wall. This opinion is chiefly supported by the remark of Plutarch, that the Roman knights and armed men stormed through the Basilica of Paulus. But the passage can be easily explained by the existence of numerous doorways or openings in the side walls, while the positive testimony of equally trustworthy[4] writers in-

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[1] I. C.

[2] Hirt: *Die Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten*, 1827, Bd. iii, ss. 180, 181.

[3] v. Schnaase: *Geschichte d. bildende Künste.*

[4] Vitruvius, Quintilian, and Seneca among the ancients. Among modern writers see Ottfried Müller, Bunsen, Zestermann, and Messmer. The excavations make it probable that the Basilica Julia lacked this outer bounding wall.

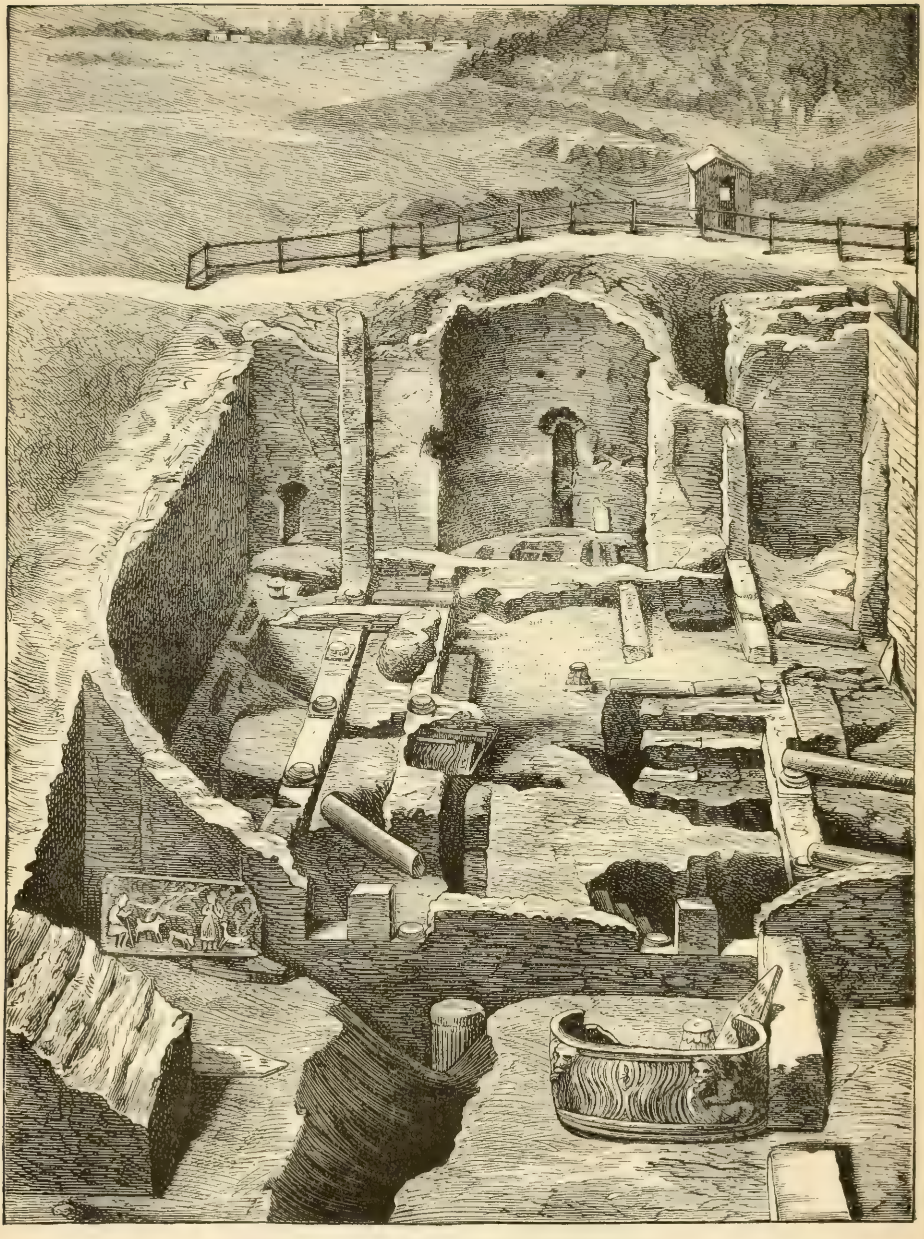

Fig. 77.—View of basilica in Santa Petronilla, Rome.

duces the belief that the Roman law basilicas generally had the enclosing wall.

The apse.

The early Roman basilica terminated opposite the entrance in a semicircular niche, called the apse or tribune (see Fig. 78).[1] This was not an unusual form for other Roman buildings. It is seen in the baths of Titus and of Diocletian, while in the baths of Pompey the long hall terminated in a clearly defined semicircular niche, which formed a half-domed recess above. A like arrangement is noticed in many of the temples, where the semicircular niche was often occupied by a pedestal, on which was a statue of the god.[2] Vitruvius distinctly mentions this recess or apse as connected with the Roman basilicas, and his description of the tribune leaves no doubt as to its location and purpose. The semicircular termination of the pagan basilica[3] corresponded to its purpose, and to its derivation from the forum. The latter structure has clearly preserved this arrangement in a semicircular portico supported by columns. To the same result would point the representation of the Basilica Ulpia, found on the Capitoline Fragments, where a like outline of the tribune is clearly seen. The Basilica of Constantine the Great also contains the same form. The latter monument is of great value for the determination of this question, since its loca-

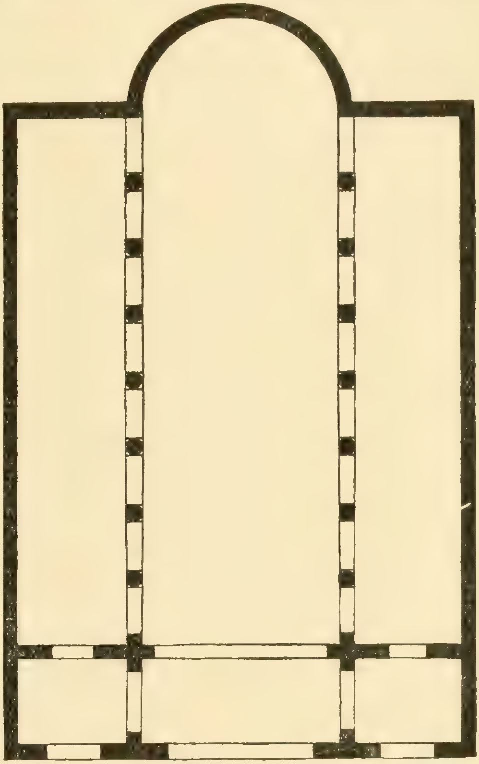

Fig. 78.—Plan of basilica from the villa of Quintilian.

Basilica Ulpia and of Constantine.

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[1] *v.* Canina; *Via Appia*, t. xxxii.

[2] *v.* Ottfr. Müller: *Archæologie der Kunst*, ss. 344–346.

[3] *Contra*, *v.* Zestermann and Kreuser: "The old basilica had no apse." Kreuser: *Christlichen Kirchenbau*, s. 28.

tion, the time of its erection, and its founder are well known. Its ruins are also so well preserved that it may be regarded as a fair example of an ancient basilica, and one, too, which probably was afterward devoted to Christian purposes. Also the Basilica of Otricoli entirely corresponds to this form. From all the evidence to be gathered from baths, halls, curiæ, temples, and even from porticos, the conclusion may be safely reached that the semicircular termination was a peculiarity of this style of Roman architecture. History, ancient authors, and monuments unitedly furnish good reason for concluding that the public basilicas of the Romans often, if not generally, terminated in a semicircular apse.[1]

Conclusion.

To what uses devoted.

Constructive elements.

Upon an elevated platform, opposite to the entrance, the high judge, surrounded by his assistants, presided. Below and on either side were the judges ; in front were the witnesses and advocates, while the remaining space of the apse was for the use of the people who gathered to hear the causes. On the rows of columns, dividing the interior into three or five naves, rested either entablatures or that type of round arch seen in the palace of Diocletian at Spolatro, on the coast of Dalmatia[2] (Fig. 79). Above, a second row of columns supported a wall, on which rested the rafter-work and the ceiling supports. According to Pausanius the ceiling of the Basilica Ulpia was bronzed. The ceiling of the temple at Ephesus was wrought out most elaborately in cedar, while the interiors of some of the public buildings of the west were made most beautiful and impressive by the rich carving and gilding of the ceilings. The portico was quite the ordinary arrangement in the more pretentious public buildings of Rome, such as palaces, temples, and basilicas, and in some private houses.[3]

Erroneous theories.

The Christian basilica of the fourth century was evidently the result of growth. The theory which attributes its immediate origin to the toleration of Christianity granted by Constantine and his sons, or which supposes a direct and slavish adoption of the Roman law basilica, or claims a widespread conver-

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[1] Of many who substantially agree with this view may be cited Ottfried Müller: *Archæologie der Kunst*, § 291. Kugler: *Geschichte der Baukunst*, 1856, Bd. i, ss. 280, 281, 354. Schnaase: *Geschichte d. bildenden Künste*, Bd. iii, ss. 44, 45. Carriere: *Die Kunst im Zusammenhang der Culturentwickelung*, Bd. iii, s. 96.

[2] Schnaase: *Op. cit.*, iii, 23, 24. "The long rows of columns no longer support an architrave, but arches; the wide wall surfaces are ornamented with rows of round windows, or niches, between lofty columns which support corbels." Compare Mothes: *Die Baukunst des Mittelalters*, Bd. i, ss. 12–24.

[3] *v.* Ottfr. Müller: *Op. cit.*, s. 384.

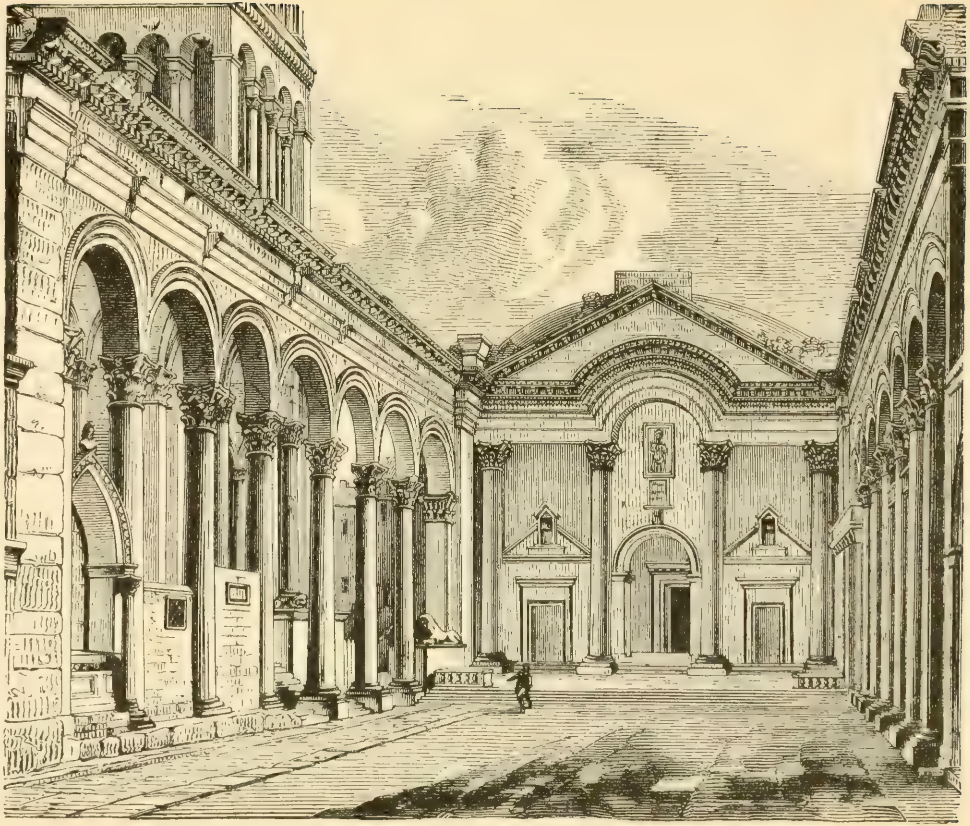

Fig. 79.--Palace of Diocletian, Spolatro.

sion of the heathen law basilicas into Christian churches, lacks historic foundation. The main elements of the Christian basilica had been well known from the first, and the churches which are met in the fourth century are the result of two and a half centuries of growth and seemingly unconscious appropriation to its wants of whatever was useful.

General resemblances of Roman and Christian basilicas.

On comparison of the Roman law basilica with the Christian Church of the same period, certain general resemblances are noticed, giving rise to a theory of its origin which was unquestioned for two and a half centuries, and is still embraced by a large class of writers on archæology.[1]

Earliest notices.

There is no earlier notice of the use of the basilica for distinctively Christian purposes than that in a letter written to Macarius of Jerusalem by the Emperor Constantine, whose attention had been directed to the peculiar beauty and magnificence of a Christian basilica in that city. The theory that the name *βασιλική* was derived from the Emperor Constantine, *βασιλεύς*, is untenable. The letter of Constantine would show that the peculiar class of buildings to which he refers was well known to Macarius himself, hence must have been widely diffused at the time.[2] Moreover, the statement of Optatus regarding the forty basilicas at Rome at the time of Diocletian strengthens this opinion. It is noteworthy that no attempt to trace the derivation of the word is met before the seventh century. When Isodorus Hispanus says, "Formerly basilicas were called dwelling places of kings, hence the name, since *βασιλεύς* is a king and basilicas are royal habitations; but now divine temples are named basilicas because therein are offered service and sacrifice to God, the King of all," we may find a useful suggestion to the later Christians, but it scarcely affords a satisfactory explanation of the origin of a name which had characterized a whole class of structures from the fourth century. That the same name was attached to the heathen building and to the Christian is probably owing to their partial resemblance and likeness of arrangement.[3]

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[1] *v.* J. Richter: *Christliche Architecture u. Plastik in Rom vor Constantine dem Grossen.* "Notwithstanding the most thorough investigations it cannot be positively denied that the Christian basilica was derived from the pagan hall of justice."

[2] We cannot, with Konrad Lange, *Haus und Halle*, s. 324, understand this to refer to the then existing basilicas which were used as halls of exchange, or to some modifications of these to adapt them to the purposes of Christian worship, but to churches which had previously existed.

[3] Messmer: *Ueber den Ursprung, die Entwickelung, und Bedeutung der Basilika in der christlichen Baukunst*, Leipzig, 1854, ss. 15, 16.

Resemblance to pagan basilica.

The naved and columned church resembled the heathen basilica in being an oblong rectangular structure, whose interior was divided into three or five naves by two or four rows of columns extending throughout its length. In some of the older churches these columns were taken directly from heathen monuments, thus introducing into the composition an element of strange incongruousness.[1] The columned arrangement would be as readily suggested by the banqueting hall of the more wealthy Romans as by the law basilicas themselves. In this case the result would be a three-naved building, which was the more usual form.

The Christian church an organism.

The Christian Church was a body of believers, an organism, in which the dependence of each part on every other was so vital that "whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it" (1 Cor. xii, 26). In it there must be chosen men to minister in holy things. The sacerdotal character of this ministry had already been recognized. The Church of the fourth century, therefore, required a place of assembly, and a high altar where the sacrifice of the holy eucharist could be made, and whence the divine will and purpose could be declared. In the Constantinian churches, the thought of the worshipper was directed toward the spot where communication was believed to be established between the invisible, eternal, all-wise God and the body of believers, through the ministrations of the priesthood. In the Christian basilica this spot was the semicircular niche opposite the entrance, where stood the high altar with its accompanying furniture, and where the bishop and his attendants conducted the imposing ceremonial. In Christian literature this niche is called the apse. The term is found in common use by the early Christian writers, and always in the same sense.[2] The name was evidently of Roman origin, and is important in the study of the development of Christian architecture.

The apse the unifying member.

Different principles govern in the heathen and Christian basilica.

We have already seen that the law basilica likewise terminated in an apse. But the principles governing the two structures are entirely different. While business of diverse character might be transacted in various parts of the heathen basilica, in the Christian church the interest of the entire assembly was one and common. In the heathen basilica, therefore, the apse assumed no such importance as in the Christian church. This is manifest from the difference in the columnar structure. In the heathen basilica the columns were extended across the side opposite to the main entrance, making the colonnade continous on the ground floor and in the galleries, thereby obscuring the view of the apse; in the Christian basilica, on the contrary, the columnar arrangement is absent from the apsidal termination, its place being often supplied by the triumphal arch (*v.* Fig. 82). Thus was secured an uninterrupted view of the apse, which was the center of all religious interest, toward which all lines of the building converged and the thought of all worshippers was directed. Here was the throne of the bishop, who was supported on either side by his presbyters, while near at hand were the deacons ready for service. Facing the east the bishop officiated at the altar in front of his chair, while the attention of the entire congregation was concentrated on this point of supreme interest, without architectural hindrance. For this reason a class of writers have found the origin of the apse in the cella of the burial chapels.[1] But it would seem to have an earlier suggestion in the *tablinum* of the private house, where the householder was wont to preside, and where, without doubt, was the seat of the officiating bishop during the period when Christian worship retained its household character. The fact that in a few structures the rectangular form of the apse, especially in its exterior outline, is still retained would seem to further strengthen this opinion.[2] This is seen in the basilica preserved in the ruins of the villa of Hadrian, at Tivoli (Fig. 80), whose apse is rectangular with a breadth of more than sixteen feet. Another room connected with this villa is single-naved and terminates in a semicircular apse (Fig. 81).

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[1] Schnaase: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iii, s. 48. "The columns taken from buildings of the pagan period are very seldom entirely alike, but often of different materials and various dimensions. In order to have the height of the capitals equal, the columns which are too high are shortened or sunk into the earth; such as are too short are placed upon a higher base."

[2] For numerous authorities confirmatory of this statement see especially Kreuser: *Christliche Kirchenbau*, ss. 84–87.

The apse suggested by the tablinum.

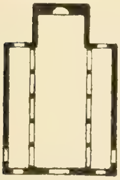

Fig. 80.—Basilica from villa of Hadrian, Tivoli.

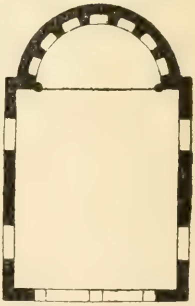

Fig. 81.—Basilica from villa of Hadrian, Tivoli.

In the heathen basilica the second story was usually a place of promenade from which the visitor gained a view of the business transacted on the ground floor. The columnar arrangement corresponded to that of the first floor. This is seen in the Basilica Sessoriana (Fig. 88), and in the palace of Diocletian

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[1] See the able article "Basilika" by Kraus in the *Real-Encyklopädie der christlichen Alterthümer*, pp. 118–120.

[2] *v.* Dehio: *Die kirchliche Baukunst*, 1te Lief., s. 336.

(Fig. 79), and seems to have been preserved in a few oblong Christian basilicas, as in the five-naved church St. Demetrius at Thessalonica (*v.* Fig. 100). But this was not the law governing the second story of the Christian church. Instead of a gallery for the free intercourse of visitors, or for promenade, as in the law basilicas, in the Christian churches above the first row of columns was usually a continuous wall whose upper part was pierced with windows for lighting the interior. By this construction opportunity was afforded for more extended decoration, as is noticed in Santa Maria Maggiore, San Apollinare in Classe, and other churches of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. It hardly seems credible that so important a modification could have occurred suddenly on the transition of the Church from a condition of persecution to that of toleration. Rather, may not this wall expanse be but a slight modification of the essential features of the *atrium displuviatum* (Fig. 68), where the walls of the lower portions are changed to columns, while the upper portions are preserved as wall expanses? Also the arrangement of the roof of the three and five naved churches seems to be derived from the private house and the private basilica, rather than from the perfected law basilicas of Rome.

This radical difference not suddenly realized.

Moreover, the construction of the ceiling in the two classes of buildings was at times widely different. The heathen basilica very uniformly preserves a symmetrical division of the space into squares, with rosette ornaments. The ceiling of the main nave of the early Christian church, while sometimes adhering to this classical type,[1] more frequently consisted of open rafter-work and beams ornamented with gilt, bronze, and colors, to inspire the feeling of hope and aspiration[2] (San Pietro in Vaticano, see Fig. 92), or were of the cylindrically vaulted type, as in the churches of Egypt and Syria.

The difference in ceiling construction.

We therefore regard the oblong Christian basilica as a growth from elements with which the Church had been familiar during the first two and one half centuries of its varied history. The ordinary private dwelling-house, the triclinia of the more elegant houses of the nobler families that had embraced Christianity, the lodge-rooms, the cellæ of the burial chapels, and the imposing interior arrangement of colonnades in the heathen law basilicas, are the sources whence are derived the germs which, under the fostering and inspiring spirit of the new religion

Conclusion.

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[1] In Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome the ceiling is of later origin.

[2] Old San Pietro was a fine example of this open rafter-work. *v.* Schnaase: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iii, ss. 48, 49.

during periods of toleration and peace, were developed into a distinctively Christian architecture, whose chief characteristics continued for a thousand years.[1]

2. *The Parts of the Basilica.*

The adaptation of the basilica to Christian needs will appear from a more full description of its parts, and of the particular uses to which they were devoted.

The moulding power of Christianity.

The unifying power of the apse has already been noticed. The tendency of all lines of the building toward the semicircular niche was indicative of the concentration of attention on this focal point of interest to the worshipers. So, also, the transformations which we have already noticed show the supreme importance of the tribune and of its attendant parts. As the new wine of the Gospel could not be contained in the old bottles of Roman thought and life, so the Christian spirit was not content to simply enter into existing structures and use them for worship, but by its superior power it moulded these heathen elements into forms essentially new. The symbolic character of much of the ritual demanded fit means for its embodiment. From a general adaptation the basilica was adjusted in all its details to the needs of the church.

The furniture of the apse.

Ambos.

The simple semicircular recess of the pagan basilica was, in the Christian, elevated and covered by the conchoidal or vaulted roof; the altar was protected by a baldachin, supported by four columns, from whose under side, in the form of a dove descending upon the altar, hung the vessel containing the eucharistic elements. Somewhat further toward the middle nave a space was cut off from the rest of the building by railing for the use of the lesser clergy and the singers.[2] On the north side of this space stood the *lectorium* (ambo), or reading-desk, for the gospel; on the south side, that for the epistle.[3] The apse and the triumphal arch were highly decorated; the pavement was wrought out in marble mosaic; the rafter work of the ceiling

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Lange's opinion.

[1] The conclusion reached by Konrad Lange, *Haus und Halle*, s. 323, "that the Edict of Milan is the determinate event for the introduction of the basilica form in place of the single-naved church which had before prevailed, and that the year 313 (and, in a broader sense, the year 323) is the birth-year of the Christian basilica, whose introduction is the monumental expression of the elevation of Christianity to be the religion of the state," seems to us untenable. It disregards the great law of historic development, and does not accord with the monumental and literary evidence.

[2] To aid in gaining a clearer conception, consult Figs. 82 and 83.

[3] See Plate II^{b}.

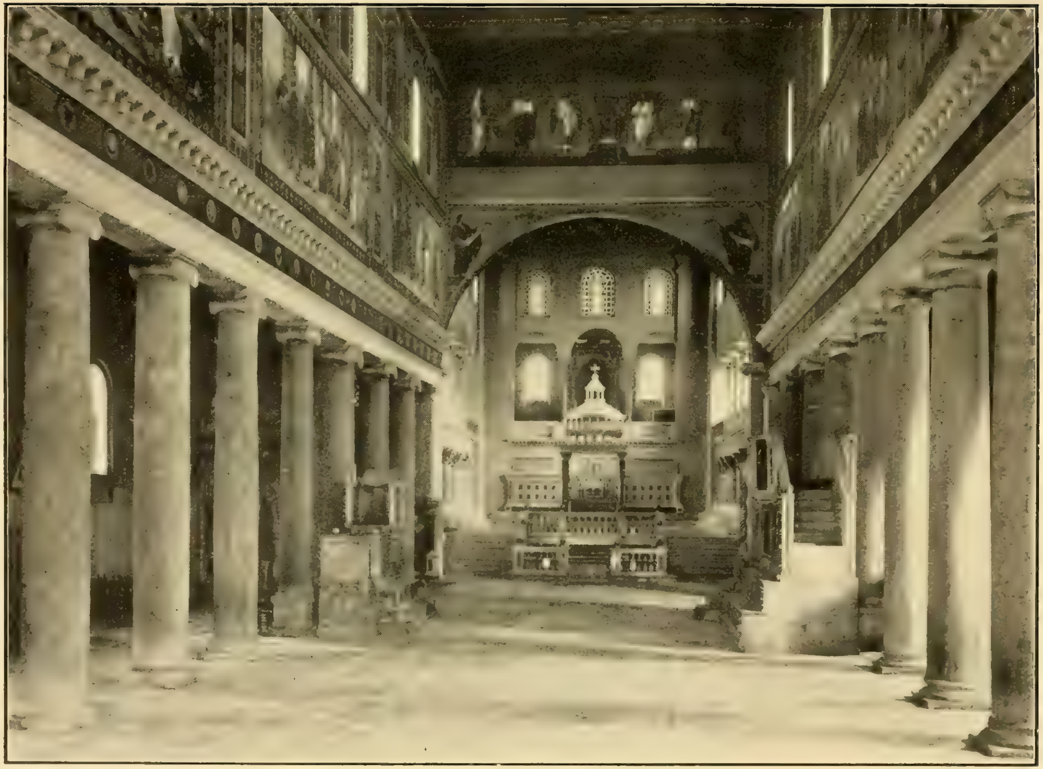

PLATE II^{b}.— Basilica San Lorenzo without the walls, Rome. Interior.

added picturesqueness to the interior space (*v.* Fig. 82). Following outward from the altar, the main nave was entered, at whose farther end doors led to the vestibule or entrance portico. In the earlier form, this vestibule was an open space bounded by rows of columns, in whose center stood the fountain (cantharus) for the purification of the entering worshippers (*v.* Fig. 83). In later structures this open space was covered, and became an appropriate spot for meditation and penitence, or was more thoroughly incorporated into the main structure, as in San Lorenzo (*v.* Fig. 94). The vestibule was always present in the eastern churches; in some of the western it was lacking. From this circumstance some writers have believed that in the portico were found traces of the Jewish spirit and influence.

The vestibule.

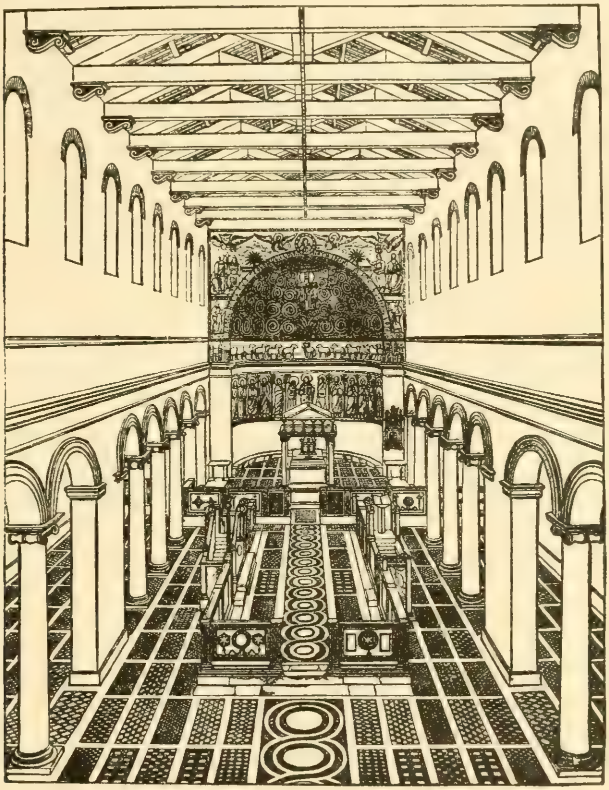

Fig. 82.—Interior of San Clemente, Rome.

While a careful comparison of the Roman with the early Christian basilica reveals a general resemblance, there is an almost total want of likeness in the details, and in individual members of the buildings. In outline each old Roman basilica had a marked individuality; the oblong Christian basilicas, however, with wide liberty respecting minute details, have a stereotyped plan which controls the entire development.[1] So in the Christian basilica, the form, the garment, were Roman; but the dedication of the building to a distinct purpose, by making the sanctuary the central and controlling thought of the entire structure, caused it to lay aside the old and assume a new and distinctive character. The whole building now had a richer significance. From a tribunal of justice and place of business it became the house of the King of kings, the Victor over the world and the grave. This completes the transformation of the Roman into the Christian basilica. Now for the first time the earlier explanations of its meaning seem appropriate. It is now, indeed, the dwelling-place of the one eternal King—the only wise Lord God Almighty. The tribunal of the imperial prætor has lost its significance; it has now been transformed into the seat of concord and unity, where Christ, the Mediator, insures the truest and highest peace between God and man.[2]

Contrast between the pagan and Christian basilica.

The complete transformation.

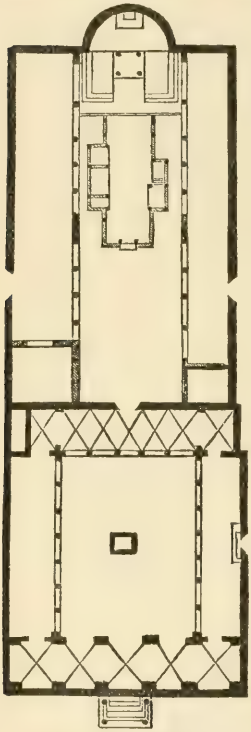

Fig. 83.—Groundplan of San Clemente, Rome. Vestibule and Cantharus in front.

In the earlier and smaller basilicas the southern nave was usually set apart for the men, the northern for the women; in such cases the middle nave was occupied by the clergy for the responsive and choral service. In the more spacious and elegant basilicas this arrangement was no longer necessary, since the tribune itself was of sufficient capacity to accommodate all the officiary. In the western church the separation of the sexes gradually fell into disuse, but continued in the East.

The separation of the sexes.

The middle nave with its independent and loftier roof-construction, and the side naves with their lower ceilings and dependent roof, constitute a harmonious balancing of the parts. The side naves become the complementary numbers of

The principle of balancing parts.

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[1] Stockbauer: *Der christliche Kirchenbau*, s. 4.

[2] Messmer: *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

the main nave right and left, as do the apse and the entrance portico in the direction of the length.

The problem solved.

The early Christian basilica impresses by its chaste yet noble simplicity; in it the student of delicate art sensibility may discover the germs of that richer and fuller development which was afterward realized in the Gothic cathedral. Here is seen the solution of the most important problem of sacred architecture; namely, to develop the form through the influence of the religion whose rites were therein to be celebrated; in other words, to effect a harmony between the containing material and the contained and inspiring spirit.[1] This significant victory was achieved by the Christian religion. Herein is noticed the difference between the Greek and the Christian idea of architecture.[2] The spiritual significance of the interior of the Christian basilica is in strong contrast with the imposing grandeur of the exterior of the Greek temple. Subjective truth and beauty are here shown to be of more worth than material splendor. Instead of passing from a perfect exterior to an unmeaning interior, the basilica obeys the law of all true development and growth in first invigorating and purifying the subjective spirit, and then, by virtue of the transforming power of truth, subordinating to this the exterior form.

The Christian *vs.* the Greek spirit.

It was not to be expected, therefore, that the somewhat conglomerate character of the earliest Christian basilica would remain unchanged. By degrees the heterogeneous elements disappeared, and from the original form was developed a new type of Christian architecture.

The later development.

The most important departure from the fundamental form resulted from the introduction of the transept. The monotony caused by the long extent of unbroken space in the naves was relieved by opposing to it the transept of equal height and breadth of the middle nave. This would furnish an appropriate termination to the longitudinal extension, and give to the sanctuarium still greater dignity and impressiveness.

The transept.

The enlargement of the transept to the width of the entire church soon followed. At length the walls of the cross nave were projected beyond those of the main structure, giving to the foundation the form of the Latin cross.[3] The transept thus became an intermediate member between the apse and the middle nave, and connected the sanctuarium with the space occupied by the body of worshippers. At the place of intersection of the transept and main nave, a lofty arch, reaching from one wall to the other, spanned the intermediate space (see Fig. 81). This so called triumphal arch rested upon two columns at the terminus of the middle nave, and constituted a most important feature of the later and more elaborate basilicas. The spaces on the ceilings were generally ornamented with forms of Christ and his apostles, of saints and of angels wrought out in painting or rich mosaics, while imposing pictures of Christ usually filled the altar niche.[1] At a still later period the naves were intersected by two or more transepts. By this means two or more triumphal arches resulted, and an increased wall and ceiling surface was secured for more elaborate ornamentation. The wide departure from the simplicity of the early Christian basilica during the later mediæval period resulted in serious architectural decadence.

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[1] Messmer: *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

[2] "At all times the ruling idea in architectural art has been essentially determined by the prevailing position of religion in the general spiritual life of a people." *v.* Dehio: *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, s. 15.

[3] This is seen in the noted Basilica of St. Paul, and also in that of St. Peter's, at Rome. *v.* Fig. 92.

The triumphal arch.

3. *The Influence of the Christian Basilica on Other Forms of Christian Architecture.*

The parts of the basilica were brought into still more harmonious relations by means of the vaulted roof, while the whole was unified in idea by the sanctuarium. This marks the further transition from the earlier form of the Christian basilica to the round-vaulted or Roman style of church architecture. The development of the basilica did not at first admit of the round-arched vaulting, but of that which resulted from the intersection of the main nave with the transept. The thrust or pressure upon the lateral walls was too great to allow of a cylindrical vaulting over the middle nave, except where these walls were of unusual thickness, whereas the arches resting upon the terminal columns of the middle nave, and extending diagonally to like columns or pilasters at the boundary of the apse, would distribute one half of the pressure from the imposed mass in the direction of the line of the wall (*v.* Fig. 84).[2] Thus the support of the triumphal arch would be secured without unduly increasing the thickness of the enclosing wall.

The provision for pressure upon the outer walls.

The intersection of the vaulted roof of the main nave with that of the transept necessarily so divided the space as to compel the use of the cross vaulting rather than the cylindrical. A like necessity to distribute the thrust of the supported roof in the direction of the series of columns led to the construction of diagonal ribbed arches, and the consequent transformation of the cylindrically vaulted ceiling into a series of cross-vaulted spaces, which mark the first stages in the development of Gothic architecture.[1]

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[1] *v.* Schnaase, Kugler, Quast, and others on this transformation.

[2] Messmer: *Op. cit.*, pp. 77, 78.

First germs of the Gothic.

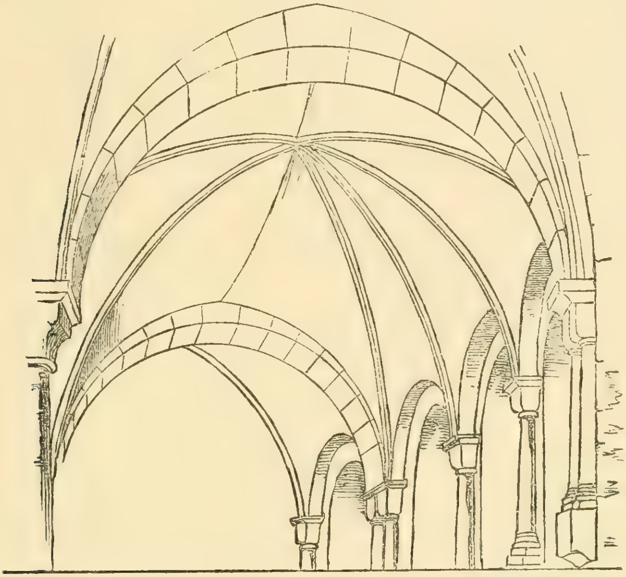

Fig. 84.—Showing the development of the cross-ribbed arches, and distribution of the pressure.

Thus by successive changes and transformations the contradictions and incongruities of the early Christian basilica were removed, the various parts were brought more and more into harmony, until the richer, more complete, and glorious Gothic style was the final outcome of all the struggle of the preceding centuries.

In the simple basilica were contained those germs which, under the quickening influence of the Christian religion, developed into the style of architecture which may be called preeminently Christian, in which every minutest part equally with every necessary member finds its truest significance in being included in a richer and more complete organism. This is in exact accordance with the philosophy of the spiritual edifice "built upon

The unifying spirit.

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[1] Rudolph Wiegmann: *Ueber den Ursprung des Spitzbogenstils*, s. 28. A careful comparison of Figs. 84 and 86 with Figs. 91 and 95 will help to an adequate conception of the process of transformation from the early Christian basilica to the Gothic cathedral.

the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord: in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit" (Eph. ii, 20-22); or of the bodily organism which suggested the other: "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit. 1 Cor. 12, 13.

What the ancient basilica contained in itself as a possibility the Gothic cathedral realized in its rich efflorescence and crowning unity. This interior unity first appeared in the pointed arch, and in the architectural style which it originated. In the pointed style the basilica, which was the normal type of Christian architecture, was developed into the greatest beauty, the richest variety, yet the purest simplicity. The essential features of the original groundplan and outline were retained and brought to their highest possibilities. The longitudinal extension, and the tendency of the whole interior toward the sanctuarium, were not changed, but rather found in the polygonal termination of the choir of the Gothic cathedral their structural unification and goal. The simple apse was transformed into the unifying choir; the vestibule was closely and constructively joined to the main and side naves, and as the supporting member of the towers it became the real entrance to the sanctuary, the point of transition from secular thought to genuine worship. Thus, in no way had the original portico been dispensed with, but by its completeness of development it became a constituent part of the structural whole. The threefold western entrance into the basilica was thus transformed into those enchanting portals which, by their deep oblique recesses and glorious crowning of gables, so greatly contributed to the majesty of the mediæval cathedral. The supporting and enclosing walls no longer constituted the essential mass of the structure, as in the original basilica. The wall is no longer continuous; the parts are bound together by opposing buttresses; while all is spiritualized and transfigured by the lofty painted windows in the main and side naves.[1] The columns, as well as the intervening pilasters, have now a deeper significance. The germinal form was circular. These, however, by the necessities of connecting the main and side naves, and of supporting the vaulted roof, were developed

Further transformation.

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[1] Messmer: *Op. cit.*, p. 85.

into polygonal or clustered forms (Fig. 85). On these rest the slender ribs that connect the ceiling with the wall. With this final connection of all parts of the ceiling structure by means of the ribs with pointed arch, was completed the interior unification, just as in the ancient gable-roof of the basilica was found the external completion of that building (*v.* Fig. 86). What at the beginning was only an architectural germ was thus developed into a rich, beautiful, and unified style. In this respect, therefore, is the basilica entitled to be called a Christian form, emphatically *the* Christian temple, since it has been unfolded by a living Christian principle to meet the wants of the Church in the celebration of its perfected worship. Just herein lies the triumph of Christianity. By interpenetrating indifferent foreign forms with its own spirit it developed a style of such perfect artistic harmonies that further improvement may well be despaired of. In this respect can Christian architecture be justly called original.

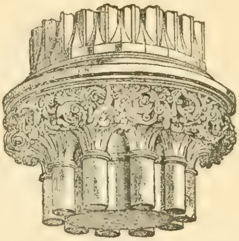
Fig. 85.—A clustered column.

How far was the Christian basilica a creation?

4. *Some of the Earliest Christian Churches.*

Unfortunately, not a single early Christian basilica has been preserved in its integrity. Numerous additions and transformations, which the misdirected zeal of princes and popes effected, have, in many instances, entirely destroyed the original features of these churches. Their reconstruction from the few remaining portions, from the meagre notices of early Christian writers, and from comparative studies, is a work of extreme difficulty. Even the remains of these early basilicas are few and questionable. Some fell into decay, others were destroyed by the enemies of Christianity,[1] while still others were superseded by more imposing edifices during the reigns of Constantine and his successors.

Few remains of pre-Constantine churches.

Ciampini[2] has given a very full description of the Basilica Siciniana as it remained in the seventeenth century. This was probably the most perfect example of a heathen basilica transformed into a Christian church[3] whose description has been preserved. From Ciampini's drawings[4] a good knowledge of the original form and decorations can be gained. The plans show an oblong, rectangular structure with a portico and broad apse, without interior columnar division; hence a single-naved basilica.[1] Its walls were adorned with mosaics and paintings which commemorated, as many believe, the triumph of Anthony. These mural decorations preclude the supposition that it was originally used for Christian purposes; but they plainly point to a Roman monument. It is believed to have been built by Junius Bassus, A. D. 317.[2] The mosaics of the apse were introduced after its dedication as a Christian church. A. D. 470.

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[1] Especially during the Decian and Diocletian persecutions.

[2] *Vetera Monimenta*, Pars i, pp. 9, 10.

[3] Probably San Andrea in Barbara.

[4] Tab. xxi–xxv.

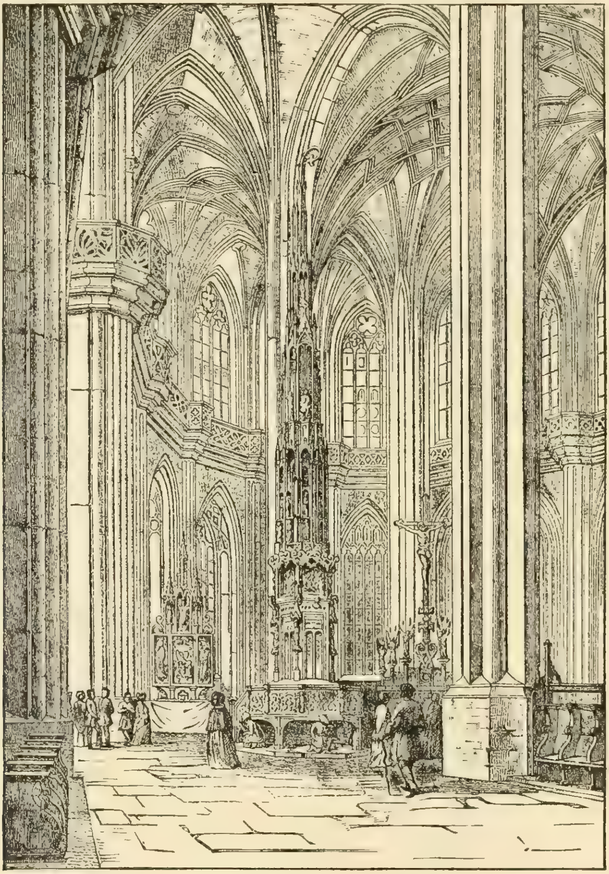

Fig. 86.—A Gothic Interior. To show the unification of the supporting and supported members.

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[1] de Vogüé: *Syrie Centrale*, plate 67, gives the groundplan of a similar church in Bahouda. It is from the fifth century.

[2] Dehio: *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, p. 82.

Another original private basilica was San Clemente, at Rome. In the ninth century Pope John VIII. introduced the marble balustrades of the presbyterium, together with the chancels, high altar, and seats. Excavations[1] show that the present church is a reduction of a larger one, which, in turn, stood partly upon a very ancient wall of binding masonry of tufa (possibly from the time of the kings), and partly upon a brick wall that probably belonged to the dwelling-house of Clement himself (*v.* Figs. 82, 83, and 87). This foundation furnishes a good example of the form of the private Roman basilica.[2]

San Clemente.

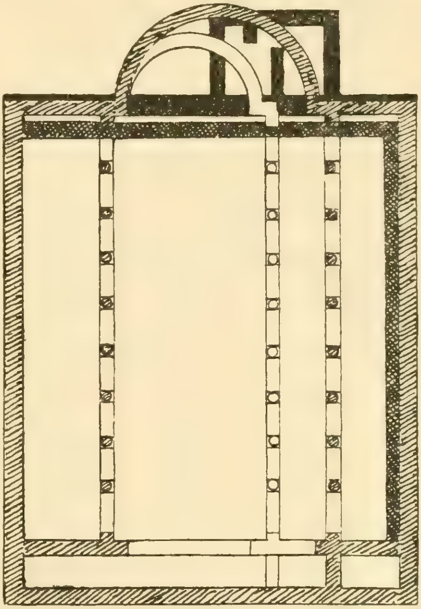

Fig. 87.—San Clemente, Rome. Groundplan, showing variety of structures.

A third example is the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, in Rome. At the request of Helena, mother of Constantine, the pagan Basilica Sessoriana was changed, as tradition says, into a depository for a piece of the true cross. This building (Figs. 88 and 89) is three-naved, and preserves more nearly than others the peculiar features of the Roman law basilica. The galleries, from which a view of the lower floor could be had through the spaces between the columns, are conformable to the original type, and the

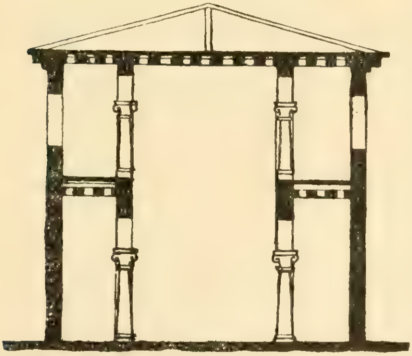

Fig. 88.—Cross-section of Basilica Sessoriana, or Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome.

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[1] *v.* de Rossi: *Bullettino Arch. crist.*, April, 1863.

[2] The single-lined parts of Fig. 86 give the form of the original church; the double-lined represent the old tufa wall from the time of the kings; the black portions show the remains of the Clementine palace, while the blank outline is the modern church.

equal height of the ceiling of the main and side naves also suggests its pagan origin. According to the restorations, as given by Hübsch (Fig. 89), the vestibule was decorated with six columns; the apse was of unusual breadth, reaching almost to the outer enclosing walls, leaving only a narrow passage-way to rooms at the extremity of the church; the outer boundary walls were rectangular, thus giving no suggestion of the spacious semicircular apse within.

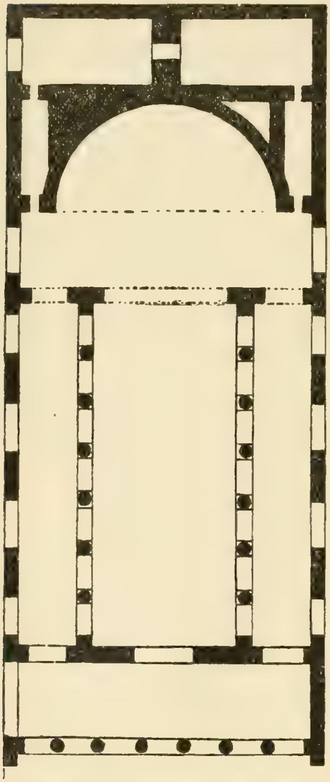

Fig. 89.—Groundplan of Fig. 88.

Santa Pudenziana.

Among the very earliest and most noteworthy monuments of Christian architecture, Hübsch[1] ranks the Church of Santa Pudenziana, at Rome. Its traditions reach back to the apostolic times. It is said that the senator Pudens lodged the apostle Peter in his palace on this very site, that his sons built baths therein, and that at the earnest request of St. Prexedes, Pope Pius I., about A. D. 145, in honour of St. Pudentiana, converted this palace and the baths into a Christian church, under the title of SS. Pastor and Pudens.[2] Without being able to account for all the motives, it is plain that the transformation of a secular building into a place of Christian worship lay at the foundation of this tradition.[3] The opinion expressed by Hübsch that this refers only to the small chapel of the church, Santa Pudenziana, in which, at present, the altar of St. Peter is pointed out, is entitled to respectful attention.[4] This church (Fig. 90)[5] is an oblong parallelogram, of about the same size as the *Basilica Siciniana* (San Andrea in Barbara). It has been made ugly through recent restorations. The interior is three naved with a portico. The vaulted space behind the apse is very ancient, also the before-mentioned chapel, whose apse appears to be connected with the wall of an ancient foundation which belongs to the best period of Roman architecture. With little doubt it may be regarded as a portion of the ancient senatorial palace.[1] The side naves were one-storied, whose roof was a lean-to, but which, by the unusual elevation of the enclosing wall, became nearly equal in height to that of the middle nave. In front of the present entrance is found a very ancient portal with twisted columns. The shafts of the columns bounding the middle nave, of dark gray marble, have been taken from some ancient monument, while the capitals and bases seem to have been wrought out expressly for their present use.[2] For the study of the original derivation and structure of the Christian basilica this church is of first importance. Its arrangement enables the archæologist to distinguish the changes which pagan buildings underwent to adapt them to the purposes of Christian worship. The resemblance of the apse of this church to that of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme is most striking and suggestive (*v.* Fig. 89).

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[1] *Altchristliche Kirchen*, Carlsruhe, 1862, fol., s. 6, taf. vii, viii. De Rossi has examined this church with much care, and has also traced the argument for its great age. *v. Bullettino crist.*, 1864, 1867, 1869, 1875.

[2] *v.* J. H. Parker: *The House of Pudens in Rome*, in *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxviii, 1871, pp. 42, 43.

[3] Stockbauer: *Der christliche Kirchenbau*, s. 48.

[4] *Op. cit.*, s. 7.

[5] The dark lines mark the boundary of the church; the other lines are the outline of vaulted rooms adjacent, and very ancient.

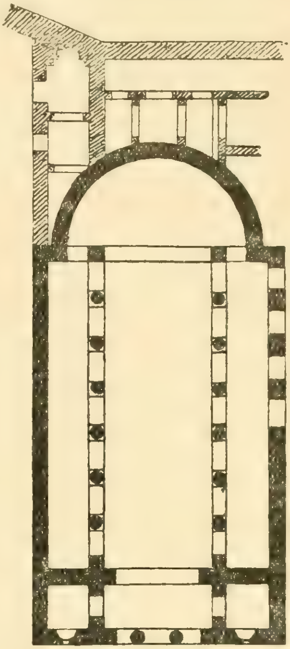
Fig. 90.—Groundplan of Santa Pudenziana, Rome.

Santa Maria in Cosmedin.

Perhaps the most perfectly preserved monument of a pre-Constantine Christian basilica is the crypt of Santa Maria in Cosmedin. It seems to have been built within the enclosure of an ancient heathen temple. It is certain that the present church, founded by Hadrian I. in the eighth century, and enlarged and beautified by Calixtus II. in the twelfth, contains several parts of the original building. Noteworthy are eight fluted columns, which are clearly of antique origin. The pre-Constantine portion is subterranean, having a length of thirty-four palms (Roman) and a breadth of seventeen palms. The smooth, vaulted ceiling of large blocks of travertine[1] rests immediately upon capitals whose rudeness proves them to be of different origin from the shafts themselves. The six columns of marble and granite, standing in the nave and aisles, were evidently taken from the temple on whose site the basilica was built. In the wall are seen small niches, resembling a columbarium,[2] which were used, as the learned Crescimbeni conjectures, as places of prayer and meditation. This church was built, it is believed, as early as the third quarter of the third century by Dionysius, Bishop of Rome. Its severe simplicity of style and arrangement, as well as its high antiquity, give to it the greatest importance among Christian art antiquities.[3] The suggestions it furnishes with respect to the activity of the Church and the toleration of the Roman government prior to the Christian emperors are most valuable.

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[1] Stockbauer: *Op. cit.*, s. 49.

[2] Stockbauer: *Op. cit.*, ss. 48, 49.

Pre-Constantine.

5. *Basilicas of Roman Origin in the Time of Constantine.*

Amid the conflicting opinions respecting the character of Constantine, and the motives which influenced him to make Christianity the religion of the Roman state, there is more substantial agreement respecting the wonderful influence of his conversion on the fortunes of the Christian Church, on its doctrine, polity, and life. In many important respects his reign was epoch-making: the more profoundly it is studied the more clearly do the high, statesmanlike qualities of this great ruler appear. He may justly take rank among a score of noted men whose influence has been indelibly impressed upon human history, since his clearly conceived policy affected the fortunes of the Christian Church for a thousand years.

Constantine's influence.

To what extent remorse for the fearful crimes of which he was guilty, in causing the death of Crispus, of young Licinius, and of his own wife, Fausta, may have influenced Constantine to favor the Church and to encourage the building of basilicas, may not be known. The donation of the Lateran palace to the Roman bishops, the building of St. Peter's, and the pilgrimage of Helena, the stricken, suffering mother, to Jerusalem, and the erection of the basilicas at Bethlehem, Jerusalem, and on Olivet, where tradition had located the three most important events in the life of Christ, appear to have been nearly coincident with these crimes which were perpetrated during his last visit to Rome. Our subject is more directly concerned with the fact that from this time Christian art received remarkable encouragement from the emperor.

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[1] Förster: *Mittel u. Unter Italien*, s. 264.

[2] Förster: Id. *l. c.*

[3] Hemans: *Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art*, pp. 8, 9.

From the Church of the catacombs to be the Church of the empire was an unparalleled transition. Yet even such a change could but slowly and gradually transform the prevalent fashions and tastes. It is generally true that "institutions lag behind the circumstances that furnish opportunity for their growth and development." The social, moral, and political inertia of an age prevents it from immediately leaping to the embrace of all its possibilities. Hence history furnishes few violent catastrophes. Even barbarian invasions can bring but partial ruin, and the resistance to change which is inherent in the race causes an ebb and flow in human affairs rather than a destructive cataclysm. Architecture likewise obeyed this general law. Here, too, transitions were gradual. The opportunities and demands for more impressive forms of religious service, and the greater numbers that from various motives now crowded the places of worship, created a need for further changes in the interior of the buildings already dedicated to Christian uses, and furnished the occasion for the new and imposing structures erected during the Constantinian and post-Constantinian period. Here, too, the needs of worship, and not the demands of art, begat the fundamental form.[1] Its origin is, therefore, due to the religious feeling and to the spirit of worship, rather than to the æsthetic feeling.[2] In the readjustment of the existing churches, as well as in those newly erected, the Christian artists of the fourth century were unconsciously planning a building that would, through the efforts of succeeding centuries, be developed into the glory and perfection of ecclesiastical architecture.

The transformation gradual.

Imposing churches.

At first the oblong rectangular basilica was extended throughout the whole empire. Not until the fifth century did the central system give rise to any imposing churches, while the distinctively Byzantine did not reach its full development till the sixth. The west, however, adhered closely to the basilica type for a thousand years. Rome furnishes the best examples; unfortunately, however, of the many churches built during the reign of Constantine little has been preserved.

Little from Constantine's time survives.

The most trustworthy accounts lead us to believe that during the first five centuries more than a hundred churches were built in Rome and its immediate vicinity. The originality of these structures was at first very slender. The appropriation of pagan structures to Christian worship, and the use of columns and ready prepared materials for building new churches, was not favor-

Lack of originality.

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[1] Schnaase: *Op. cit.*, 2te, Ausgabe, Bd. iii, s. 53.

[2] Rosengarten: *Handbook of Architectural Styles*, p. 170.

able to original production. At first the new spiritual life only sanctified what was at hand. The four hundred temples that had so long been a stumbling-block to the purity of the Church, and whose rites must have caused deep regret to the followers of Christ, became nearly empty and forsaken. Upon their ruins were to arise "the houses of the Lord." "During one portion of her history Rome was as a defiling, putrefying corpse; during an equal period she renewed her youth. Thus she had a double being in the history of humanity, whose capital she was twice called to be."[1]

Decay of the heathen temples and worship.

From historic notices we must believe that, of all these churches, San Pietro in Vaticano, built upon the site of the circus of Nero, was the most imposing (Figs. 91, 92). It was five-naved, with a straight entablature. The naves were of unequal height, the ceiling was finished with open rafter-work; the roof of the side naves abutted against the wall of the main nave so that it was continuous above both the side naves. The height of the ceiling of the side naves was determined by the slant of the roof. This church was thoroughly renovated and greatly enlarged in the ninth century, and continued to be the most conspicuous example of an early Christian basilica until it was supplanted at the beginning of the sixteenth century by the present imposing church of St. Peter's. It was also cruciform, being about 351 feet long, and about 190 feet broad, the middle nave being over 70 feet wide. The twenty-three columns on each side of the middle nave were 26 feet 7 inches high.[2]

San Pietro in Vaticano.

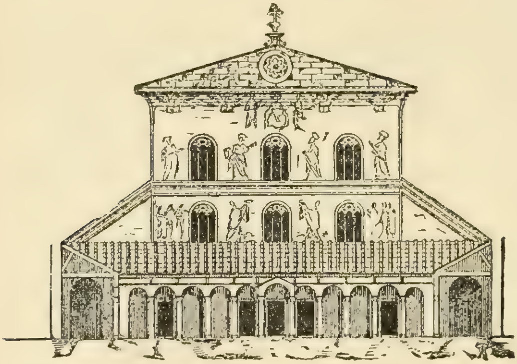
Fig. 91.—San Pietro in Vaticano, Rome. Front elevation.

Dimensions.

In many parts of the structure were unmistakable proofs of the practice of incorporating heathen handicraft into Christian temples. The particolored fragments placed in the walls showed the lack of competent artists to guide the

Heathen elements.

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[1] Gregorovius: *Geschichte der Stadt Roms im Mittelalter*, Bd. i, ss. 5, 6.

[2] Platner u. Urlichs: *Die Basiliken d. christlichen Roms*, TT. i–iii. Platner u. Bunsen: *Beschreibung der Stadt Roms*, Bd. ii, s. 50, *seq.* Kugler: *Geschichte der Baukunst*, Bd. i, s. 384.

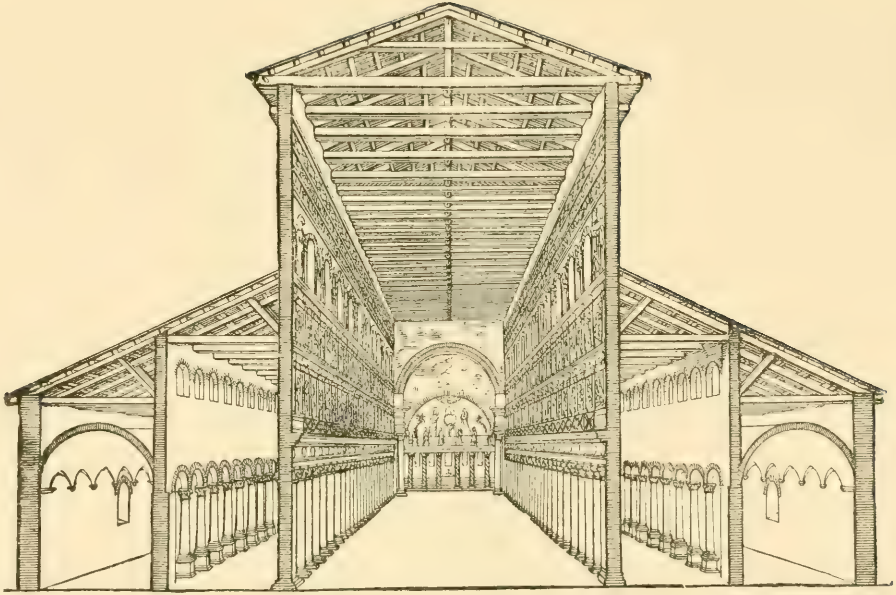

Fig. 92.—Cross-section of San Pietro in Vaticano, Rome, showing naves, rafter-work, mosaic decorations, etc.

taste of Christians in the ornamentation of their public buildings. Figure 92 also shows the arrangement of the triumphal arch and of the sanctuarium, together with the method of ornamentation with mosaics, etc. From the notices that have been preserved it is believed that in front of the church proper was a vestibule, or atrium, which was enclosed by a peristyle. In the center of this enclosed space was the fountain, around which were seats for the use of those who kept the burial feasts when funeral rites were celebrated. A description of such feasts in his time has been given by Paulinus of Nola. The arrangement very closely corresponds to that found at the entrance to the Catacomb of Domitilla, before referred to (*v.* pp. 175, 175), and has an almost exact counterpart in the pagan schola. Fig. 93 is the representation of a schola from the republican period. It is known as the Atrium of Sylvanus, discovered on the Appian Way. It has the portico, the fountain in the center of the enclosed square, and the stone benches running around the walls, which could be used by those who celebrated the burial feasts.[1]

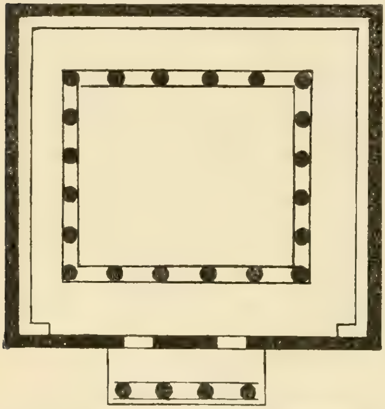

Fig. 93.—Atrium of Sylvanus, Via Appia, Rome.

San Giovanni in Laterano.

Another interesting church of its day was San Giovanni in Laterano, otherwise known as the Basilica Constantiniana or Salvatoris. It is doubtful whether any portion of the original survives in the modern gorgeous building. Some have claimed that the octagonal baptistery, with its eight antique porphyry columns, belongs to the age of Constantine; but more probably this was erected by Sixtus III. about the year A. D. 432. From every account of the historians this Lateran palace, which had belonged to Fausta, was the gift of the great emperor to the Bishop of Rome. The palace and church of the Lateran, rather than St. Peter's and the Vatican, became the center of Christian and papal Rome. This, and not St. Peter's, was the cathedral church where all the Roman councils have been held.[2] It was the early residence of the Roman pontiffs, and is still the place where they are enthroned and crowned.[3]

The cathedral church.

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[1] Canina: *Via Appia*, t. 42, p. 174.

[2] The Vatican Council assembled by Pius IX. is an exception.

[3] *v.* Stanley: *History of the Eastern Church*, Lecture vi.

San Paolo fuori de la Mura.

Description.

On the Ostian Way just outside the city walls, over the spot where tradition says the pious matron Lucina had prepared in the subterranean passages on her estate a grave for St. Paul, Constantine had built a small basilica.[1] It was soon after (probably near the close of the fourth century) displaced by the magnificent basilica of St. Paul—the San Paolo fuori de la mura of a later day—which, notwithstanding numerous restorations, retained many of its original features till its destruction by fire in 1823. Fortunately full descriptions and plans of this noble monument have been preserved, from which an adequate notion of it may be gained. It was five-naved with a transept, three hundred and ninety-two feet long and two hundred and two feet wide. The middle nave was seventy-eight feet wide. Round arches connected the rows of twenty columns separating the naves. The columns bounding the main nave well illustrate the methods of church construction after Christianity had become the religion of the state: they were thirty-two feet high. Twenty-four of the most beautiful, of Corinthian order, were taken from some building belonging to the best period of Roman architecture. The others were of very inferior workmanship.[2] Those in the side naves, seemingly prepared expressly for this church, mark the sad decadence of art in the time of Constantine and of his immediate successors. Prudentius informs us that the ceiling was decorated with gilt rafter-work.[3]

The Church of the Nativity.

Reference has already been made (p. 214) to the motives of Constantine in building votive churches on the sacred sites in Palestine. He aimed to conciliate the East, which he had conquered from his rival Licinius. Special privileges and aid for church building were granted to the bishops of the most influential dioceses in Asia Minor and Syria. Notices of many of these have been preserved by Christian writers, especially by Eusebius and Prudentius, and the ruins of a few still remain to attest their magnificence. Of the beautiful basilica built by Paulinus at Troy, and described by Eusebius,[4] nothing survives. So, also, with the Church of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem, and the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. Fortunately, the church at Bethlehem, built over the cave where tradition locates the birthplace of the Saviour, has partially survived. It seems fairly established that most of the present structure is original. It is five-naved, with Corinthian columns supporting a straight entablature on which rests the wall. On it outlines of earlier paintings can still be traced.[1] At the end of the naves are a spacious transept, choir, and apses, well lighted by a series of windows in the upper part of the church. One is immediately carried back to such a Roman basilica as was built by Constantine for Christian worship, but which by being developed and transformed became the point of departure for the religious architecture of the subsequent centuries.[2] Few visitors to this venerable building are not deeply impressed by its noble art and massive grandeur. It stands as a mute yet eloquent witness to the power of the religion whose spirit yet finds expression in this monument which has survived the rude shocks of fifteen centuries.

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[1] Förster: *Mittel u. Unter Italien*, s. 275.

[2] H. Gally Knight, vol. i, plate iv.

[3] *Peristephanon*, Hymn xii.

[4] *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. x, cap. iv. *v.* Quast: *Die alt-christlichen Baumerk von Ravenna.* ss. 29, 30.

A good example of the basilica.

§ 6. *Some Basilicas of the Post-Constantine Period.*

Contrasts of East and West.

The establishment of two independent empires, each having its own capital, gave opportunity for the development of each in harmony with its own peculiar genius. While originally receiving its inspiration from the East, the Latin soon became more purely and intensely Latin; the East, the mother of all, became more and more Oriental. These contrasts reveal themselves alike in State and Church. The Byzantine empire degenerated into an Oriental absolutism; the West steadily developed a practical and efficient constitutionalism. The Greek Church was content with immobility in doctrinal and political forms; the West was ever agitated by earnest struggles respecting life, doctrine, and polity. The practical mind of the West aimed to keep institutions abreast with the growing spirit of freedom among the people; the speculative spirit of the East was often content to exhaust itself in controversies whose effect was scarcely felt beyond the local church or the cloister.

A like contrast is noted in the art of the two empires. Each pursued its own chosen course of development, and each alike was influenced by the different conditions of social, political, and religious life. The West soon felt the modifying power of the invading tribes, while the East produced its peculiar art forms almost uninfluenced by its neighbours. Ravenna formed a middle ground where, through the patronage of remarkable rulers, the Teutonic spirit, modifying both the Eastern and the Western thought, produced some most interesting and instructive architectural monuments.

[1] Lützow und Lübke: *Denkmäler der Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1879, Text, s. 116.

[2] De Vogüé: *Les Églises de la Terra Sainte*, Paris, 1860, ch. ii.

The West.

Excepting the temporary interference by Julian, Christianity in the West enjoyed the patronage and protection of government. Although it was a period of serious art decadence, the churches increased in number and splendour. The decline of the old faith and the increasing spread of the new contributed to these results. The pagan temples were transformed into Christian basilicas, while new churches rose upon sites made sacred by the ashes of saints and martyrs. The untrammeled spirit of Christianity now further modified the basilica, and fashioned it into forms fit for the expression of the sublimest truths. Herein is the significance of Christianity in the art history of this period. Although on the one hand a decaying and on the other an embryo art contributed to their construction, these Christian basilicas produced, in the main, a sublime and inspiring effect, which is chiefly attributable to the beautiful simplicity of their essential features.[1]

Art activity.

Splendour of Constantine's reign.

The reign of Constantine was characterized by an abounding splendour and luxury in court-dress and equipage. Its magnificence also appears in the buildings of his reign and those of his successors. But this spirit did not at first so much effect a change in the form of the basilicas as in the extent and magnificence of their decorations and furniture.

Santa Maria Maggiore.

Of the churches of the fourth century still preserved in Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore is among the richest and most instructive.[2] It was originally built in A. D. 352, and renewed in A. D. 432. It is believed to be the first church dedicated to the Virgin. It is two hundred and sixty-two feet long and ninety-nine broad. Notwithstanding many attempts to modernize it, it still retains parts of the original structure. Its imposing ranks of columns, well-preserved ancient mosaics, and horizontal entablature make it most notable among the churches of Rome. Its ceiling follows the classical rather than the early Christian style—being divided into squares and ornamented with rosettes rather than finished in rafter and timber work.

Classical ceiling.

Santa Maria in Trastavere.

Santa Maria in Trastavere disputes with Santa Maria Maggiore the honor of being the first church dedicated to the Virgin. If we are to accept the tradition, very early and resting upon some foundation, it was first founded in A. D. 340, while Santa Maria Maggiore was built twelve years later. Among the most interesting features of the interior are the twenty-two granite columns which divide the church into three naves. They are of different heights and thickness, and surmounted with capitals of different styles, on which are wrought out figures of Jupiter, Juno, and other gods of the Grreeks. This arangement illustrates the entire freedom with which the Church of the fourth century incorporated into its houses of worship materials already at hand.

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[1] Rosengarten: *Architectural Forms*, p. 170.

[2] Bunsen: *Basiliken d. ch. Roms*, tt. ix, x. Förster: *Mittel u. Unter Italien*, ss. 264, 265. Kugler: *Geschichte d. Baukunst*, Bd. i, s. 386. H. Gally Knight: *The Ecclesiastical Buildings of Italy.* Valentini: *La Patriacale Basilica Liberiana.*

Heathen elements.

Portions of several basilicas of the fifth century remain, whose peculiarities are interesting and important in the history of ecclesiastical architecture. Among the most noteworthy in the West is Santa Sabina, believed to have been founded in the first quarter of the century. It is the best example of the original basilica that has survived. It, too, has twenty-two antique columns of pagan origin. They are of remarkable beauty, having Attic bases, Corinthian capitals, and somewhat slender shafts, fluted through one third of their length. A very considerable portion of the pavement belonging to the original structure is still preserved.[1]

Santa Sabina.

Classic columns.

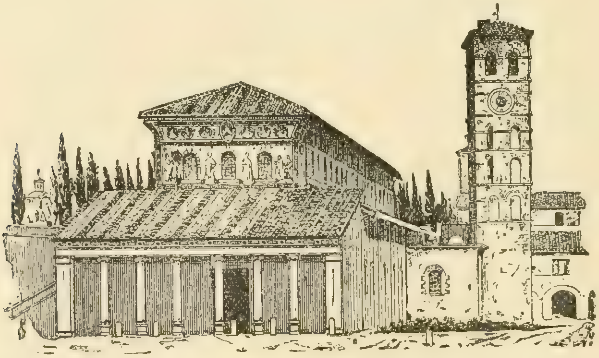

Fig. 94.—San Lorenzo fuori le mura. Showing arrangement of vestibule and roof.

Of considerable architectural importance is the church San Lorenzo fuori le mura (*v.* Fig. 94). It was begun in the fourth century, but underwent many changes in the sixth and thirteenth centuries. It is a good representative of the class of Christian churches which preserved the side galleries in the second story, in imitation of the peculiar feature of the pagan law basilica (*v.* Fig. 95). This was not, as we have already seen, introduced into the earliest churches, since, instead of a gallery, the walls

San Lorenzo fuori le mura.

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[1] Bunsen: *Basiliken der christlichen Roms,* t. viii, B. Förster: *Mittel u. Unter Italien,* ss. 284, 285.

bounding the middle nave were continuous to the roof, thus affording greater space for interior decoration.[1] To the same class belongs Santa Agnese fuori le mura (Fig. 95), built, according to the tradition, by Constantine above the catacombs where the remains of St. Agnes were found. The side galleries in the second story are well preserved in this church also.

Santa Agnese.

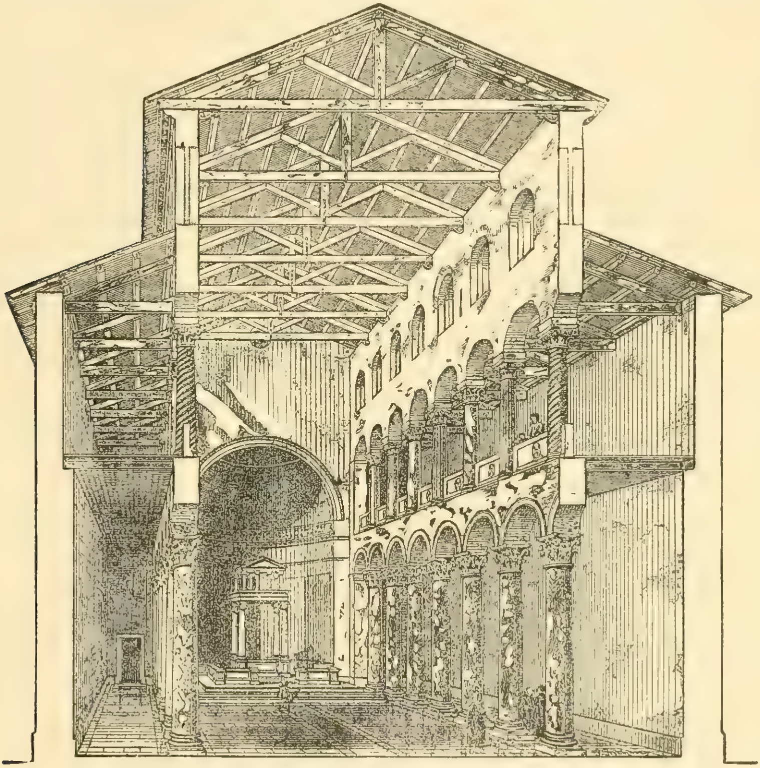

Fig. 95.—Santa Agnese fuori le mura. Interior view.

Another extra mural church of the fourth century is Santa Sinforosa, nine miles from the city gates. It is of special interest, as illustrating the growth of important churches of the basilica form from cellæ, beneath which the bones of martyrs were supposed to rest. It has been elsewhere stated that the burial feasts were celebrated in or near these cellæ, or in exedræ, and that where sites were of especial sacredness multitudes were accustomed to leave the city to engage in these festivals. To accommodate the

Santa Sinforosa.

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[1] Dehio und Bezold: *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, text, ss. 107, 108; taf. 16, 4. Bunsen: *Op. cit.*, tt. xii, xiii, xiv. Förster: *Op. cit.*, ss. 257, 258.

increasing numbers the simple cella in time expanded to the imposing church, and the services assumed a character of dignity and impressive grandeur. The exploration of Santa Sinforosa revealed the existence of a cella, of the usual form, lying directly back of the apse of the basilica, and connected with it by a passage-way (*v.* Fig. 95). It is believed that this basilica originated in the manner above indicated, and that it was especially hallowed by its immediate proximity to the resting-place of St. Sinforosa and her seven sons.[1]

From a burial chapel.

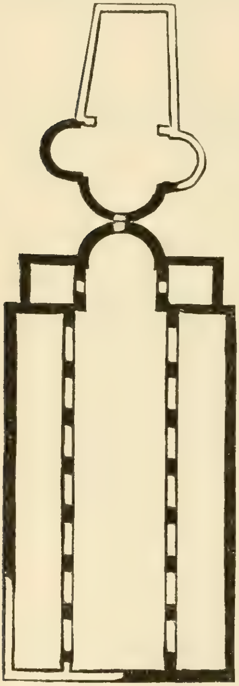

Fig. 96. — Groundplan of Santa Sinforosa.

Like the churches of San Lorenzo, Santa Agnese, and Santa Sinforosa, so, also, are the two most important basilicas of Rome — San Pietro in Vaticano, and San Paoli fuori le mura—believed to have originated in sacred shrines outside the city walls. Of the fifth century is also San Pietro in vincoli, a three-naved basilica, with flat ceiling of wood, and with twenty antique columns of finest Parian marble, whose severe Doric style gives to the interior an air of impressive simplicity.

San Pietro in vincoli.

Outside of Rome are found remains of several churches of the basilica type of architecture from the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. Ravenna is among the most rich and instructive centers. It is a favorable circumstance that their complete history is found in the *Biographies of the Bishops of Ravenna*, by Agnellus.[2] These churches have more fully preserved their original form than those of Rome or Constantinople, where the unwise zeal of succeeding popes, patriarchs, or emperors has in many instances modified nearly every feature of the original structure. It is, therefore, highly important to understand the nature and teachings of these architectural monuments.

Good historic and monumental evidence.

Compared with those of Rome, the oblong basilica churches of Ravenna had usually a very simple ground plan. They were mostly three-naved, without transept or galleries.

Simple in outline.

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[1] *Bullettino cristiano*, 1878, p. 75. G. Baldwin Brown: *From Schola to Cathedral*, pp. 64, 65. Dehio und Bezold: *Op. cit.*, text, s. 104; taf. 17, 2.

[2] *v.* Quast: *Die alt-christlichen Bauwerke von Ravenna.*

In contrast with most of the ancient churches of Rome, they seem to have been built of materials specially prepared for them. Instead of the curious conglomeration of styles in the columns, with respect to order, diameter, and height, and of the materials of the buildings, in Ravenna a general harmony and consistency are noticed.[1] The style is, therefore, more distinct, and the stage of architectural development more clearly marked. The interior arrangement is likewise simple and harmonious. The architrave is entirely wanting, the entablature being uniformly supported by the round arch. The capitals do not immediately support the arches, but are crowned with an abacus (*v.* Fig. 99). The tribune is generally well defined and carefully decorated. In marked contrast with modern churches, the exterior was simple and unadorned, the material being usually brick.

Generally harmonious.

Quast[2] divides the Christian architectural monuments of Ravenna into four periods. The first extends from the introduction of Christianity to the downfall of the Western Empire in A. D. 476; the second from the Roman downfall to the death of Theodoric, A. D. 476–526; the third from the death of Theodoric to the death of the Archbishop Agnellus, A. D. 526–566; the fourth period from the death of Agnellus to the termination of art activity in Ravenna—A. D. 566 to about A. D. 900. Kugler[3] divides into three periods, corresponding to the three chief periods of the history of the city. To the first period belongs the cathedral church of the town, the Ecclesia Ursiana, which was built near the beginning of the fifth century. Unfortunately, on its reconstruction at the beginning of the eighteenth century the original structure was totally destroyed. Yet, from trustworthy notices that have been preserved, we learn that it was a five-naved basilica, which preeminence it enjoyed with only three of the most noted churches of Rome. Certain expressions of Agnellus lead us to believe that the entire church area was covered with a vaulted ceiling. It was originally dedicated to the resurrection of Christ. Its pavements and walls were adorned with costly marbles and rich mosaics. The arrangement of the choir resembled that of San Clemente at Rome.[4] The surviving baptisterium is elsewhere described.

Periods of architecture in Ravenna.

First period.

Ecclesia Ursiana.

Its decorations.

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[1] *v.* Quast: *Op. cit.*, s. 44. Kugler: *Op. cit.*, Bd. i, s. 394.

[2] *Die alt-christlichen Bauwerken von Ravenna*, ss. 2, 17, 27, 40

[3] *Geschichte der Baukunst*, Bd. i, s. 395.

[4] Quast: *Die alt-christlichen Bauwerke von Ravenna*, Berlin, 1842, s. 2. Dehio und Bezold: *Op. cit.*, Taf. 17, Fig. 4. D'Agincourt: Pl. lxx, Fig. 21.

Santa Agata.

To the same period belongs Santa Agata, a three-naved church closely conforming to the typical oblong basilica, yet possessing little of special interest.

Second period.

The policy of Theodoric.

His tolerant spirit.

The Arian churches.

San Apollinare Nuova.

The period of civil commotion following the death of Valentinian III. was unfavorable to the patronage of ecelesiastical art. The fearful inroads of Attila and Odoacer had brought destruction in their pathway until the triumph of the Ostrogothic king, Theodoric, in A. D. 495. This remarkable ruler restored to Italy a measure of the prosperity enjoyed before her desperate struggles with the barbarians. Though unlettered, he was a patron of learning, and greatly beautified Ravenna and other cities of his realm by the erection of many new churches. His task was one of extreme difficulty. An Ostrogothic king, he must not only reconcile the two fiercely contending peoples, but also pacify the orthodox and Arian parties in the Church. The Gothic tribes had largely embraced the Arian doctrine, and Theodoric was himself its defender. His nobility of character is shown in his carefully refraining from persecution of opponents, and by granting to the orthodox party the privilege of building and owning their own churches, and of using their own confession of faith and forms of worship. The architectural interest of his reign is connected very largely with the churches of the Arian party, some of which were built outside the walls of the city, and some at the port of Classe. Several within the city have been preserved to our time, and constitute an interesting group of ecclesiastical monuments. Among the most noted is San Apollinare Nuovo, formerly called Basilica San Martini in cœlo aureo, so named from its great splendour. It was connected directly with the royal palace, and seems to have been regarded as specially the court church.[1] The exterior of the upper part of the middle nave has been preserved entire. The same style of round arch, built of brick, which we have before met in the churches of

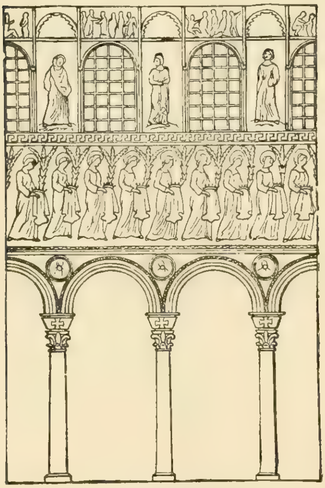

Fig. 97.—San Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, showing interior structure and decoration.

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[1] Quast: *Op. cit.*, s. 19, Taf. vii, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4. Dehio und Bezold: Taf. 16. Fig. 5. D'Agincourt: Plate xvii, 17–22.

the first period (as in Santa Agata), is here repeated. The columns of the interior (*v.* Fig. 97) have Corinthian capitals with a square abacus quite in the Byzantine style.[1]

Third period.

The splendid churches built by the Catholic party belong properly to the third period. The most noted had been commenced during the Gothic supremacy, but were finished and decorated at a later date. For the most part they were no longer constructed under the direction of kings and rulers, but of the ecclesiastics who held allegiance to Constantinople. From this time, therefore, the Byzantine influence is much more pronounced in the buildings of Ravenna.

San Apollinare in Classe.

The Christian archæologist, in search of new illustrations of the life and vigor of the early Church, meets few more impressive monuments than the Basilica of San Apollinare in Classe (Fig. 98). During the three-mile walk from Ravenna to Classe amid scenes so full of historic and literary interest, the memories of events decisive in the world's history troop before the visitor like specters from the entombed generations. This church stands out in its solitariness, the sole survivor of all the edifices that crowded the busy port of Classe, where Augustus moored his conquering fleets. Its tower still stands to point the faith of men to the Author of a religion that shall never know decay, while beneath it sleeps the dust of forty generations.

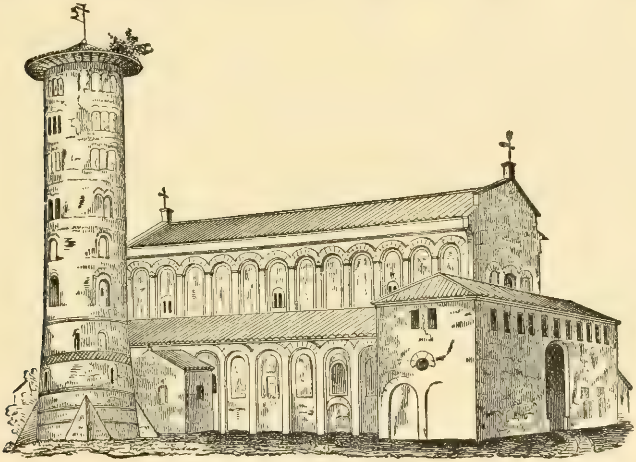

Fig. 98.--San Apollinare in Classe.

The solitary monument.

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[1] For description of mosaics see pp. 125, 127. Fig. 97 gives a good idea of the construction of the columns, the form of arches, the rich mosaic decorations of the entablature, etc.

Even to the portico, the building remains in all its original integrity.

The interior.

Only a portion of the marble which lined the interior walls has been removed (*v.* Fig. 99). It is a three-naved basilica with elevated choir, to which lead stairs of the entire breadth of the middle nave. It is one hundred and eighty-six feet long and one hundred feet broad, having on either side twelve tapering columns of Grecian marble with Corinthian capitals.[1]

The mosaics, etc.

The furniture, altar, etc., are still preserved. The original mosaics in the tribune (*v.* Fig. 99) and on the side walls remain in all their freshness to tell the story of the religious thought of the sixth century. On the beautiful frieze above the columns bounding the middle nave is a series of mosaic medallions (*v.* Fig. 99) of the bishops of this church from the time of St. Apollinarius. They are most noteworthy. The capitals of the columns, as of the pilasters, have much value and interest in the history of architectural development, since they are the first examples of an ornamentation which was subsequently widely diffused.[2]

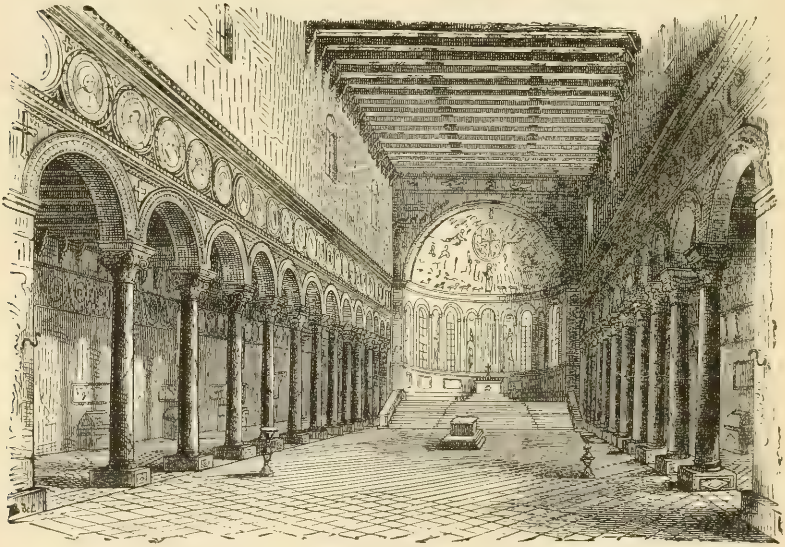

Fig. 99.—San Apollinare in Classe. Interior view.

Exterior construction.

The exterior of the church is of brick, whose joints of mortar are nearly as thick as the bricks themselves. The vestibule, apparently contemporary with the main structure, is

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[1] Förster: *Mittel u. Unter Italien*, ss. 389, 390. Quast: *Op. cit.*, ss. 34–37, Taf. ix. D'Agincourt: Plates lxviii and lxix. Dehio und Bezold: *Op. cit.*, Taf. 16, Fig. 8.

[2] Quast: *Op. cit.*, s. 35, taf. ix, Figs. 3, 4.

External beauty.

The windows.

of great interest from containing the remains of many successive bishops of this church. In San Apollinare in Classe, in common with several other churches of Ravenna, a growing attention to exterior beauty and harmony is noticed. Previously the basilicas had very broad and open windows; a construction unfavourable to the support of the heavy weight resting on the architraves; but when the round arch was generally introduced this difficulty no longer existed. The windows were made narrower, the light admitted became less and less, until the passion for "a dim religious light" led to the entire absence of windows in the upper part of the middle nave.

Cathedrals of Novara and Parengo.

Mosaics.

Of much interest are the cathedral church of Novara, from the sixth century, and the cathedral of Parengo, in Istria, from the seventh. They are distinguished by having a forecourt and a baptistery very closely incorporated into their architectural structure. This feature is believed by Hübsch to have been first introduced during the sixth century. The latter church has been well preserved, is rich in mosaics and paintings, and retains the original marble pavement in the middle nave. While the mosaics of the façade are weather-beaten and much faded, from their outlines a fair idea of their subjects and style of treatment can be gained.

St. Reparatus.

In the non-European lands are still preserved many examples of the oblong rectangular basilica, whose original may be traced from the fourth century down. Prominent among these is the Basilica Reparatus, discovered on the site of the ancient Castellum Tingitanum (the modern Orleansville), in Algiers.[1] It was a five-naved church with semicircular apse which projected toward the middle of the church, thus forming rooms on either side, while the exterior boundaries of the church were straight lines.[2]

In Egypt, also.

Ruins of like churches are also found at Tafaced (Colonia Tipæsa), at Annuna, etc. Farther toward the East, at the old port of Apollonia, three ruined basilicas have been found, whose art remains are interesting for showing the commingling of Christian and Egyptian symbolism.[3] Also in many parts of Egypt ruins of these early Christian churches of the basilica form are still met. They are not confined to the cities nor to the Nile valley, but are found on oases in the Lybian desert, as at El-Hayz, El-Gabuat, and El-Zabu.

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[1] For the chronology of this church see p. 33, note 2.

[2] The form of this apse is very similar to that of San Croce in Gerusalemme, Fig. 81.

[3] Kugler: *Geschichte der Baukunst*, Bd. i, ss. 373, 374. These have been well described by H. Barth, in his *Journeys through the Coastlands of the Mediterranean.*

Extensively diffused in the Nile valley.

In the Nile valley, extending far south, churches of the fourth and fifth centuries still preserve many very interesting and instructive features. Their number and size, their rich art remains, their connection in some instances with extended convents and religious communities, are confirmatory evidence of the widespread influence of Christianity among the Egyptian peoples, while their peculiar architectural features seem to furnish some foundation for the theory that Egypt was the native home of the basilica, being appropriated by the Greeks, and then, in modified form, becoming a ruling type in the West-Roman Empire.

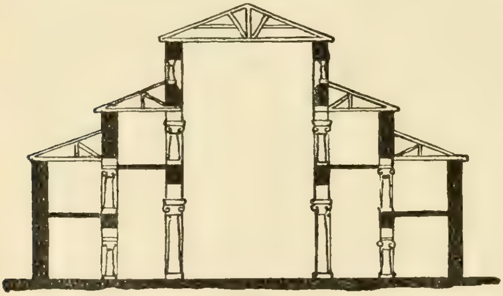

Fig. 100.—St. Demetrius, Thessalonica. Cross section.

Also the church of St. Demetrius (Fig. 100), at Thessalonica (modern Salonika), belongs to the fifth century. It is a five-naved structure with a transept. It departs, in some respects, quite widely from the usual basilica form. The spaces between the columns are spanned by semicircular arches surmounted by an entablature covered with paintings. Above this is a second row of columns with a like entablature, and above this a third, in which are the windows for lighting the interior. Like many of the conspicuous churches of the Orient, it is now a Mohammedan mosque.[1]

Contemporary with St. Demetrius is another church of Salonika, now called the mosque Eski-Djouma. It is three-naved with a transept, and its general features are similar to those of St. Demetrius.

Central Syria.

Of still greater interest are the churches of central Syria. These have been made better known through the diligent researches of the Count de Vogüé.[2] It is evident from his discoveries that during the fifth and sixth centuries, while the West was in a condition of disruption and fearful decadence, Christian art in Syria was in a state of unwonted activity. The number of churches, the chaste simplicity of their style, and their close adherence to the oblong basilica type, argue a period of peace and of remarkable prosperity of the Church. Prior to the fourth century little survives, but from the fourth to the seventh the Christian architectural monuments are almost innumerable,[1] being built in great measure of materials already at hand. "We are transported," says de Vogüé, "into the midst of a Christian society. We are surprised at its life: not the covert, hidden life of the catacombs, not an existence humble, timid, suffering, is here generally represented, but a life generous, rich, artistic; spacious houses built of brown stone, conveniently arranged, with galleries and covered balconies; beautiful gardens planted with the vine, presses for making wine, and stone vats and casks for its safe storage; immense subterranean kitchens, and stables for the horses; beautiful squares, surrounded with porticos and elegant baths; magnificent churches, adorned with columns, flanked with towers and encircled with elegant tombs."[2]

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[1] Texier and Pullan: *L'Architecture Byzantine*, p. 134, pl. xvii–xxvi. Kugler: *Geschichte d. Baukunst*, Bd. i, s. 433. Stockbauer: *Der christliche Kirchenbau*, s. 47.

[2] *Syrie Centrale: Architecture Civile et Religieuse du* 1er *au* 7e *Siècle*. Paris, 1865–1877. 2 vols., fol.

The Church in a state of prosperity.

In nearly all the basilicas of Africa and Syria there is a departure from the style of the West with respect to the ceiling finish and decoration. Instead of the open beam-and-rafter work so usual with Roman basilicas, we find the semicylindrical vaulted ceiling. It is believed that this peculiar construction was determined by the character of the materials at hand—the Egyptian and Syrian lands being destitute of timber suitable for the ceiling decorations, while at the same time both stone and brick were abundant and cheap. A like ceiling vaulting is sometimes met in southern France. While hewn stone was seldom used in Italy (brick being the material in general use for the purposes of ceiling vaulting), it was quite common in Syria and the East.[3]

The vaulted ceiling.

Among the numerous monuments scattered thus over Syria, those of Kherbet-Hass, El-Barah, and Tourmanin are very conspicuous. Each comprises a group of buildings for religious observances, including one or more churches, chapels, and houses for meditation, or convents for Christian orders.

The group at Kherbet-Hass consists of a larger and a smaller church, both three-naved, with distinct internal semicircular apse, and opening upon spacious courts. Besides these are found rooms for the school, for the library, for lodging the various Church officials, and a place of burial for the chief ecclesiastics.[4]

Kherbet-Hass.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, t. i, p. 7. [2] *Op. cit.*, t. i, p. 9. [3] Dehio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, s. 130.

[4] De Vogüé: *Op. cit.*, t. i, p. 96; t. ii, plates 59, 61.

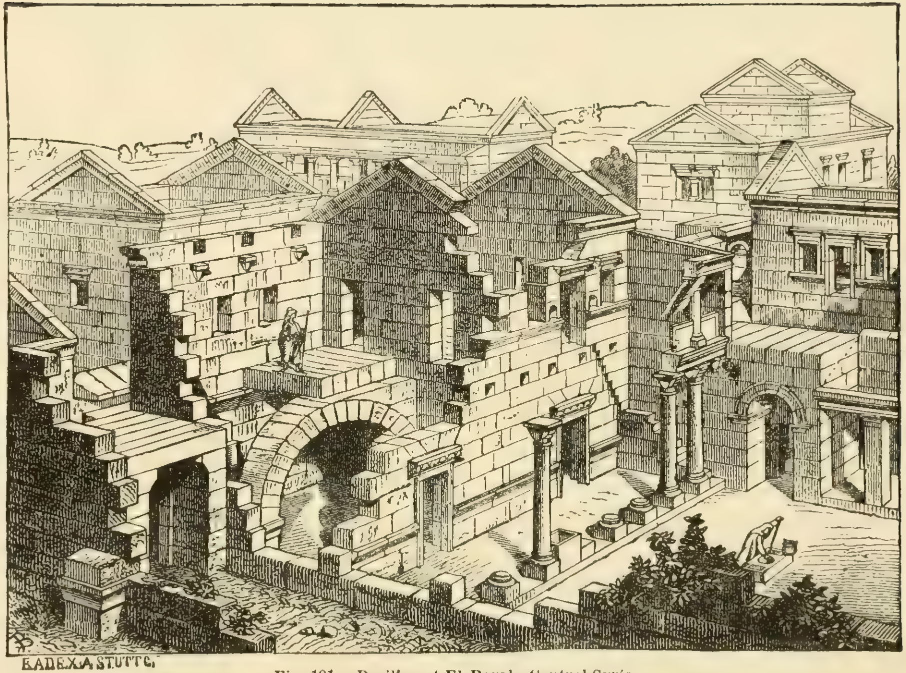
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Fig. 101.—Basilica at El-Barah, Central Syria.

At El-Barah are three churches in close juxtaposition. Fig. 101 represents this collection of religious edifices. The principal church, with its adjacent chapel, has on the front and sides spacious courts with irregular colonnades. Near to this church are the school, the rooms for the various servants, for the ecclesiastics, and for the library. The entire group of buildings shown in Fig. 101 is connected with this imposing ecclesiastical establishment, and well illustrates the flourishing state of the Syrian churches in the fourth and fifth centuries.

El-Barah.

The curious assemblage of buildings at Tourmanin comprised a church, and an immense structure which seems to have been an ecclesiastical hostelry for lodging pilgrims. The church, restored from a careful study of the surviving portions (Fig. 102), follows the general plan and arrangement of most Syrian churches of the sixth century. The *façade* has an imposing character,[1] while the disposition of the lines gives to it a picturesque effect. The careful balancing of parts resulted in a building of great solidity, whose permanence was almost entirely independent of cement. The interior is the usual oblong basilica of three naves. The apse has the form of a regular half-dodecagon. The internal arrangements and decorations show that architecture at this

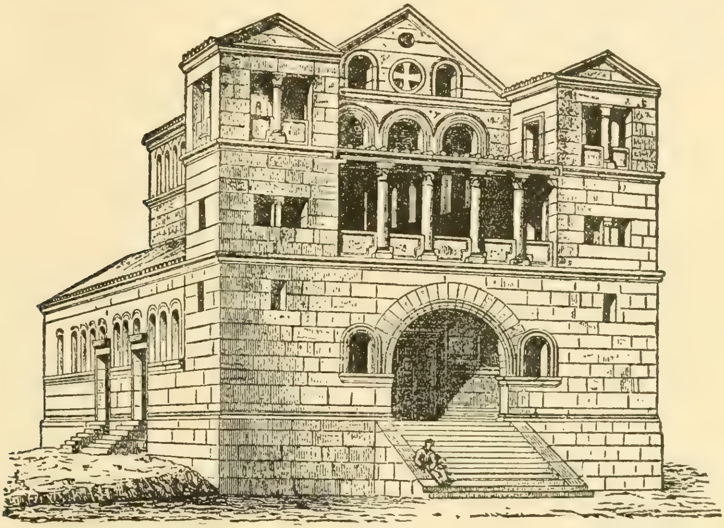

Fig. 102.—View of the church at Tourmanin, Central Syria. Restored from the ruins.

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[1] *v.* De Vogüé: *Op. cit.*, t. i, pp. 138–140; plates cxxx–cxxxvi.

period had attained a very high order of excellence, and indicate a very prosperous condition of the Syrian Church during the sixth century.

The pure basilica form.

All the churches both at Kherbet-Hass, El Barah, and Tourmanin are of the pure oblong basilica type which so generally prevailed in Syria and Egypt. As before said, they lack the wood rafter work in the ceilings, instead of which they employ cut stone for the vaulting. These churches varied very little in their general outline and plan, the architects being content to introduce variety into the decorations and subordinate members. In the disposition of the interiors there is great uniformity. The columns are generally monoliths, with bases which remind us of the classic style, while the imposed mass is directly supported by the capitals without the intervention of the abacus.[1]

But vaulted ceilings.

Church and monastery of St. Simon.

The grandest monument of Central Syria are the church and convent of St. Simon the Stylite. It is now called Kalat-Sem'an—the Chateau of Simon. It is situated in the north-east corner of central Syria, a short distance north of Djebel Cheikh Bereket. It was built in honor of that most singular character, Simon the Stylite, who died A. D. 459. The date of the church is somewhat uncertain. From considerations drawn from the style of the decorations, de Vogüé is disposed to place its erection in the latter half of the fifth century.[2] It was a cruciform, three-naved basilica, whose three arms are of equal length; the fourth, containing the apse, being thirty-six feet longer than the others. The arms of the cross at their intersection form an octagonal court one hundred feet in diameter, which was open to the sky. The longest arm terminated in a semicircular apse not only for the main but also for the side naves. The length of the church from east to west was 336 feet, from north to south 300 feet. The width of the main nave was 36 feet, that of the side naves 18 feet. The principal entrance was from the south through a porch of imposing magnificence. This church, with its attendant chapels, oratories, and sarcophagi, is a reminder of the best classical period. Although in treatment it is somewhat bald and meagre, the style of the capitals is decidedly original. The oblique direction given to the return of the leaves is quite common to the Byzantine architecture. In this and other respects the capitals resemble those of San Apollinare in Classe, in Ravenna, and those

Description.

Style of capitals.

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[1] De Vogüé: *Op. cit.*, t. i, p. 97; t. ii, pl. 60.

[2] *Syrie Centrale:* t. i, pp. 141–154; t. ii, plates 145–151.

employed in the principal entrance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.[1] The interior decoration of this and other Syrian churches of the fifth and sixth centuries cannot be ascertained with certainty. From a few specimens of painted cornice found on the spot, de Vogüé has, however, inferred that the color was applied directly to the stone, and that much of the brilliancy of the classical buildings might have belonged to these Syrian ecclesiastical structures.[2] He does not believe that these churches were ornamented to any considerable extent with mosaics of gilt and glass. The smooth, polished faces of the stone in the choir, which was the only place where mosaics could be used, forbid the supposition of their employment for ornamentation. Yet the mass of pieces of colored marbles, found in connection with the ruins of this church, suggests the probability that the pavement may have been wrought out in beautiful mosaic patterns.

The coloring.

Destitute of mosaics.

SECTION III.

THE CENTRAL OR DOMED STYLE.

Contemporary with the oblong, naved, rectangular basilica was another style of Christian architecture, the so-called central or domed structure. This was not unfrequent in the West, but in few if any instances does it seem to have been used in buildings originally designed for Christian churches. It was rather limited to those structures of pagan origin which were appropriated to Christian uses, or to buildings subordinate to the main church edifice, as burial or memorial chapels, baptisteries,[3] etc. Hence in the Occident it seemed to be wanting in power of growth and development; it had at best a feeble, sickly life, and the mediæval architecture received from it but a scanty inheritance. In the Orient it was far otherwise. Here the church adopted and fashioned it to satisfy its own peculiar wants. One type appeared in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and another, after a rapid and brilliant development, attained its goal and highest perfection in St. Sophia of Constantinople.[4] From the so-called Byzantine architecture was probably derived the constructive principle which enabled the me-

Not powerful in the West.

Its peculiar home in the Orient.

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[1] De Vogüé: *Op. cit.*, t. i, pp. 150, 151.

[2] Id., t. i, p. 152, plate 151.

[3] Schnaase: *Gesch. d. bildend. Künste*, iii, 48; Dehio u. Bezold, i, 20, 21.

[4] Dehio und Bezold: *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, Stuttgart, 1884, 1te Lief., s. 21.

diæval architects to transform the flat ceiling of the basilica into the vaulted, and ultimately into the beautiful, soaring, pointed style of the Gothic cathedral.[1]

§ 1. *Origin of the Domed Structure.*

Its origin obscure.

The origin of the domed principle in architecture is even more obscure than that of the oblong rectangular basilica. While the Etruscans were familiar with the vaulted roof, as this was applied to the cloacæ and aqueducts, they have left no works of marked architectural character which lead us to believe that they are the originators of the dome structure as it was found in the West just prior to the Advent. It is very remarkable that the most beautiful and complete dome of the world is the Pantheon of Rome, a sort of architectural Melchizedek, without father or mother, and also wanting, so far as can be determined, the long antecedent process of development which such perfection presupposes. It is likewise curious that the oblong basilica is the most persistent form for the Christian church in many parts of the Orient, which has usually been accounted the native land of the so called Byzantine architecture.

These differ from St. Sophia.

Of the churches of central Syria, described by de Vogüé, only two of importance are of the domical form, and these from the sixth century.[2] It is claimed that they were constructed on an entirely different principle from that governing in St. Sophia. They were compact and unified; their parts were members of a living organism. Each was firmly bound to the other, each was the natural and necessary complement of all. St. Sophia, on the other hand, was a vast concretion of brick and mortar, and of rough blocks of stone, distributed into arches, vaulted surfaces, cupolas, and hemicupolas, whose expansions, resting upon fixed points, and balancing one part against the other, were brought into a condition of perfect equilibrium. The principle of construction was not different from that in the Roman baptistery, developed, enlarged, and made more light and soaring through the boldness of two men of eminent genius,

Resembled the Roman baptistery.

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[1] We believe, therefore, that the concluding paragraph of the statement of Professor G. Baldwin Brown, *From Schola to Cathedral*, 1886, p. 143, needs important qualification: "Rome possessed a world-famed cupola several centuries before the first Byzantine dome, and during those centuries dome construction had advanced on parallel lines in the West and in the East, so that the Middle Ages inherited in the West as genuine a tradition in regard to the cupola as any which flourished in the East."

[2] De Vogüé: *Syrie Centrale Architecture civile et religieuse*, plates 21, 23.

both of whom were Greeks. Their work, too, was Greek in the sense that it was the result of the application of the logical spirit of the Greek school to a new and foreign principle, which became most fruitful of results. These two artists originated a style which completely supplanted the preceding in all the countries which were afterward submissive to Byzantine rule. The opportunity it furnished for the employment of mediocre workmen, and for utilizing the cruder materials, as brick and lime, as well as the gradual introduction of Oriental tastes, assured its success. It characterized the Byzantine period, properly so called, and was the last evolution of Greek art, destined in turn to be absorbed in the Saracenic.[1]

Yet essentially Greek.

Whether the central architecture of the West was an indigenous product, or was the result of Greek influence whose monumental expression has perished, or whether both the Roman and the so-called Byzantine were alike the revival of an old eastern type which had fallen into partial decay,[2] it may not be possible to affirm. The subject is beset with peculiar difficulties, and awaits more thorough investigation. It is, however, evident that the Christian baptisteries and burial chapels have a strong resemblance to the contemporary pagan baths and mortuary monuments.[3] An interesting example of this is found in a portion of the baths of Diocletian (Fig. 103). This was converted, in the sixteenth century, into the church San Barnardino de' Termini. The semicircular niches were perpetuated in the Christian structure. The more prominent features of this building recur from time to time in the Central style.

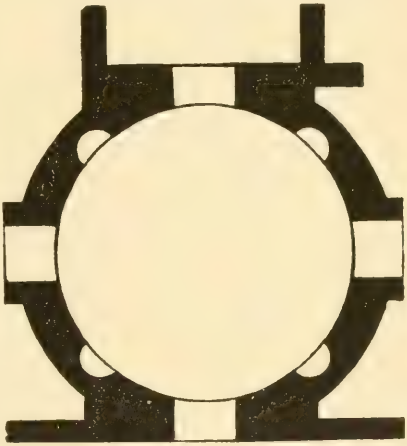

Fig. 103.—Baths of Diocletian, San Barnardino. Groundplan.

The description of circular temples by Vitruvius would imply their prevalence in his day. In a few Christian mosaics, both in Rome and Ravenna, the domical form appears in connection with more imposing structures which are believed to represent the buildings for Christian assembly, while in Christian literature are found quite detailed accounts of noted churches that have entirely disappeared. Of these the circular domed building erected by Constantine in the early part of the fourth century over the traditional site of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem,[1] and the magnificent church at Antioch which Eusebius has described at length, were among the most notable and influential. He says: "At Antioch, the capital of the Orient, he (Constantine) built a thoroughly characteristic church. He enclosed the whole by a peribolos, within which he built an oratory of unprecedented height. It was of octagonal form. To the exterior round about he added many chapels and exedra, as well as crypts and galleries. The entire work was completed by ornamentation in gold as well as in ivory and other costly materials."[2] The relation of this and similar structures to the development of church architecture at Ravenna and other centers is most intimate. It becomes of great value in interpreting the forms met in the churches of San Vitale in Ravenna, San Marco in Venice, SS. Sergius et Bacchus in Constantinople, etc.[3]

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[1] De Vogüé: *Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 17, 18.

[2] The Sassanid domes of Persian palaces.

[3] Rosengarten: *Architectural Styles*, p. 172.

Central buildings in Constantine's time.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre served as a model for burial chapels, while that of Antioch was a model for buildings for congregational assembly. The great importance of the latter in Christian architecture arises from the circumstance that its chief features were copied into other structures, both East and West, and gave an impetus to (if it was not the genesis of) the style afterward characterized by the name Byzantine.

Importance of the Church of Antioch.

§ 2. *Classification.*

Different principles of classification of these buildings have been proposed by writers on the history of architecture. The adoption of the simple rotunda as the normal form, and the development of the central construction from this norm, has much to recommend it.[4] According to this view, the first step in the development was the addition of members in the form of niches in the enclosing walls. Both artistically as well as constructively this was of importance. The bounding of a space within narrowest possible limits, as well as the securing of better architectural effects, would thus result. For the most part the number of these niches does not exceed eight, being all of the

Principles of classification.

Addition of niches.

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[1] Eusebius: *De Vita Const.*, iii, 31.

[2] *Vita Const.*, lib. iii, cap. 50.

[3] Quast: *Die Altchristlichen Bauwerke von Ravenna*, ss. 30, 31.

[4] *v.* Dehio uud Bezold: *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, i, ss. 19, *ff.*

same form or having alternating rectangular and semicircular niches.[1] Sometimes these simple rotunda interiors were further enriched by columns placed in the niches, which also served a useful constructive purpose (*v.* Fig. 112). A further development is noticed in the attempts at enlargement of these circular buildings, by breaking through the walls of the niches, thus securing a series of attached rooms by means of an outward enclosing wall. This occurs in Figs. 112 and 116. It is believed that this change was first introduced into the churches from liturgical rather than artistic considerations—especially to secure more privacy for the high altar—but by continuous modifications it became the occasion of developing some of the most beautiful and imposing architectural effects.

The addition of a corridor.

A fourth type of the circular church architecture is that in which the domical portion, supported by columns, is surrounded by a corridor of lesser height than the central structure. This has sometimes, without sufficient reason, been characterized as an application of the basilica principle to the central style—hence called the circular basilica—and has been claimed to be the most distinctive and original product of the early Christian Church. The claim seems, however, to lack firm support, since some of its features manifestly find many suggestions in pagan architecture, while it is difficult on this theory to account for its somewhat limited dissemination, and for the fact that the oldest examples of this type of buildings are the most striking, thus indicating a retrogradation rather than a real development.[2]

Cruciform structures.

Under the class of the central or domical architecture some writers reckon the cruciform buildings, whether with equal arms, or, by the lengthening of the main axis, in the form of the Latin cross. While this form was more usually found in burial chapels, it was also incorporated into other and more imposing buildings.[3]

The Simple Rotunda.

Examples of simple rotunda.

Of the simple rotunda form but few examples survive. These are chiefly of baptisteries attached to churches. A plain hexagonal building of this kind is the baptistery of the basilica in the Colli di Sto Stefano in Tivoli; another is the octagonal baptistery of the cathedral of Parenzo.[4] A few chapels in the catacombs approach this simple outline.[5]

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[1] For examples of uniform semicircular niches, see Fig. 103; for uniformly rectangular niches, see Fig. 105; and for rectangular alternating with the circular niche, see Fig. 104.

[2] Dehio und Bezold: *Op. cit.*, ss. 31, 32.

[3] Idem, ss. 43, 44.

[4] Dehio und Bezold: *Op. cit.*, 1te Lief., s. 24, t. 1, Fig. 10, and t. 16, Fig. 2.

[5] Hübsch: *Op. cit.*, t. i, Fig. 6. Peret: *Les Catacombes de Rome*, pp. 36, 39.

With Niches and Columns.

Most of the circular domical forms add, however, the niches and columns, and thus pass to the second stage of development. To this general class may be referred some of the most interesting Christian architectural monuments of the first six centuries. The prominent features of the class are likewise met in the pagan monuments; but to claim that the Christian were only a copy or slavish imitation of the heathen structures were unhistorical and misleading. While it is evident that the Christian baptisteries and burial monuments found suggestions in the baths and sepulchral monuments of the classical world, with respect to this as to other branches of art the spirit of the new religion often modified, transformed, and adjusted them to the needs of the Church.

No slavish imitation of heathen buildings.

Fig. 104 is the groundplan of the so-called Temple of Romulus, son of Maxentius, found on the Via Appia,[1] Rome. Here are found the circular enclosing wall, the niches alternately rectangular and semicircular, the portico enclosing the area in front, etc., most of which elements were continued in buildings of Christian origin.

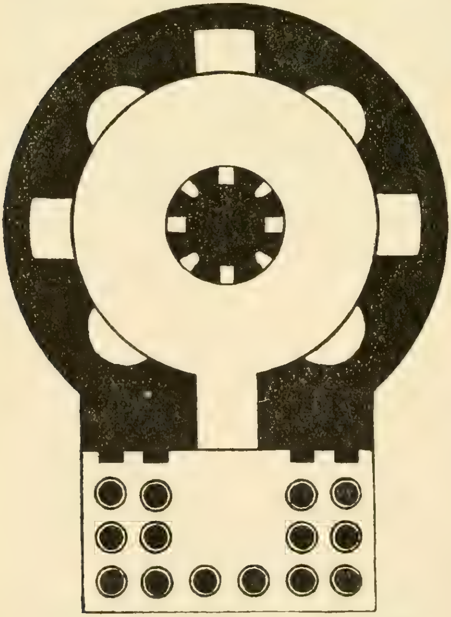
Fig. 104.—Temple of Romulus, Via Appia, Rome. Groundplan.

San Giovanni in Fonte.

Prominent among the Christian monuments of this class is the baptistery of the Ecclesia Ursiana, in Ravenna, now known under the name of San Giovanni in Fonte. It is an octagonal building, having two entrances and four niches or tribunes. The whole is covered by a somewhat flattened dome. The interior construction and decoration are noteworthy. The harmonious arrangement of the columns, and the spanning of larger by smaller arches, as appears in the second story of the exterior, and in the arrangement for the support of the dome in the second story of the interior, seem like a prophecy of the Gothic architecture; while the form of the capitals and many minor details clearly point backward to an earlier age of Greek art.[1] It has two stories. The lower part is formed by eight pilasters in the angles, which are connected by semicircular arches. The walls are lined with slabs of porphyry and different colored marbles.

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[1] Canina: *Via Appia*, tav. x, pp. 77, 78.

Santa Maria Rotonda.

The interior.

Exceptional architectural elements.

Another notable monument of this type is Santa Maria Rotonda,[2] in Ravenna, called also the mausoleum of Theodoric. It differs from other churches of Ravenna in being built of hewn stone instead of brick. The dome is thirty-three feet in diameter, consisting of a single stone of more than forty-five hundred tons weight.[3] It must have been brought from a great distance by water.[4] It is a work of high art, and the elevation to its place is a good proof of the excellent engineering of that age.[5] The church is a decagon of two stories. One half of the lower part is now under water. Each side of the exterior is relieved by a niche produced by a round arch that spans the intermediate space. The arches are built of dentated stone, which is first met in the later Roman architecture, but afterward became a prominent feature of the Byzantine and Arabian art. This church has given rise to much speculation upon the influences under which it was built. In its chief members there is not a trace of the Byzantine style; in its details this sometimes appears; while in some features it reveals a decidedly Gothic impress. As a whole, it seems to stand as a prophecy and suggestion of the style which rose in such glory and grandeur five hundred years later.[6]

St. George of Thessalonica.

In this class must also be reckoned the Church of St. George of Thessalonica,[7] the modern Salonika. The date of its erection has been elsewhere discussed (*v.* p. 116). It is a brick structure of more than seventy feet in diameter, having eight rectangular, chapel-like niches in the wall. The enclosing wall is nearly twenty feet thick, but in the niches it is reduced by the extent of their depth. One of the niches opens into the extended tribune, while another is used for entrance to the church (see Fig. 105). About the middle of the perpendicular height the wall is set back, giving the impression to the visitor that a corridor is thus secured on the interior (*v.* Fig. 106). In outline it has a very striking resemblance to the Roman Pantheon. Its rich and instructive mosaics are elsewhere described (*v.* pp. 116, 117). Like most surviving churches of the East, it has been converted into a Mohammedan mosque.

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[1] Quast: *Op. cit.*, ss. 4, 5; taf. i. Dehio u. Bezold: *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, 1te Lief., s. 25; t. 3, Fig. 9, 10; taf. 37.

[2] Quast: *Op. cit.*, s. 5; t, i, Figs. 2, 3, 4. Kugler: *Geschichte der Baukunst*, Bd. i, s. 396. Dehio und Bezold: *Op. cit.*, 1te Lief., s. 25; t. 3, Figs. 7, 8; t. 37.

[3] Quast: *Op. cit.*, ss. 24–26; t. vii, Figs. 17–28. D'Agincourt: *Architecture*, pp. xviii and xxxii. Dehio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, s. 25; t. 3, Figs. 9, 10. Rahn: *Ravenna*, ss. 38, *sq.*

[4] Quast: *Op. cit.*, s. 24, claims that it was brought from Istria.

[5] Kugler: *Op. cit.*, Bd. i, s. 398. H. Gally Knight: *Op. cit.*, t. viii.

[6] Quast: *Op. cit.*, s. 25.

[7] Kugler: *Geschichte der Baukunst*, Bd. i, s. 432. Texier and Pullan: *Églises Byzantines*, plates xxxi–xxxiv. Unger: In *Ersch u. Gruber's Encyclopædia*, taf. lxxxiv

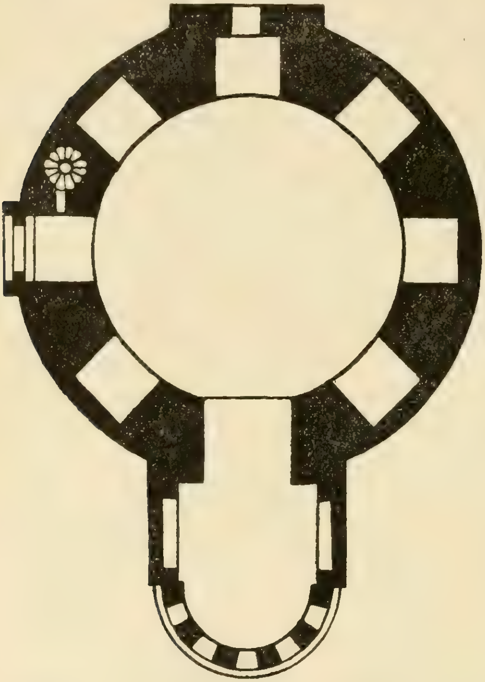

Fig. 105.—Groundplan of St. George, Thessalonica.

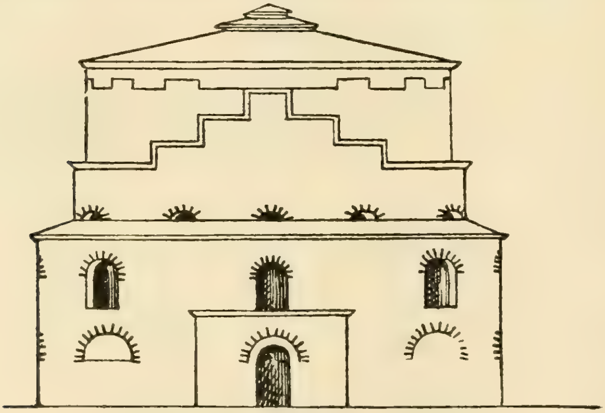

Fig. 106.—St. George, Thessalonica. Exterior view.

In passing from the simple rotunda, with rectangular and semicircular niches, to that further expansion of the central style in which by a more widely extended enclosing wall an added space was secured, and a more complex construction and artistic arrangement resulted, we are brought to the examination of some of the most impressive and significant churches of the first seven centuries. Among these San Vitale of Ravenna, and SS. Sergius et Bacchus and St. Sophia (Hagia Sofia) of Constantinople, are unrivalled. They are nearly contemporaneous, belonging to the reign of Justinian, in the first half of the sixth century.

Third stage of development.

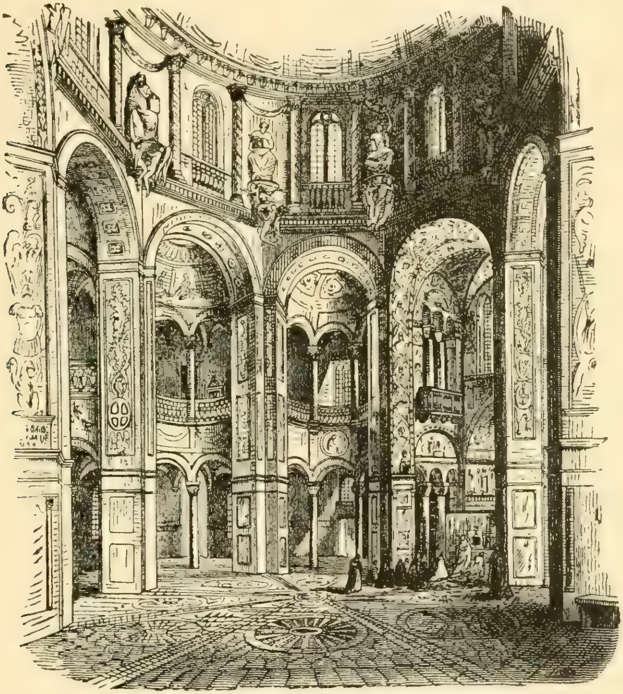

Fig. 107.—San Vitale, Ravenna. Interior view.

San Vitale was begun in A. D. 526, and dedicated in A. D. 547. It is an octagonal building about one hundred and two feet in diameter, with a tribune trilateral on the exterior, but semicircular on the interior. The second story forms an arcade supported by pillars and pilasters below (*v.* Fig. 107); above the pilasters and the arches resting upon them the dome rose to the height of nearly eighty feet. Some writers have held that San Vitale, and San Marco at Venice as well, are merely diminutive imitations of St. Sophia at Constantinople; but the resemblances between San Vitale and San Marco are not such

San Vitale.

Not a copy of San Marco.

as to justify their reference to a common model. In groundplan, interior arrangement, and roof construction they differ very widely. San Vitale is octagonal and two-storied; San Marco is in the form of the Greek cross and without galleries. San Vitale groups the central spaces into one which is covered by a central dome, rising high above the other parts of the structure; San Marco, on the contrary, has five depressed domes, above each arm of the cross, and over the central space where the two arms intersect.

Nor of St. Sophia.

On careful study the diversities between St. Sophia and San Vitale will also appear so great as to set aside the theory that the one was the model or the copy of the other. Their relation is only that of the three most noted surviving examples of the architecture of the first half of the sixth century.[1]

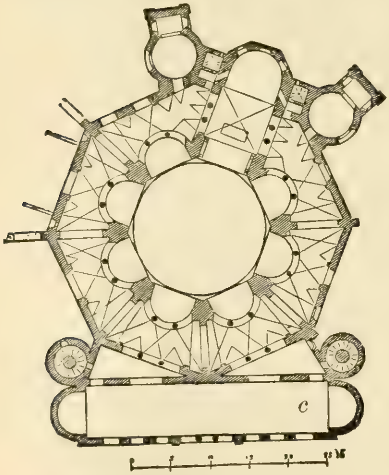

Fig. 108.—San Vitale. Groundplan.

Irregularity of groundplan.

Mosaics lost.

The long-extended vestibule, C, (Narthex or Ardica), of San Vitale is peculiar to this church (Fig. 108). It is not placed opposite or perpendicular to the axis of the tribune, as is usual in other churches, but makes a wide departure from the regularity of groundplan which might be expected. Many conjectures as to the reason of this have been made, but the real cause is unknown. The exterior of the church is like many other buildings of Ravenna, of brick with thick layers of mortar. Most of the mosaics, which formerly made it one of the most brilliant in Christendom, have unfortunately disappeared; yet the descriptions given by the historians are so full that their artistic and dogmatic significance can be easily determined.

The form of the arches supporting the dome, as well as the columnar arrangement of the second story, may be seen from the section given in Fig. 109. Likewise the style of the capitals, and the rich statuary, arabesque, and mosaic effects, in pavement and ceiling, making the interior of this church exceptionally impressive,

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[1] Quast: *Op. cit.*, s. 29. Compare Fig. 108, groundplan of San Vitale, with Fig. 116, groundplan of St. Sophia; the section of San Vitale, Fig. 109, with that of St. Sophia, Fig. 117.

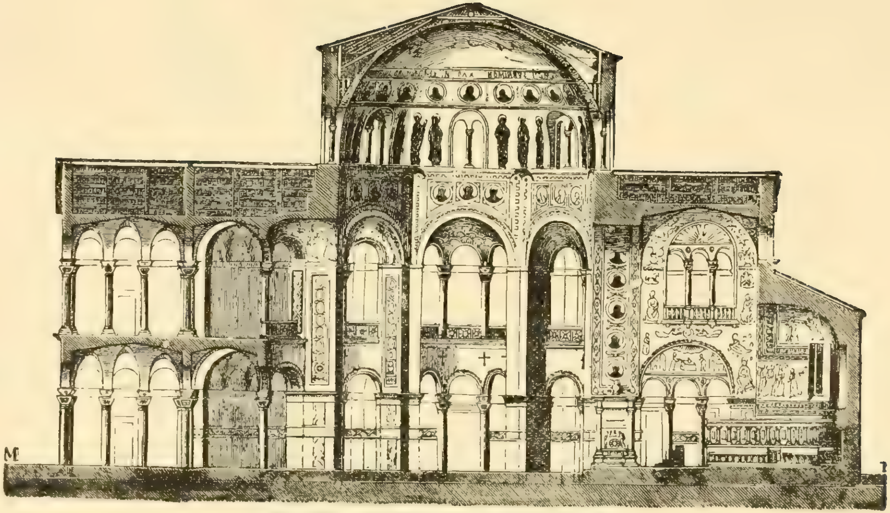

Fig. 109.—San Vitale. Longitudinal section.

are well shown in Figs. 107, 109. The contrast between this church and the Roman basilica, with its columns of varied styles, lengths, and diameters, is very marked. "Instead of simple, long-extended right lines, here is found an artistic combination of numerous curves, which, while departing from different centers, nevertheless complement each other and find in the dome the completest centralization. . . . In all this labyrinthian arrangement a most magnificent effect from this development of forms cannot be denied."[1] The church was begun under the East Gothic supremacy, and finished under Byzantine; it is, therefore, generally classified under the head of Byzantine architecture. The propriety of such classification may, however, be reasonably questioned, since neither in groundplan nor elevation, but only in decorative features, does it seem to be accordant with the Byzantine style.[2] The beauty of the decoration of the churches as well as their likeness in details may be seen by comparing the capitals of columns from each (*v.* Figs. 110 and 111).

Contrast with Roman basilica.

Not strictly Byzantine.

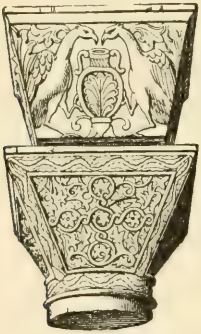

Fig. 110.—Capital from San Vitale, Ravenna.

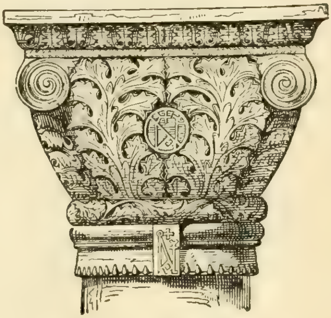

Fig. 111.—Capital from St. Sophia, Constantinople.

Nearly contemporary with San Vitale is SS. Sergius et Bacchus (Hagios Sergios) of Constantinople.[3] Here, too, the dome rests upon eight immense buttresses connected together in the lower story by a richly sculptured entablature, and in the second by arches. At the four corners are semicircular niches (in which are supporting columns) that lead into rooms

SS. Sergius et Bacchus.

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[1] Schnaase: *Geschichte der Bildende Künste*, 1te aufl., Bd. iii, ss. 131, 132.

[2] Stockbauer: *Der christliche Kirchenbau*, s. 89.

[3] Dehio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, 1te Lief., ss. 28, 29, taf. 4, Figs. 5, 6. Stockbauer: *Op. cit.*, s. 90. Kugler: *Op. cit.*, Bd. i, ss. 420–422. Salzenberg: *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale v. Constantinople.*

bounded by the exterior wall (*v.* Fig. 112), which is quadrangular instead of octagonal, as in San Vitale. Upon the interior face of the entablature, extending around the entire nave, is a fulsome inscription to Justinian, and to the martyrs Sergius and Bacchus, who were in high repute among the Dardanians and Illyrians. In the arrangement of the groundplan and of the vaulted spaces, the characteristic development of the Byzantine school is already noticed; but on careful study of details antique elements are found to predominate, so that this church must be regarded as belonging to the transition period of architecture in the Greek Empire.[1]

Stronger tendency to the Byzantine.

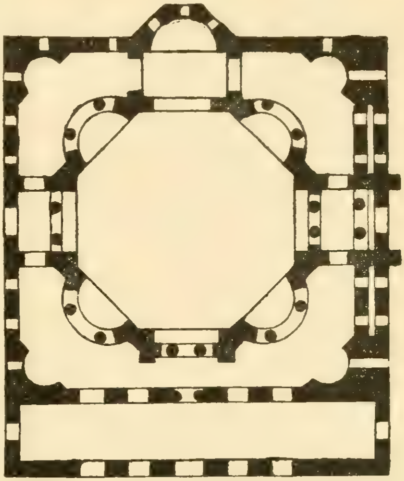

Fig. 112.—SS. Sergius and Bacchus, Constantinople. Groundplan.

This form of the Christian church does not differ very widely from some pagan buildings. Fig. 113 is the representation of a hall in an ancient Roman palace. Here, too, the alternation in the interior of the rectangular with the semicircular niche, and the enclosure of the whole by a strong rectangular wall, are so nearly like the arrangement of SS. Sergius et Bacchus as to suggest the same general style.[2]

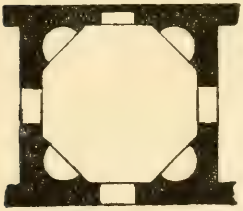

Fig. 113.—Hall in ancient Roman palace. To compare with SS. Sergius and Bacchus.

§ 3. *Byzantine Architecture.*

Reasons of removal of capital.

The removal of the capital of the Roman Empire to Byzantium must be accounted among the epoch-making events of history. All the secret motives influencing Constantine to this decision may not be known; some are, however, well understood. Heathen and Christian prophecies alike had foretold the approaching downfall of Rome; the Trojan coasts were the fabled native home of the Roman people; only by residence in the East could the complete overthrow of his rival, Licinius, be effected. The beauty of the situation of Byzantium was proverbial, and its military and strategical importance manifest. In the East were the sacred seats, the holiest traditions, the ablest defenders, and the richest doctrinal development of the new religion which he had befriended. The Oriental luxury and magnificence were to him most agreeable, and the absolutism of the East, unchecked even by the feeble apology for a Roman senate, comported best with Constantine's imperious nature. The principle of centralization was the kernel and essence of his empire. He would establish a new court in a place free from hoary traditions and unpolluted by the crimes of a thousand years of bitter struggle. The strange commingling of Christian and heathen elements in the new capital was only the visible symbol of the religious belief and character of its great founder. Pagan at heart, and little acquainted with the central truth of the Christian system, he nevertheless saw in it the promise of perpetuity. In the center of the forum was set up the noted porphyry column, crowned with the statue of the all-conquering Phidian Apollo, and around it were clustered the gods of paganism. Here, too, was seen the statue of the goddess of fortune, on whose head was placed the cross of Christ, and at whose dedication the people sang the *Kyrie Eleison.* Opposite to this, the double statue of the emperor and his mother Helena bore a cross with the inscription, "One is holy, one is the Lord Christ, to the glory of God the Father:" but in the middle of the cross, amidst forms of incantation, was again affixed the image of Fortune. To her, to Rhea, mother of the gods, to Castor and Pollux, temples were erected, as well as Christian churches in great number and magnificence. The art treasures of the world were collected to adorn the public squares and buildings, thus making Constantinople at the same time a rich museum of ancient, and a cradle of Christian, art.[1]

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[1] Salzenberg: Text, ss. 41–45, Blatt v. *Op. cit.*, Text, ss. 43, 45.

[2] Stockbauer: *Der christlichen Kirchenbau*, s. 90.

Syncretism.

The western mind was mostly occupied with the consideration of practical questions of life. The customs and morals of the people were considered; the forces that measured and controlled these were carefully estimated. The Oriental mind, on the contrary, was occupied with questions of dogma and abstract speculation. It did not aim so much to elevate the masses of the people; rather by mingling the mysteries of religion with the everyday affairs of life it educated the populace to the grossest

Contrast of East and West.

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[1] Carriere: *Die Kunst im Zusammenhang der Culturentwickelung und die Ideale der Menschheit,* Bd. iii, ss. 113, 114. Gibbon: *Decline and Fall,* chap. xvii. Salzenberg: *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinople,* ss. 1–10.

superstition. The strong common sense Socratic philosophy, which had recognized the dignity and the responsibitity of the individual, had been largely supplanted by the system of Neo-Platonism, in which the unity of the universe more than the freedom and selfhood of the individual was made prominent. A little later the spirit of Orientalism, which had more or less affected the entire Roman world, became dominant in the Byzantine Empire.

Evil results.

With the absolutism of imperial power necessarily resulted the decline of individual rights. The idea of personal freedom, and the worth of man as man, which was a ruling element among the Teutonic peoples, wellnigh died out. Banishments, imprisonments, tortures, and death were inflicted at the mere caprice of the sovereign. Hence all tended toward stagnation and death. After a sleep of a thousand years the Orient remained cold and lifeless, while the West had been heaving with the throes of a new and progressive life.

Valuable services to civilization.

This dark picture of the Byzantine Empire is, however, relieved by a few bright lights. Her good offices to the world were neither few nor unimportant. She preserved the thought of unity in government, which exerted a strong and salutary influence upon the susceptible German peoples, and gave to them the true idea of nationality. Through her best ruler, Justinian, she bequeathed to the world the body of codified law which has powerfully influenced the jurisprudence of Europe even to the present hour. Through all the centuries of her insensibility and sloth Constantinople was the museum where were collected and preserved to later times most precious treasures of ancient art and literature, which the crusades were to diffuse throughout the West to enkindle a new life and stimulate to higher endeavor.

Decay of art originality.

But the decadence of morals and of art was already so great that the attempts of Constantine to found schools for the education of skilled architects proved only partially successful. From this time Christian art in the Orient came under the control and guidance of an imperialism in state and Church, and crystallized into a fixedness of type that has been perpetuated to the present day. A pomp and stateliness, a splendor and even gaudiness in art, were only the reflex of a like character in the imperial state. Religion was no longer a matter of conscience and of the inner life of the individual, but of state authority and dictation. The symbols of faith were largely the creatures of the government, and the bishops were servants of the state. Instead of the former apotheosis of the deceased emperors, a divinity was made to attach to the living ruler. Into his presence the subject must approach with signs of deepest veneration. The stately ceremonial of the court awed the visitor. Costliness took the place of classic forms and artistic beauty. Freedom had died, and with her departed the soul and inspiration of art.

Byzantine architecture an effect of the Oriental spirit.

The principle of centralization found its best expression in the strictly Byzantine architecture. It completed what the Roman basilica had suggested and attempted. Around a central member was grouped the entire structure in essential unity. Every subordinate part pointed toward the dome, which crowns the middle of the Greek cross, as to the imperial governing power of the whole. The strengthening Orientalism caused the architecture more and more to depart from the simplicity and unity of the early Greek, and thus was developed a style which may be truly called Byzantine.

Two historic periods.

Fixedness of art forms in second period.

The history of Byzantine architecture is usually divided into two distinct periods. The first begins with the reign of Constantine and closes with the rule of Justinian, about the middle of the sixth century. The second extends from the reign of Justinian to the latter part of the twelfth century, or to the first revival of art through the influence of Cimabue. During the latter period art forms were cast in an unchanging mould. In the eastern provinces they became still more contaminated by Oriental influences; while in some parts of the West new forces effected slight modifications of the original type. It has already been noticed (*v.* p. 197) that in the first period most of the churches of the Orient preserved the Roman style of the basilica, excepting the open rafter work and ornamentation of the ceiling. In a few instances the intersection of the main nave and transept had been surmounted by a small cupola, but gradually this was developed into the complete and imposing dome structure covering a square area: this is the distinctive feature of the later Byzantine architecture. From the age of Justinian this was the prevailing style in the Eastern Empire, while in the West the tower was developed to produce a like effect in the Romanesque and Gothic churches.[1] We have already met this form and growth in the churches of Ravenna. The perfection of Byzantine architecture was, however, first attained in the Church of St. Sophia. It furnished a model for all the subsequent churches of the East. The history of the empire furnishes an easy solution of this fact. After Justinian, stagnation and decay characterized the Eastern civilization. All turned backward to his reign as

Reason of immobility.

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[1] Salzenburg: *Op. cit.*, ss. 14, 15.

to the golden age. An earlier Church of St. Sophia, built by Constantine, had been consumed by fire during a popular uprising. For its re-building Justinian drew upon the resources of the entire empire. The planning and erection were entrusted to the two most noted architects of the age, Isodore of Miletus and Anthimius of Tralles. It is claimed by a class of writers on the history of architecture, and by some archæologists,[1] that these wise architects had clearly in mind the

St. Sophia.

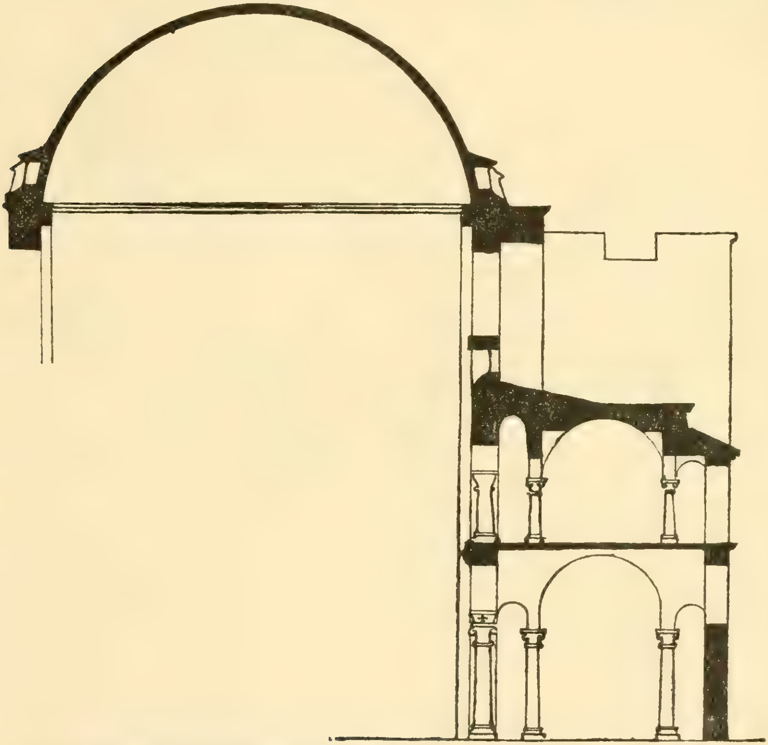

Fig. 114.—Section of St. Sophia. To compare with the Basilica of Constantine, Rome.

Church of SS. Sergius et Bacchus, and the so-called Basilica of Constantine at Rome, as models for their great work. By careful comparison of Fig. 112 with Fig. 116, and Fig. 114 with Fig. 115, the points of resemblance will be apparent. The general division of the enclosed space into nine parts, the use of strong buttresses to support the domed coverings and provide against the lateral thrust, the unification of the three middle compartments into one grand and most imposing room, etc., are some elements of likeness in these buildings. Doubtless, however, the erection of one imposing dome, supported by four massive buttresses, over a square space, is a new departure, and places upon St. Sophia the stamp of originality.

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[1] *v.* Stockbauer: *Op. cit.*, ss. 92, 93, taf. v, Figs. 2, 3, 4, 5. Dehio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, ss. 29, 30, taf. 6, Fig. 1; taf. 39, Fig. 14.

Difficulty of the work.

The traditions connected with the building of this most noted church are numerous and interesting. The problems to be solved in the suspension of a dome one hundred feet in diameter a hundred feet in midair were most difficult. The enormous weight was a serious obstacle to the architects of that day. The reputed revelations in dreams, the discovery of bricks in the island of Rhodes of one fifth of the ordinary weight, etc., are only evidences of the perplexities felt by Justinian and his architects. But the greatest cause of wonder, even to builders of modern times, is the completion of this church in the incredibly short space of six years. It was a wonder to every beholder, and remains to our day in many respects the most remarkable architectural

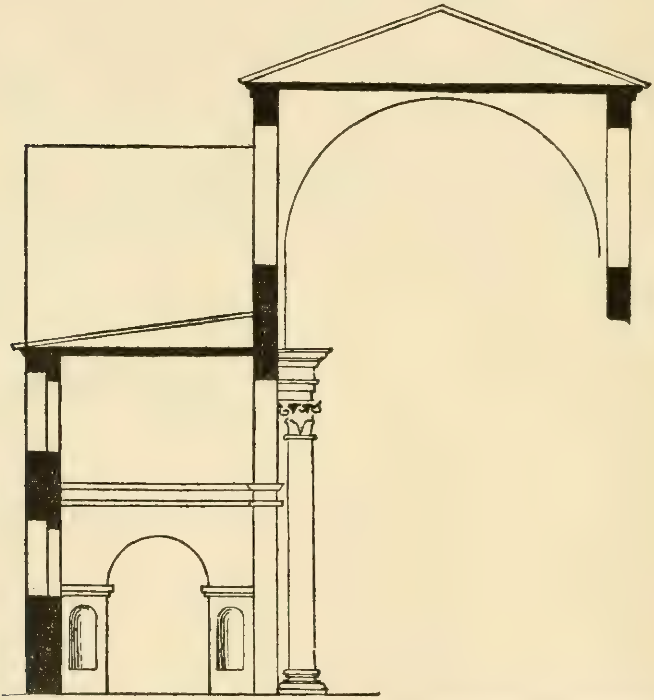

Fig. 115.—Section of the Basilica of Constantine, Rome. To compare with St. Sophia, Constantinople.

Defacement of mosaics.

monument of Christendom. Since its transformation into a Turkish mosque, on the downfall of Constantinople in 1453, it has lost much of its original magnificence. Mohammedan zeal against images in their sacred places led to the attempt to destroy the splendid mosaics which had been preserved in much of their original integrity. But happily these have been carefully measured and copied, so that we have the means of comparing this building and its decorations with the descriptions found in the Byzantine writers.[1]

Vast preparations.

As before remarked (p. 251), the Church of St. Sophia, built by Constantine, had been burned in A. D. 532, during a fearful conflagration originating in a popular outbreak between rival factions. Justinian resolved to rebuild it on a scale of magnificence worthy the first temple of Christendom. A man of comprehensive plans, he was also possessed of a rare practical talent to secure the means of their accomplishment. Tradition says that the plans were ready within forty days after the destruction of the first church. To the governors of the provinces the emperor issued edicts to procure the most costly materials for this work. To beautify this church pagan temples in Asia Minor and Greece were plundered of their richest art treasures.[2] The historians tell us that all the available revenues of the empire were laid under contribution, and many new taxes were afterward levied for its completion. To make the building fireproof was one of the first conditions imposed upon the architects. An immense number of workmen were employed.[3] Justinian himself, by daily visitations, and by encouragements or rebukes, pushed on the work with such marvelous rapidity that it was dedicated in December, 537 A. D.

The dangers from fire had been averted, but those from another source had not been foreseen. Twenty-two years after its dedication portions of the dome and of the furniture of the church were ruined by an earthquake. Justinian hastened to strengthen the supports, elevated the dome about twenty-five feet, renovated the interior, and within five years the church was rededicated. For thirteen centuries it has stood uninjured by repeated shocks of earthquakes which have toppled many other structures to ruins.

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[1] One of the best authorities on the Byzantine architecture, as it has been preserved to our time, is Salzenberg, W.: *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinople vom V bis XII Jahrhundert.* Berlin, 1854. On the occasion of the extensive repairs of the Church of St. Sophia in 1847–48, the Prussian government took occasion to despatch Salzenberg to Constantinople to make careful drawings and take accurate measurements of this church. Fortunately the celebrated architect, Fossati, was superintending these repairs, and gave to Salzenberg every aid to complete his work. The extensive scaffoldings, reaching to the highest point of the dome, gave opportunity to make all necessary measurements, and the removal of the thick coats of whitewash revealed the mosaics in all their original magnificence. Thus has been preserved a complete description of the forms and interior decorations of this magnificent church.

[2] Salzenberg: *Op. cit.*, s. 46. Gibbon: *Decline and Fall*, chap. xl.

[3] The Byzantine chroniclers claim that ten thousand were thus employed.

Injury by earthquake.

The visitor to St. Sophia first enters the fore-court of the church, which is bounded on three sides by a row of columns, and on the fourth by the building itself (*v.* Figs. 116, 117). Passing by the fountain in the middle of the court, he reaches the narthex, the place for the penitents. From this space five marble doors, richly decorated with bronze, lead into a second somewhat more extended and spacious vestibule having vaulted ceilings richly adorned with variegated marbles and mosaics. Here the sexes separated. The women proceeded to the doors on either side of the vestibule that opened to the staircase leading to the second story. This was called the gynæceum, because exclusively set apart for the use of the women. The men passed through nine folding-doors to the groundfloor of the main nave.[1]

Description.

The groundplan of this church is nearly square (*v.* Fig. 116). The inner length, exclusive of the tribune, is 234 feet, the breadth 217 feet.[2] Over the central portion rises the cupola to the 40 windows in the cornice; and thence a dome reaches to the vertex, about 180 feet above the pavement below. The dome is supported by four massive arches which spring from immense buttresses. Leading east and west from the square area beneath are rooms of semicircular outline, to each of which three colossal niches are connected. These immense semicircular spaces are covered by semidomes, which partly lean upon the main arches which support the central dome, and are partly supported by the cylindrically vaulted ceiling of the three niches (*v.* Fig. 117).

Dimensions.

The two side niches, called exedra, are also semicircular and covered with smaller semidomes.[3] The two center niches have, however, cylindrically vaulted ceilings. The east one terminates in a semicircle, covered by a concha which rises from the enclosing wall, and forms the apse or tribune. All

Ceilings.

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[1] Schnaase: 1te Aufl., Bd. iii, ss. 137, 138.

[2] Distinction must be made in the plan between the church proper and the annexed portions. The dome, *a b*, covers the central part of the church proper.

[3] The arrangement of the parts of this remarkable building can be understood by frequent reference to the vertical section (Fig. 117).

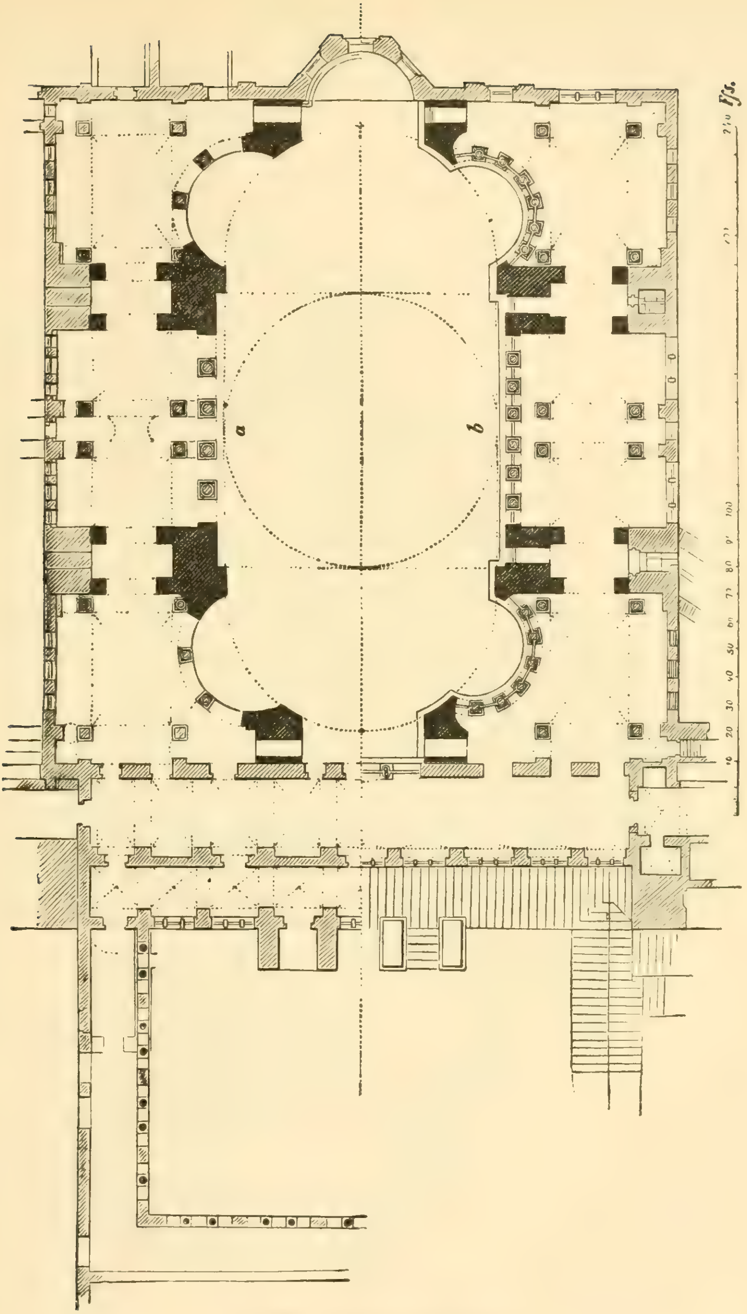

Fig. 116.—St. Sophia. Groundplan.

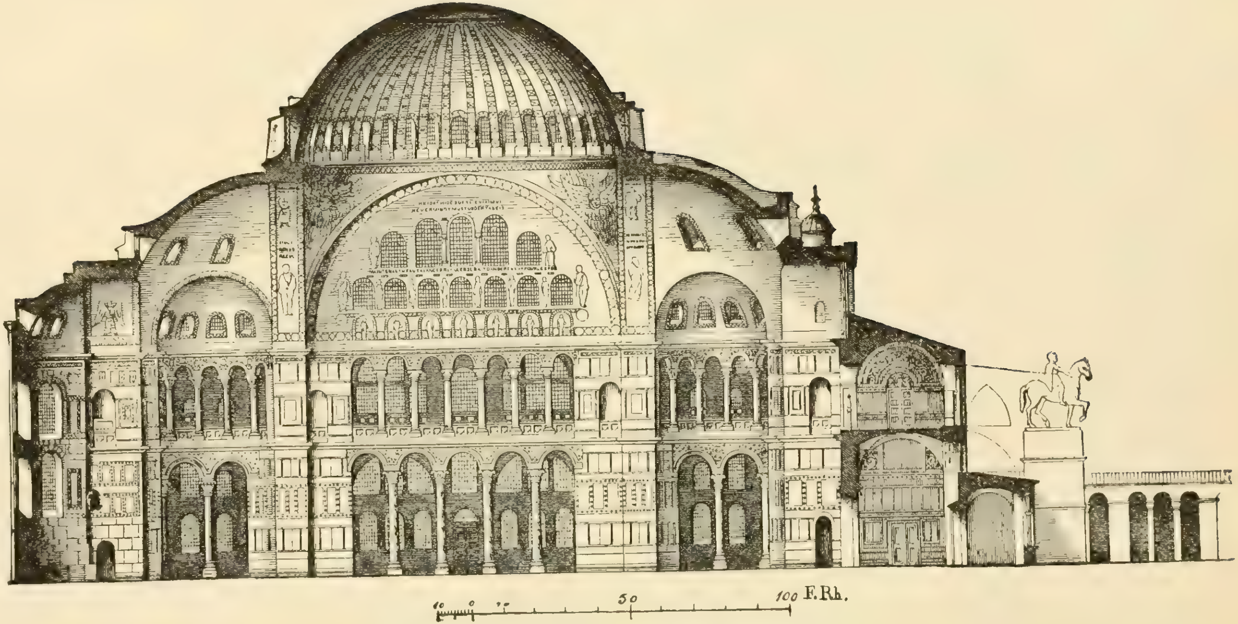

Fig. 117.—St. Sophia. Longitudinal section.

of these spaces taken together form the *naos*, or temple proper. Between this and the enclosing walls on the north and south sides extend the two-storied side halls, each of which is divided into three parts. Four colossal pillars furnish the foundation for the arches supporting the dome, while behind these toward the north and south, in the enclosing wall, are four buttresses connected with these pillars by arches. By a series of buttresses and connecting arches firm supports are secured for the conchas and the cylindrically vaulted ceilings. Thus the entire building, while possessing this diversity of outline, is bound together into a beautiful and harmonious unity. All ceiling spaces are cylindrical or domed. In addition to the enclosing walls and the system of buttresses these are supported in the lower part by forty columns and eight free pilasters; in the upper part by sixty columns.[1]

Dome support.

The lighting.

Fireproof.

The lighting of the interior of St. Sophia is very brilliant. Wherever space and safety permit are placed windows in great number and of marked dimensions, so that a flood of light pours through them into the house of God.[2] At the base of the central dome are forty windows, and each of the half domes has five. The first rays of the morning sun stream into the nave through the six large windows in the tribune, while the setting sun, shining through the immense semicircular window over the entrance in the west, bathes the whole interior in golden effulgence. Twelve windows admit the light through the arches on the north, and an equal number on the south diffuse an abundance of light throughout the lateral halls above and below. There is evidence that some of the window spaces existing in the time of Procopius have been closed by masonry; nevertheless, the present mosque is very brilliantly lighted.[3] The injunction of Justinian to build a fireproof church was most carefully heeded, even in the arrangement of the windows. By an ingenious and expensive combination of brick work and marble plates even the frame settings of the windows are entirely lacking in wood.

Impression upon the visitor.

The impression made upon the visitor on his first entrance to this church is that of vastness, grandeur, and magnificence. The eye wanders over the immense nave, peers into the adjacent halls, rests upon the beautiful gynecæum, then is lifted to the enormous dome that seems to float in midair. At every step new beauties are revealed. The richness of the materials, and the completed unity in the midst of almost infinite diversity, entrance the beholder. In Justinian's time, when to all essentials of the structure preserved to our day were added the rich adornments of the high altar, the beautiful ambos, the sparkling of the vessels of gold bedecked with gems, the gleaming of countless candelabra, the splendour of the garments of the retinue of clergy and helpers, the sonorous-voiced priests as they intoned the sublime ritual, the response from the hundred-voiced choir, rolling through the corridors and arches like the voice of many waters—the worshiper must have been impressed that this was a temple worthy of dedication to the ETERNAL WISDOM, and one where his Spirit would delight to dwell. Of the richness of the decoration we cannot speak in detail. The pavement was wrought out into very elaborate and beautiful patterns of marble mosaic. The columns were of the richest and rarest materials. The walls were lined with slabs of marble and of *verde antique* of most exquisite coloring. The walls and ceilings in the great dome and in all the adjacent parts were enriched with mosaics of saints of colossal size.[1]

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[1] Salzenberg: ss. 53, 54, 55. [2] Salzenberg: s. 84. [3] Salzenberg: *Op. cit., id.*

The decorations.

St. Sophia furnished the type for all later churches of the Byzantine Empire. It brought to perfection a style that can strictly be called unique. The whole spirit of the exterior was harmonious with the theory of imperialism prevalent in the Eastern Empire and Church. Art was pressed into the service of dogma. It crystallized into stiff and unchanging types which continued in the Russian-Greek churches till the time of Peter the Great.

A type for subsequent churches of the East.

The transformation of St. Sophia into a Mohammedan mosque left almost unchanged the narthex, the nave, the side halls, and the gynecæum; but the other portions, especially those more immediately used in the Christian cultus, have been entirely lost. The marble railing separating the clergy from the laity, the seats of the priests, the throne of the patriarch, the ciborium, the ambos, and all the utensils of the church have perished. From documents still extant[2] we learn that under Justinian not less than five hundred and twenty-five persons were employed in the direct service of this church, while in the reign of Heraclius the number had increased to six hundred.[3] These also cared for three other churches of the capital.[4]

The losses to the church.

The bema probably extended to the border of the eastern half dome, while the *solea*, for the inferior clergy, occupied the entire

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[1] *v.* the representation of the great mosaic of Christ and the emperor that was wrought out over the grand portal (Fig. 44, p. 129).

[2] *v.* Du Cange: *Constantinopolis Christiana*, lib. iii, p. 71.

[3] Du Cange: iii, 71. They are given as follows: 80 priests, 150 deacons, 40 deaconesses, 70 subdeacons, 160 readers, 125 chanters, 75 doorkeepers.

[4] See Plate II^{c}.

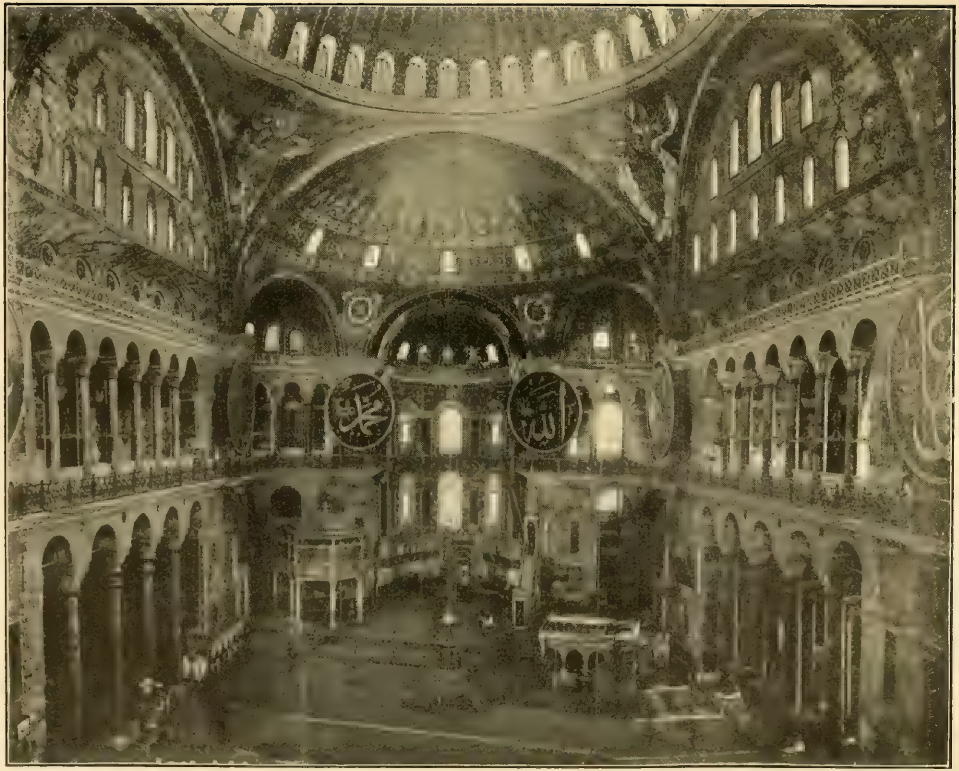

PLATE II^{c}.—Sancta Sophia. Interior.

space covered by the eastern concha. The ambos must have stood still farther toward the west, and must have occupied a very prominent place, from the fact that here the Scriptures were read, the sermon preached, and the emperors crowned. Near by, in the adjacent spaces, were stationed the singers under the direction of leaders. In the *exedra*, toward the north and south, were collected the deacons who were to assist in the sacred ministrations. The sacred table of gold, inlaid with gems, rested on golden columns and was supplied with golden furniture.[1] Over it rose the beautiful ciborium on four silver columns, between which were spread the richly ornamented hangings. The lofty octagonal dome above was crowned by a silver globe surmounted by the cross. From the ceiling of the ciborium hung the silver dove, representing the Holy Ghost, which contained the sacred elements to be distributed among the sick. From the description of Paulus Silentiarius we infer that the accompaniments of candelabra, lamps, and halos for the illumination of this church must have been incomparably rich.[2]

The arrangement of parts.

§ 4. *The Circular Structure.*

A fourth type of the central building is the circular, with an inner portico which surrounds the area covered by the dome.

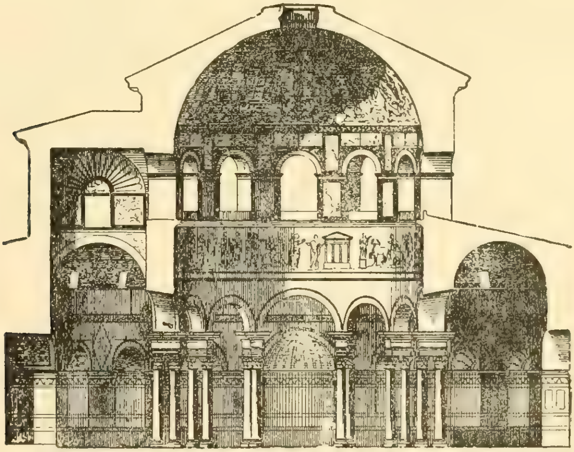

Fig. 118.—Section of Santa Constanza, Rome.

Few churches following this general plan were erected in the West during the reign of Constantine the Great. The most typical example of this circular architecture from the

Santa Constanza.

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[1] Paulus Silentiarius: i, v. 240; ii, v. 335. Evagrius: *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. iv, c. xxxi.

[2] For a complete presentation of the history of Sancta Sophia see Grosvenor's *Constantinople.* 2 vols. Boston, 1895.

fourth century is Santa Constanza,[1] on the Via Nomentana in Rome (Fig. 118). Tradition says it occupies the site of a former Bacchus temple. Its rotunda is sixty-seven feet in diameter. Twenty-four columns in double rows support the dome and the vaultings of the outer corridor. Here the sarcophagus[2] of Constantia, the daughter of Constantine, was formerly preserved. It seems probable that the entire building was once used as a mausoleum to the imperial family, rather than as a temple to Bacchus.[3] This building marks a transition from the classic to the mediæval spirit. The degeneracy of the old is apparent, while at the same time elements are here introduced which play a most important part in the development of Christian architecture.[4]

Marks a transition.

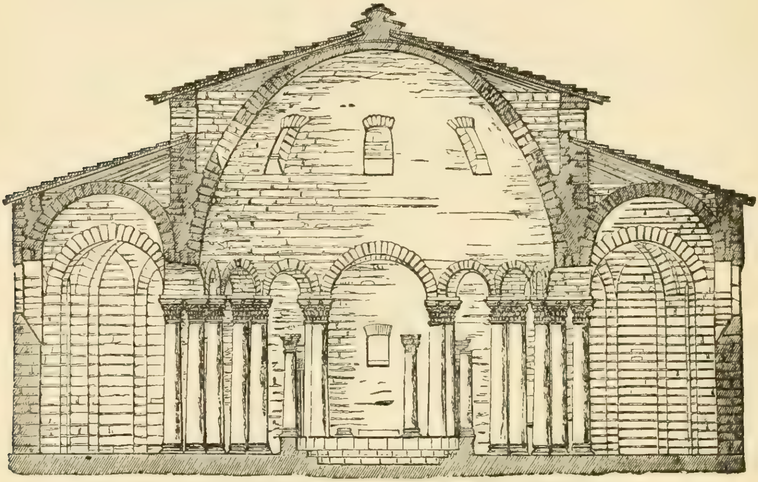

Fig. 119.—Santa Maria Maggiore, Nocera de Pagani. Vertical section.

Of somewhat similar arrangement is the church Santa Maria Maggiore, in Nocera de Pagani, near Naples (Fig. 119). This also seems to belong to the fourth century. It is a baptistery of sixteen sides. The central domed space is thirty-five feet in diameter, while that of the entire building is seventy-three feet. While its exterior is wanting in attractiveness, the interior nevertheless makes upon the mind of the visitor "an impression of the fullness of mystery in which the church of that

Santa Maria Maggiore in Nocera.

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[1] Ciampini: *Vetera Monimenta,* Tom. i, Tab. i, etc. Kugler: *Geschichte d. Baukunst,* Bd. i, ss. 327, 328. Dehio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, s. 34, Taf. 8, Fig. 1, 2.

[2] Now in the Vatican Museum.

[3] Förster: *Mittel u. Unter Italien,* s. 250.

[4] Kugler: *Op. cit.*, Bd. i, s. 328.

period must vie with the decaying splendor of heathen temples and shrines."[1] While grouped in the same class as Santa Constanza, this building differs from it in many essential features, in some respects being quite closely allied to San Vitale of Ravenna.[2]

A third example of this architectural type is the baptistery of San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome.[3] Tradition attributes the foundation to Constantine I., but it is highly probable that the building was erected by Sixtus III., in the first half of the fifth century. De Fleury argues this from its architectural features. Eight columns support an entablature upon which rests a second series of columns, by which the dome is supported. Between the central space and the enclosing wall is a broad passage-way which is lighted by windows placed in the lower section of the dome. While much pertaining to this baptistery is conjectural, it is nevertheless fairly well established that the main features were as here represented. The general custom of devoting a separate building to the celebration of this initiative rite of the Christian Church is here illustrated.

San Stefano rotondo.

Uncertainty of origin.

Proper classification.

The diversity of opinion relative to the connection and reciprocal influence of eastern and western architectural principles is very manifest in the case of San Stefano rotondo,[4] of Rome. "It is an enigma in the architectural history of Rome" (Dehio u. Bezold). By some it has been regarded as a transformation of an earlier temple of Vesta; by others (specially by some of the French archæologists) as an apartment of the grand market of Nero; by still others (Bunsen) as an original church, while others (Hübsch) regard it as a most striking proof of the inventive genius of the early Christian architects. While lacking demonstrative evidence the opinion is nevertheless fairly established that it originated in the fifth century, probably in the reign of Theodosius the Great, just prior to the Roman downfall. It likewise possesses elements allying it to the central buildings of the Orient which originated in the reign of Constantine I. Just to what extent the liturgical needs of the Church influenced its peculiar construction may not be fully determined. Certainly its arrangement of concentric circles in connection with two perpendicular axes justifies its classification under the head of central domical buildings.[5]

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[1] Burckhardt: *Cicerone*, s. 89.

[2] Dehio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, 1te Lief., ss. 34, 35, Taf. 8, Fig. 3, 4.

[3] Rohault de Fleury: *Le Lateran*, pl. 7, Fig. 3, 4. Bunsen: *Die Basiliken des christlichen Roms*, Taf. xxxvii. Dehio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, ss. 34, 35, Taf. 8, Fig. 3, 4.

[4] Fergusson: *History of Architecture.* Bunsen: *Beschreibung d. Stadt Roms*, iii. *Die Basiliken d. Christ. Roms*, Taf. xix, B. C. Hübsch: *Die alt-christliche Kirchen.*

[5] Dehio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, s. 41, Taf. 11, Fig. 1, 2.

Among other noted churches of this class may be mentioned the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem, and the Church of the Ascension, on the Mount of Olives, both from the Constantinian period. Unfortunately, they are known only through the descriptions of the historians. An example of the purest Byzantine style, wrought out by Byzantine artists, yet for Mohammedan uses, is the Mosque of Omar, at Jerusalem, built on the site of Solomon's temple. It belongs to the seventh century. It is the finest example of the central structure that has been preserved, and ranks among the most impressive sacred buildings of the world, not from its vastness, but from the purity of its style and the intense interest associated with its site.[1]

§ 5. *The Cruciform Buildings.*

A fifth class of central buildings of the early Christian centuries is the cruciform. They were at first mostly with equal arms—the Latin form of the cross being later introduced into the oblong basilica through the development of the transept. Christian structures in the general form of the Greek cross were commonly used for burial chapels. Like forms are met in buildings of pagan origin, and devoted to like purposes; yet it is most probable that the Christian Church first attached to the form of the cross a deep religious significance, and found it especially adapted to the purposes of public worship.

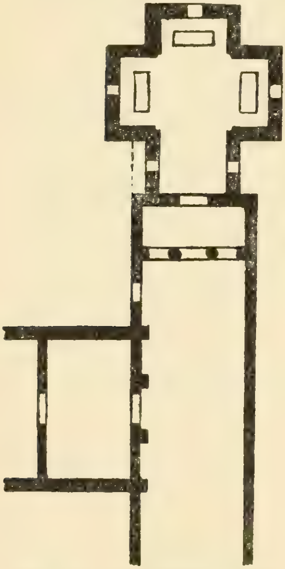

Fig. 120. — SS. Nazareo e Celso. Burial Chapel of Galla Placidia, Ravenna. Groundplan.

The Church of SS. Nazareo e Celso,[2] of Ravenna (Figs. 120, 121), is a good example of this species of central structure. It was the burial chapel of Galla Placidia, and is still among the most instructive monuments of early Christian architecture.[3] The fate of this woman, whose fortunes were so strangely romantic, cannot be established with complete historic certainty, nor has the question whether she died in Rome or Ravenna been satisfactorily determined. The fact of her interment in this building is, however, generally accepted. The magnificent interior, which is in the spirit of the truest art, suggests the mausoleum of some royal personage, and indicates a period when correct art principles had not yet been supplanted by the rudeness of a later barbarism. The groundplan is that of a Latin cross (*v.* Fig. 120) like some that had already been built in Rome and in the Orient; but it is note-worthy that this is the oldest existing church in which the dome covers a quadrangular space in the form of the cross.[1] The exterior is of brick, and of very indifferent appearance. The interior form and arrangement are, however, quite peculiar, approaching more nearly to the classic spirit than do other so-called Byzantine buildings in the Occident. The decorations in mosaics and marbles are rich and harmonious (*v.* Fig. 121). The figures are well executed, the details pleasing, and all contribute to the perfection of the whole. In it are five sarcophagi.[2] Their history is somewhat uncertain, yet by combining the traditions and all the known facts it seems probable that the building was designed for a mausoleum for Galla Placidia and her family. Under the dome, between the sarcophagi, stands an altar which is of much archæological interest in connection with the appointments of the Church of the fifth century.[3]

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[1] The controversies respecting the origin, location, and fate of the buildings erected on this sacred site have been protracted, and at times passionate. The most calm, thorough, and generally satisfactory examinations have been made by the Count de Vogüé in his *Le Temple de Jerusalem* and *Les Églises de la terre sainte.*

[2] H. Gally Knight: *Op. cit.*, plate vi. Quast: *Op. cit.*, ss. 10–15, tt. ii–vi. Dehio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, s. 45, t. 12, Fig. 4, 5.

[3] The church proper is the Latin cross, the upper portion of the figure; the other parts show the groundplan of buildings connected with the church.

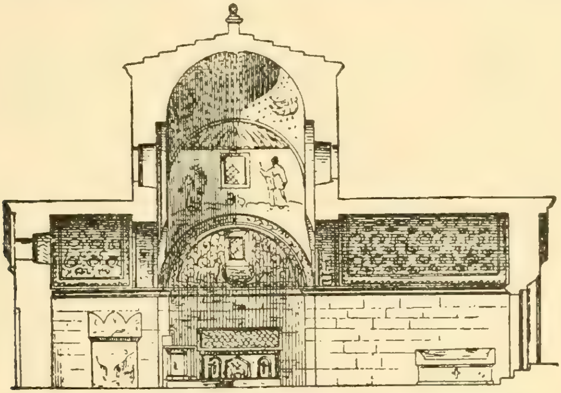

Fig. 121.—SS. Nazareo e Celso, Ravenna. Longitudinal section.

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[1] Quast: s. 11, t. ii, 5.

[2] The position of three of these is seen in Figs. 120 and 121.

[3] Quast: s. 13, t. iii, 2.

Another species of this class of cruciform structures is represented by the Cathedral of Trier, from the fourth century, A. D. 370 (Fig. 122). This cannot with strict propriety be called a central structure; nevertheless the other parts are so brought into architectural unity by the middle portion that its likeness to other buildings of the central type is striking. The intersection of four vaulted ceilings in the middle of the church, over which rises the dome, suggests a rivalry between the Byzantine style and that of the oblong basilica.

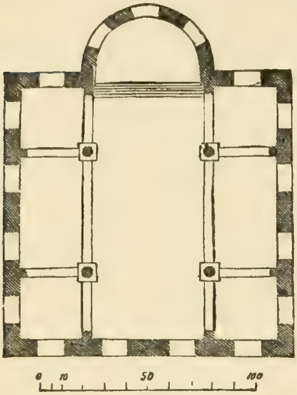

Fig. 122. — Cathedral of Trier. Groundplan.

Among the most important of this species of churches is San Lorenzo of Milan, probably from the fifth century. Whether its origin was pagan or Christian has been warmly debated, nor is it certain what portions of the present structure are original. Nevertheless, the attractiveness of its style and arrangement, as well as its probable antiquity, have justified the thorough study of its details.

CHAPTER VII.

EARLY CHRISTIAN EPIGRAPHY.

§ 1. *Definitions and Principles.*

Epigraphy treats of the content, character, chronology, deciphering, and interpretation of inscriptions.

Definition.

The term inscriptions is applied to "all non-literary remains of a language with the exception of coins, letters and journals."[1] They are found in widely separated districts, on various materials, and executed for a great variety of purposes. While some would refer these chiefly to the department of literary history,[2] it is evident that they are likewise invaluable in the study of political history, of private life, of religion, laws, arts, and beliefs.

Early Christian use.

When Paul, on Mars Hill, said to the Athenians, "I perceive that in all things ye are very religious. For, as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, To an Unknown God" (Acts xvii, 22, 23), he recognized the importance and utility of epigraphical teaching. The apostolic example was frequently imitated by the Christian fathers in their apologetic writings against their heathen opponents, and afterward in the defence of the Catholic doctrines as against the heretical teachers. Not infrequently inscriptions are quoted in their exegetical works and in their sermons, while the early Church historians, Eusebius and Socrates, depend for some of their statements upon the evidence furnished by inscriptions which were well known in their times but afterwards perished.

Increased interest in later times.

Since the great revival of the sixteenth century this department of archæology has been very diligently cultivated. By the added evidence of epigraphical remains the history of Asiatic dynasties and of Egypt has been entirely reconstructed, and the character of these far off civilizations has been determined with a good degree of certainty. The military conquests, the social status of the people, the implements of peaceful industry and of war, the provisions for education, the condition of science, literature, and art, are often most clearly attested by these silent, unconscious witnesses. The results of epi-

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[1] *v.* Huebner: article "Inscriptions" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th edition.

[2] *v.* Boeckh: *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, vol. i, Preface, p. vii.

Value of Christian epigraphy.

graphical studies have not been less interesting or helpful in writing the history of the Christian Church. They have fully confirmed the opinion that Christianity was early embraced by members of the better families at Rome. They have more clearly illustrated the contrast between heathen and Christian morality, life, and hopes. They have greatly strengthened confidence in the integrity and accuracy of some of the early Church historians, upon whose statements unstinted ridicule had hitherto been cast. They have proved the tenacity of heathen faith and practices, and their vitality long after the time to which it had been usual to refer their decadence and death. They have confirmed the statements relative to the rapid progress of monasticism in the West during the fourth and fifth centuries, and have suggested sufficient reasons for the marvellous success of this institution. They have shown that the accounts of suffering, and of the number of martyr deaths among the early Christians, were not exaggerated by the ancient Church historians (Eusebius and others), and that the attempts (notably by Gibbon and his school) to diminish the horrors of the Neronian and other persecutions are not justified by the evidence. They have unconsciously testified to the orders and duties of the clergy, and to the number, modes of administration, and efficacy of the Christian sacraments. They have clearly proved the acceptance and strong supporting power of the distinguishing doctrines of Christianity in the midst of the most trying circumstances. They have been the means of correcting serious errors in chronology, and of determining the genuine text of the early Christian writings.

Number of Christian inscriptions.

The number of Christian inscriptions of the first six centuries already described is very great. It is impossible to speak with precision, since hundreds are yearly added to the number. Probably more than twenty thousand have been discovered, and accessions are made almost daily.[1] Of these by far the larger portion (probably more than three fourths) have been found in Rome and its immediate vicinity. Great as is the number already known, it is but a small fraction of what once existed. "From collections made in the eighth and ninth centuries it appears that there were once at least one hundred and seventy ancient Christian inscriptions in Rome which had an historical or monumental character, written generally in metre, and to be seen at that time in the places they were intended to illustrate. Of these only twenty-six remain in whole or in parts. In the Roman topographies of the seventh century, one hundred and forty sepulchres of famous martyrs and confessors are enumerated; we have recovered only twenty inscribed memorials to assist us in the identification of these. Only nine epitaphs have come to light belonging to the bishops of Rome during these same six centuries; and yet, during that period, there were certainly buried in the suburbs of the city upward of sixty."[1] De Rossi believes that more than one hundred thousand Christian inscriptions of the first six centuries once existed, four fifths of which have been lost.

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[1] In 1862 de Rossi affirmed that the number of Christian inscriptions of the first six centuries then known was about fourteen thousand, of which eleven thousand were found in Rome and vicinity, and three thousand in all the rest of the world. *v. De la Determination Chronologique des Inscriptions chrétiennes* in the *Revue Archéologique*, December, 1862. M. Cumont has recently given a list of the Christian inscriptions of Asia Minor, in the Roman *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, 1896; and W. M. Ramsay, in the second part of his *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, has given over one hundred and fifty Christian inscriptions from the southwestern and west central district of Phrygia which are collected and published for the first time. London, 1895.

Materials on which inscriptions are found.

The early Christian inscriptions are mostly found upon stone (generally marble), bronze, or on tables of baked clay. A few examples in which the inscription is upon lead tablets or plates have been preserved.[2] The letters are usually sunk into the stone; in very few cases, if at all, are they in relief. Sometimes, especially in the catacombs of Rome, Syracuse, and Naples,[3] the inscription is painted, usually with red pigment; in some instances the sculptured letters are gilded.

Kinds of inscriptions.

The writers on Latin epigraphy divide the inscriptions into two classes: "(1) those which were written upon other objects of various kinds, to denote their peculiar purpose, and in this way have been preserved along with them; and (2) those which themselves are the objects, written, to be durable, as a rule, on metal or stone. The first class is that of inscriptions in the stricter sense of the word (*tituli*); the second is that of instruments or charters, public or private (*leges, instrumenta, tabulæ*).[4]" Some writers on Christian epigraphy[5] incline to a threefold division, namely: (1) Those cut in stone or bronze (*marmora, tituli, lapides*); (2) those painted in colors or sometimes written with coal (Ital.

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[1] Northcote and Brownlow: *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. ii, part iii, p. 3. For the metrical inscriptions, *v.* de Rossi: *Ins. Christianæ urbis Romæ*, vol. ii. 1888.

[2] In this respect they correspond to the heathen inscriptions, only very few of which are found on thin lead plates, which were rolled up, placed in the tombs, and thus preserved. *v.* Franz: *Elem. Epigr. Gr.*, p. 168.

[3] *v.* Schultze: *Katakomben v. S. Gennaro dei Poveri in Neapel.*, pp. 37, 50, etc. Martigny: *Dictionn.*, etc., p. 361. *Bullettino Arch. crist.*, 1880, t. i; 1881, t. vii and viii.

[4] Huebner: *Op. cit.*

[5] De Rossi, and his commentators and disciples.

dipinti); and (3) those which have been scratched on stone, mortar, or cement (Ital. *graffiti*). Under the second are usually classified the painted and gilded glasses and the colored mosaics, which are somewhat numerous and important.[1]

By whom prepared.

It is highly probable that inscriptions of the first class were prepared in the shops of the workers in marble (*marmorarii*). The sign of such an artisan has been found in Pompeii.[2] The painted inscriptions and some of the *graffiti*, on the contrary, seem to have been sometimes prepared by the friends of the deceased, or by the *Fossores*. In a few *graffiti* are indications that they were prepared to ridicule the Christians and their faith[3] (*v.* Figs. 25, 26).

Paleographic principles.

In Christian epigraphy, as in manuscripts, well settled paleographic principles must be observed in order to determine the genuineness and age of inscriptions. While these principles have not been so scientifically determined in the case of Christian inscriptions as in those of classical origin, much aid is, nevertheless, furnished by them to the student of Christian antiquities to settle doubtful chronologies and to detect spurious monuments.

Three forms of writing are used in Christian inscriptions; namely, capitals, uncial characters, and cursive writing.[4] The capitals are generally used in the earliest inscriptions, but are often found in connection with the more popular and convenient cursive writing. The uncials are related to the cursive in their inclination to round the character, but more nearly resemble the capital. This begins to appear during the fourth century, while in the fifth it is first fully popularized.

How read.

Usually, as in English, these inscriptions are read from left to right; in a few instances they are read from right to left, while in some others they must be read from top to bottom (*v.* Plate VI, No. 3). The lines are usually of equal length, of considerable regularity, and are broken up without respect to the division of single words. In later inscriptions, especially, the spaces between the letters are very evenly divided.

Punctuation.

Punctuation seems to have been governed by other principles than are now recognized. Instead of indicating the sense, it marked lines, words, syllables, and even letters. No regularity is observed, oftentimes punctuation being wholly wanting. The marks vary from a point to a heart-shaped leaf (Plate VIII, No. 6), a cross[1] (Plate VIII, No. 3), a star, a ☧ (Plate VIII, No. 2), or a triangle, while the end of an inscription is seldom marked at all. In common with other ancient inscriptions, those of Christian origin are often greatly abbreviated,[2] either by the union of letters or their omission. The abbreviations by joined letters (*literæ ligatæ*) are presumably of later origin.

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[1] For reasons elsewhere given we have not observed this classification.

[2] "Titulos scribendos vel si quid operis marmorar (ii) opus fuerit, hic habes."

[3] *v.* Garrucci: *Il Crocifisso Graffito in casa dei Cesari.* Becker: *Das Spott-Crucifix.*

[4] *v.* Zell: *Handbuch der röm. Epigraphik.* Le Blant: *Inscriptions chrét. de la Gaul,* etc. Also his *Manuel d'Epigraphie chrétienne.*

Orthography of inscriptions.

The orthography of Christian inscriptions often departs widely from accepted standards, and not seldom from that in current use. This incorrect spelling rapidly increased during the fifth century, the period of the destructive invasions of the northern hordes. It consists in change of vowels, in the interchange of the linguals and labials, in the omission of letters, etc. There is frequent departure from the current syntax in the use of unusual and non-classical forms with prepositions, of relative pronouns, etc. At times attempts to correct these errors are noticed. Occasionally Latin words are written with Greek characters, and conversely; sometimes both Latin and Greek characters are found in the same inscription, and in a few instances the inscription stands in both Latin and Greek. Sometimes words are repeated.[3]

Chronology of inscriptions.

For historical and archæological purposes the determination of the date of inscriptions is of prime importance. Only thus are they helpful to mark the changes which the Church underwent in successive periods of its history. Since but a small number of the monuments containing inscriptions bear a definite date,[1] it has been necessary to agree upon principles to govern in ascertaining the chronology of those lacking in this particular. Upon monuments of the West are found most frequent indications of the time of their preparation. In this the heathen and Christian monuments alike agree. The most usual means of marking the date is by the consular era, the year being sometimes expressed by figures, sometimes by letters. The usual abbreviations for *consul* and *consular* occurring on the pagan monuments are likewise used in Christian inscriptions: COS, CONS, COSS, CONSS, CC·SS·, and CS· for CONSVLE, CONSVLIBVS. This method of indicating dates continued until the abolition of the consular office.[2] In the Orient, however, there are only exceptional cases of the use of the consular era. In the fourth century first appears the title CON., CONS before the name, and the added abbreviations VC, VVCC, that is, *vir*(*i*) *clarissimus*(*i*); likewise the mode of reckoning *after* the consulate: $\overline{\text{PC}}$, POST CON, POS, $\overline{\text{PCC}}$, etc., begins in the same century.

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[1] Opinions differ as to the significance of the heart-shaped leaf and the cross in the midst of Christian inscriptions. The first has by some (de Rossi: *Inscriptiones*, etc., i, pp. 70, 148) been interpreted to indicate the grief of surviving friends. Both are found in connection with heathen inscriptions, and therefore can scarcely be regarded as having in themselves a religious significance. "C'est un usage antique adopté par les chrétiens, parce qu'il n' avait aucun caractère essentiellment religieux."—Martigny: *Dict.*, p. 185.

[2] The hermeneutical principles of classical epigraphy are equally applicable to inscriptions of Christian origin, and many valuable suggestions can be found in the various collections of inscriptions. Among the older may be mentioned Morcelli: *De Stilo Inscript. lat.*; among the later, the valuable collections of Orelli, Mommsen, de Rossi, Le Blant, Boeckh, etc. In the preface of the *Corpus Inscript. Græcarum*, Boeckh has given some laws that have not been superseded. C. T. Newton: *Essays on Art and Archæology*, has made instructive suggestions. Also, McCaul: *Christian Epitaphs of the First Six Centuries*, in the introductory chapter, furnishes valuable information as to methods of interpretation, etc. The great want of a treatise (elementary) upon Greek epigraphy seems to be supplied in the work of Reinach, Salomon: *Traité d'Epigraphie Grecque.* Paris, 1885.

[3] *v. Corpus Insc. Latinarum*, vol. v, Nos. 1600–1754.

Indictions.

With A. D. 312[3] the Romans began to reckon by the cycle of indictions, that is, by cycles of fifteen years, or the time at the end of which a new census was taken and new taxes were levied. Examples of this method of reckoning occur at an earlier date in the East than in the West, no instance appearing in Rome earlier than A. D. 423, and in Gaul in A. D. 491.[4] The usual abbreviation is IND; but besides this are met INDIC, INDICT, INDE.

Provincial eras.

In various parts of the Roman Empire the date was sometimes indicated by the provincial era. In Spain the burial monuments follow the Spanish era (B. C. 38); in North Africa the *æra Mauretanica* (A. D. 40[5]) is met with, etc. The Dionysian era does not appear until much later. The month, day of the month, and week are frequently indicated in accordance with Roman custom. The interpretation of dates, when recorded, becomes therefore a matter of comparatively little difficulty. But it is far more difficult to fix the chronology of inscriptions that bear no date. Herein appear the value and necessity of epigraphical science.

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[1] Le Blant, *op. cit.*, says that of 720 inscriptions in Gaul, only 147 bear any mark of date; of 200 in Trèves, only one contains a definite date; of about 11,000 described by de Rossi in his first volume on the Christian inscriptions of the first seven centuries, only 1,347 contain any chronologic indication of a date, and of this number only about 150 are earlier than 350 A. D.

[2] Discontinued under Justinian, and legally abolished by Leo the philosopher. For table of abbreviations used in Christian epigraphy see Addenda IV.

[3] Some have attributed the introduction of the indiction to Constantine, others to Diocletian.

[4] Le Blant: *Inscrip. chrét. Gaule*, No. 388. Some insist that no Christian inscriptions reckoning by indictions appear at Rome earlier than A. D. 517.

[5] Some writers say B. C. 33. *v.* p. 33, note 2.

Inscriptions without dates.

General principles.

By patient and protracted comparative study of inscriptions whose dates are well ascertained, the epigraphist has discovered means of determining with considerable accuracy the chronology of others. Well-established criteria have thus simplified the study of epigraphical remains, and sound scientific methods have been developed and successfully applied. For the chronology of Christian inscriptions the following particulars have been found especially important; namely, the character of the writing, (*paleography*), the formularies, the proper names, and the presence or absence of symbolic characters, as the cross, the monogram of Christ, ☧, the A Ω, the dove, the fish, the peacock, etc. Also the peculiar cycle of the subjects of the paintings with which the inscriptions may be found associated.[1]

Special indications.

Brief and simple formulas, without statements relative to the character of the person, or the place and time of burial, as HIC IACET, HIC REQUIESCIT, etc., are presumably of highest antiquity. The introduction of special circumstances, such as HIC IACET IN NOMINE CHRISTI, HIC REQUIESCIT IN PACE, etc., usually indicate a later date.[2] Also minute descriptions of the age, and of the day of death and burial, the enumeration of praiseworthy qualities, the metrical form, and the stately eulogium are indications of a later origin.[3]

Date of symbols.

With respect to the date of the introduction of the various symbols there is wider difference of opinion. More thorough study of these interesting Christian remains inclines the historian of art, as well as the epigraphist, to give to them a greater antiquity than was formerly allowed. The dove was formerly believed to be found on no Christian monument of an earlier date than A. D. 268 in Rome, and A. D. 378 in Gaul;[1] but it is found in connection with inscriptions now believed to belong to the first half of the second century.

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[1] *v.* De Rossi: *Inscriptiones Christianæ urbis Romæ*, etc., pp. cviii and cix. "Illud restat inquirendum, quomodo inter hos ipsos terminos singularum inscriptionum ætas pressius possit definiri. Id examinatis litterarum formis," etc.

[2] Of the close of the fifth and the following centuries. *v.* Le Blant: *Manuel d'Epigraphie chrétienne*, etc., p. 35; also Hübner: *Inscriptiones Hispaniæ Christianæ*, p. ix.

[3] Compare especially de Rossi: Introduction to his *Inscriptiones Christianæ;* his treatise—*De la determination chronol. des Inscrip. chrét.* (*Revue Archéol.*, 1862). Le Blant: *Inscrip. chrét. Gaule*, p. vi, *et al.;* J. Ritter: *De compositione titul. Christ.*, *Berol.* 1877, s. 12, *et al.* De Rossi and Le Blant, while independent workers, are in entire harmony touching the principles governing the interpretation of inscriptions. There is also a remarkable agreement in their conclusions respecting the most important questions.

§ 2. *The Subject and Content of Inscriptions.*

Pagan influence in Christian epigraphy.

As has already been shown (*v.* p. 60, *et seq.*), Christian monuments of the first three centuries were closely associated with those of heathen origin. As in monuments of plastic art, so in the department of epigraphy, the influence of pagan thought is manifest. Christian art liberated itself only by degrees from its first teacher and guide, and developed an independent character. This holds equally true of Christian inscriptions. On many monuments their Christian origin cannot at all be inferred from their contents. In some other instances the added expressions IN PACE, EN EIPHNH, or the wishes VIVAS IN DEO, VIVAS IN AETERNVM, are the only grounds of distinction.[2] The agreement of pagan and Christian in regarding death as a sleep is sometimes plainly seen. The added thought of a continuance of life after death is peculiarly Christian.[3] Even in the

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[1] Le Blant: *Inscript. chrét. de la Gaule.* Paris, 1856.

The following table gives his opinion respecting the chronology of some of these symbols: *v.* p. xiv.

SYMBOL.	ROME.	GAUL.
The dove........	From A. D. 268–500, 524 ?.........	From A. D. 378–612.
☧	" " 298 ? 331–451 or 474....	" " 347–493.
A Ω	" " 355 ? 363–509..........	" " 377–547.
⳨	" " 355 to between 542 and 565.................	" about A. D. 400–525 or 540.
The vase........	" " 391–472 or 489.........	" about A. D. 450–563.
The cross in the body of the inscription.......	" " 375 ? 407–527....... ..	" A. D. 448 till after 585.
The cross at the beginning of inscriptions......	" " 450–589......	" " 503 to about 680.

v. also his *Manuel d'Epigraphie chrétienne*, pp. 27, 28, 29.

[2] The expressions IN PACE, EN EIPHNH, are also found upon Jewish burial monuments of the pre-Christian period. *v.* Le Blant: N. 621; C. I. Gr., NN. 9902, 9909, 9921, 9923, etc. Supi, p. 177. Victor Schultze: *Arch. Stud.*, s. 260, N. 6, *et al.*, is of opinion that ἐν ἐιρήνῃ is proof of Christian or Jewish origin.

[3] Raoul Rochette (*Deuxième Mem. sur les ant. chrét.*, p. 27) is thoroughly consistent with himself in claiming that χοιμᾶσθαι ἐν εἰρήνῃ, dormire in pace, are also found on pagan burial monuments. But this opinion seems to lack firm archæological support.

fourth and fifth centuries, after Christianity had achieved an essential triumph in its fierce encounter with paganism, traces of heathen influence are present in Christian epigraphy as well as in plastic art.

The abbreviation D· M·, D· M· S· (*dis manibus, dis manibus sacrum*), occurs on monuments of the third and fourth century (in Greek Θ. K. *θεοῖς καταχθονίοις*). More than a hundred examples of this kind have already been found, many of the monuments of the third and fourth centuries belonging to this class. The original religious significance of these abbreviations seems in a later period to have been lost sight of, and they became a mere traditional heading for inscriptions on burial monuments. In some instances the monogram of Christ, ☧, ⳨, stands connected with the D· M·; thus ☧ D· M· ☧ or D· M· ⳨ S·.[1] A careful examination of this subject has led Becker to the following conclusions:

Becker's conclusions.

1. The signs D· M·, D· M· S·, can never mean anything else than *Diis Manibus* or *Diis Manibus Sacrum.* The translation *Deo Magno*, or *Deo Maximo*, finds no justification in any single Christian monument.

2. The reason for placing the sign, D· M·, on Christian burial monuments is found in its very commonness of use. This was the customary beginning of sepulchral inscriptions, and thus a fashion was established.[2] At length this formula lost its original significance, and became almost meaningless.[3]

3. The opinion that the Christians purchased in the shops stones on which the D· M· had already been wrought by heathen artists is scarcely tenable. It seems to lack solid foundation.

4. With respect to their chronology, these monuments do not pertain to the earliest period of Christian inscriptions. The majority belong to the third century, and to the age of Constantine.[4]

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[1] *v.* Spano: *Scoperte Archeol.*, p. 39. F. Becker: *Die heidnische Weiheformel* D. M.

[2] We must trace the later HIC IACET, and the Germ. "HIER RUHET IN GOTT," and the English "HERE LIES" to the same source.

[3] In one instance, at least, there seems to be a sort of protest against this use of the D. M.; since the Christian A Ω is associated with it, as in the following from Anagni, quoted by V. Schultze: *Die Katakomben*, p. 250.

αD Mω
VALERIA RODE
VALERIAE RODE
NI MATRI CAR.
BEN
MERENTI FC
☧

[4] *v.* Becker: *Op. cit.*, p. 65, *et seq.* Also, Gustav Greeven: *Die Siglen D. M. auf altchristlichen Grabschriften und ihre Bedeutung.* Rheydt, 1897.

Views of death and of the future.

The expressions occasionally found on Christian and Jewish monuments seem to indicate a want of universal belief in the reality of a future life. Inscriptions like the following, ΘΑΡCΙ ΤΑΤΑ ΜΗΤΗΡ ΟΥΔΕΙC ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟC,[1] as well as the designation of the grave as *domus æterna*, *perpetua sedes*, *οἶκος αἰώνιος*, show that the Christian thought is yet influenced by the heathen doubt respecting the future. It lingers as an unpleasant and entangling inheritance, and proves the power of traditional systems, or argues the unconscious use of a language whose original significance had already faded out, but whose form remained. The desire that the body should be interred, in order to secure the repose of the spirit, was quite general among the Greeks. Many precautions were taken that the tombs might remain undisturbed. The penalties threatened to the despoilers and plunderers of graves are often expressed in very strong terms.[2] The necessity of burial as a condition of future rest, and of attaining to a resurrection, is also sometimes expressed in these burial inscriptions. The longings, laments, prayers, and execrations found upon Christian monuments are occasionally in almost exact imitation of the heathen custom;[3] although the most incredulous must be persuaded that the general spirit of these inscriptions is that of patience, forgiveness, love, cheerfulness, and hope. Occasionally is met the "eternal memory," the "eternal sleep," the "raging Tartarus," the "Elysian grove," the "anger of Styx," etc. At times quotations from the heathen poets are found, and the terms *perire* and *vita privatus* are used to express dying. Indeed, in the Christian inscriptions that syncretism is noticed which becomes so general during the fourth and fifth centuries in every department of thought and life. Great care is, therefore, necessary in their interpretation, and the wide difference between the Christian and pagan view of death as taught by these monuments, which has been claimed by some zealous writers, must be accepted with caution. We are not, however, to suppose that the clear statement of faith in the resurrection and in immortal life is wanting in Christian inscriptions. The Christian Church was much slower to liberate itself from the influence of antiquity in the case of inscriptions than in the case of the plastic arts. Only very seldom is this freedom attained during the pre-Constantine period. While we cannot doubt as to the origin of these inscriptions, the writers of the early Church seem content to indicate the Christian sentiment by a single word or phrase, rather than by the entire writing. This should not cause surprise, since to devise an entirely new terminology or method of expression would require much time and study, and many of the modes of thought then extant were entirely adapted to the needs of the new religion. Hence we find the ancient acclamations to the dead freely used in Christian inscriptions, such as *vale*, *ave*, *have*, *salve*, XAIPE, etc.

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[1] From San Ciriaco in Ancona. *v.* Buonarroti, *Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di vetro*, etc., Firenze, 1716, p. 169.

[2] Comp. Wood, J. T: *Discoveries at Ephesus.* Inscriptions from tombs, sarcophagi, etc., p. 7, No. 6.

Εἰ *τις τοῦτον*, etc.

"If any one shall either destroy or throw down this altar or tomb, or shall erase a letter, he shall pay to the exchequer 2,500 denarii."

[3] *Corpus Inscrip. Lat.*, ii, N. 5,415, is an inscription from the basilica of St. Julian at Como running, ADIVRO VVS OMNES XP̄IANI ET TE | CVSTVDE BEATI IVLIANIꝑ DO ETꝑ TRE | MENDA DIE IVDICII VT HVNC SEPVLCRVM n u nqAM VLLO TEMPORE VIOLETVR | sed conservet (ur) usque ad finem mundi | ut prosim sine impedimento in vita | redire cum venerit que judicaturus est vivos et mortuos. . . . See also Reinesius: *Syntagma Inscrip.*, xx, 435; *Corpus Inscrip. Græ.*, iv, nn. 9,303, 9,802; Ritter: *De Composit. tit. Christ.*, i, p. 36, *seq.;* Bosio: *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 436, where the imprecations against those who disturb the graves of the departed seem to reach the climax of severity: MALE PEREAT INSEPVLTVS IACEAT NON RESVRGAT CUM IVDA PARTEM HABEAT SIQIS SEPVLCRAM HVNC VIOLAVERIT.

Others plainly and peculiarly Christian.

The expressions *in pace*, EN EIPHNH, *cum pace*, with the addition of *requiescat*, or the words, *spiritus tuus in pace*, *pax tibi*, *in pace domini*, *pax tecum*, etc., seem to embody more perfectly the Christian spirit and belief. It is when the condition of the departed is expressed in words of hope or congratulation that the contrast between pagan and Christian thought relative to a future life appears in strongest relief. The earnest hopes contained in the simple VIVAS, VIVES, VIVIS, VIVIT, IN AETERNO, IN CHRISTO, IN DEO, IN GLORIA DEI, IN DOMINO IESV, etc., are peculiar to the Christian inscriptions, expressing a cycle of thought entirely unknown to heathen epigraphy. The belief in a resurrection and a future life is here clouded by no doubt which might have come from association with the pagan world. Through a wide geographic and chronologic range these assurances of a future life by the power of Christ are met. In Rome, Gaul, Africa, and the Orient, extending through centuries of time, they frequently occur.[1]

§ 3. *Application of Principles and their Illustration by Means of Specific Examples.*

Plate III is a reduced reproduction of Plate X of Roller's *Catacombes de Rome*, which was engraved from a photograph of a portion of the Christian Museum of St. John Lateran at Rome.[1] It contains fifty epitaphs, which are illustrated by some of the most prized of the Christian symbols.

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[1] *v.* Examples in de Rossi, Le Blant, Boldetti, *Corpus Inscript. Græc.*, *Corpus Inscript. Latin.*, Roller, Kraus, Schultze, etc. The number is large, and the criticism and commentary upon them have been exhaustive.

The magi.

No. 1 is a monument to Severa, whose bust adorns the slab. The scene here represented is the visitation of the magi, bearing gifts to the infant Christ, who rests upon the lap of his mother. The star is nearly above the head of Mary, while a figure behind, whose character has been a matter of controversy, extends the hand in blessing, or to point out the star to the wise men. The inscription, *in Deo vivas*, is found very frequently in the third century, but does not pertain to it exclusively. The epigraphist is rather inclined to place this in either the third or fourth century. It was found in a cemetery on the *Via Salaria Nova*, Rome.

Paradise.

Nos. 2, 3, and 4, are instances of the Good Shepherd upon the burial monuments. The simple inscription on No. 4, *Florentius in pacae*, would lead us to regard it as of very early origin. Much is said about the symbolism of these and similar scenes. A class of archæologists would say that the trees are the symbol of paradise, to which the soul has departed in peace under the kindly care of the Good Shepherd. This is probably an unwarranted extension of the principle of symbolism, since these trees could more properly be regarded as ornamental, to complete the balancing of the scene.

Good Shepherd.

Orants.

The Good Shepherd idea is likewise prominent in Nos. 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, and 14. We believe the presence of the tree in 5, 6, and 9 can be more naturally and justly considered artistic than symbolic. Nos. 5, 43, 44, and 45 embody the class of figures called *Orants*, which have been already examined. In the Roman monuments these figures appear in the frescos, but not often in connection with inscriptions; elsewhere they occur frequently in connection with inscriptions, as in Gaul, and among the Aquileia fragments.[2] No. 5 is from the most ancient portion of San Calisto, Rome, reaching back, it is believed, to the first half of the third century. The paleographic suggestion would agree with the other evidences respecting this date. The Greek, ΜΟΥϹΗϹ ΖΩΝ ΕΠΟΙΗϹΕΝ ΑΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΓΥΝΕΚΙ, is not an unusual method of expressing the dedication of a monument by the living to the dead.

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[1] The plates here used in illustration of Christian epigraphy are for the most part reduced from those in Roller's magnificent work.

[2] *v.* Wilpert, in *Ephemeris Salonitana*, 1894; also *Corpus Ins. Lat.*, vol. v, Nos. 1644, 1714, etc.

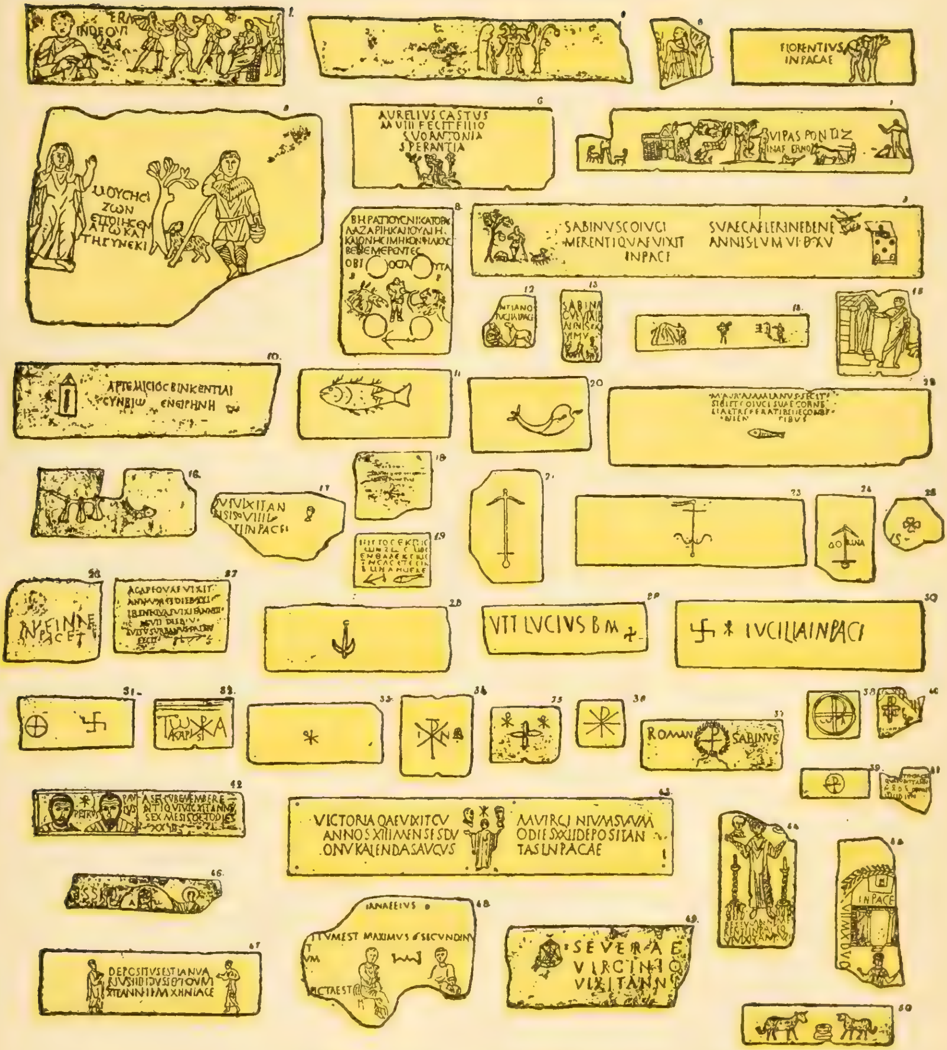
FLORENTIVS IN PACAE
AVRELIVS CASTVS
SVO ANTONIA
SPERANTIA
SABINVS COIVGI SVAE CAFLERINE BENE MERENTI QVAE VIXIT ANNIS LVM VI D XV IN PACE
VIXIT AN
IN PACE
VTT LVCIVS B M
IVCILLA IN PACI
ROMAN
SABINVS
VICTORIA QAE VIXIT CV ANNOS XIII MENSES DV ONV KALENDAS AVGVS
MAVRICI NIVM SVVM ODIE S XIII DEPOSITAN TAS IN PACAE
SEVERAE VIRGINI VIXIT ANN
MAXIMVS SECVNDIN
DEPOSITVS EST IANVARIVS
IN PACE

PLATE III.—Christian inscriptions associated with Christian symbols.

Commingling of symbols.

The Church.

Nos. 8 and 9 illustrate the commingling of Latin and Greek in the same inscription, No. 8, and the omission of letters, COIVGI for CONIVGI, No. 9. They have a curious combination of symbols. No. 8 has for a central figure the Good Shepherd, on one side of whom is a lion, on the other some devouring monster whose character is not well defined. It has been suggested that these may represent the foes that threatened the life of the sheep which the Good Shepherd will rescue. The anchor and the ☧ plainly point to the ground of the Christian's hope. The right hand figure in No. 9 is a rude form of the ark, toward which the dove is flying, bearing in its beak the olive branch. In No. 49 this scene is repeated. This is a very frequent symbol of the nature and office work of the Church—the ark of safety bearing its precious freight over the dangerous sea of life.[1]

Raising of Lazarus.

The frequent recurrence of the anchor (8, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28) is very noteworthy, since these are found on monuments discovered in and near Rome. So the frequent use of the fish on these burial monuments (Nos. 11, 16, 20, 22) has been discussed elsewhere (*v.* pp. 77–83). No. 15 represents a scene frequently met in the frescos, and not seldom found on the sculptured monuments. The raising of Lazarus by Him who is the Life was symbolic of the doctrine of the resurrection, which was the central truth of the apostolic preaching, and the source of solace to a despised and oftentimes suffering Church. No. 10 is also the representation of a mummy-like figure in a tomb, surmounted by the ☧, the hope of the deceased.

Unusual combination of symbols.

The ☧ monuments have been elsewhere discussed, and the aid which they furnish in determining the chronology of inscriptions with which they are associated has been pointed out. Nos. 29, 30, 31 are noteworthy as containing the *swastica* in connection with other symbols; with the simplest form of the cross in a circle, as emblem of eternity, in No. 31, with the B· M· in No. 29, and with the ☧ in No. 30. The origin of this symbol has been elsewhere examined (*v.* pp. 84, 85). No. 32 has, in connection with the name AGAPIS, an unusual combination of symbols. The Tau, or an obscure form of cross, is directly associated with the A Ω and with the ☧. It may well suggest the question whether the sculptor had in mind the idea of the crucifixion. The crucifix, wherein is a direct and literal representation of the divine Victim upon the cross, has not yet found its way into the art of the Church; the early Christians prefer to shadow forth this supreme event under the garb of symbolism. Still, it may be difficult to interpret this symbolism in any other way than by the suggestion of sacrifice upon the cross. Nos. 43, 44, 45 have associated with the central figure—an *orante*—certain marks and characters which are quite infrequent in monumental art. The two busts in 43 and 44 have an uncertain reference. The suggestion that they may represent the chief apostles may have something in its favor, yet there is nothing to absolutely confirm it. No. 44 has likewise on each side of the praying figure a candelabrum resting upon a tripod of dolphins. The style of these candelabra would point to a Byzantine influence, and would suggest a date as late as the sixth or seventh century. That evidence is here found that lighted tapers were used in the forms of worship may not be accepted; but that lights had already been introduced into parts of the service is generally conceded. Above the *orante*, in No. 45, is seemingly the representation of the choir of a basilica. Here, too, the tapers are introduced; but the interpretation is obscure and unsatisfactory. Probably the artist had in view the ornamentation of the tomb, and was guided in his work by the necessity of a proper balancing of parts. As before observed, the introduction of some of these figures seems plainly for decorative purposes; this view is more reasonable than to violate the principles of symbolism by suggesting some unfounded or fanciful interpretation.[1]

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[1] Even Hasenclever: *Der altchristliche Gräbersmuck*, Braunschweig, 1886, s. 114, concedes that this figure of the ship and ark are used as religious symbols, and not simply to indicate the maritime industries of the Christians of Alexandria.

Tapers in the Church service.

Plate IV, containing a representation of sixty-five sepulchral monuments, is also from a photograph of a section of the Lateran Museum, Rome.[2] It is designed to illustrate the symbolism in prevalent use among the early Christians. Many of the subjects contained in Plate III are here repeated. The *orants*, as found in Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, preserve the general character of these figures as they are met in the frescos. The presence of the ☧ in most of these vouches for their Christian character, and also enables us to fix their chronology as not earlier than the beginning of the fourth century, nor later than the latter quarter of the fifth century, if the monument is of Roman origin, nor later than the

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[1] It is not proposed to enter into the explanation of every inscription or burial monument represented in the plates. They are given as samples of the style of inscriptions which illustrate the principles before enunciated. To leave a portion of each plate to be deciphered by the student may contribute to a greater facility in reading and interpretation.

[2] After Roller.

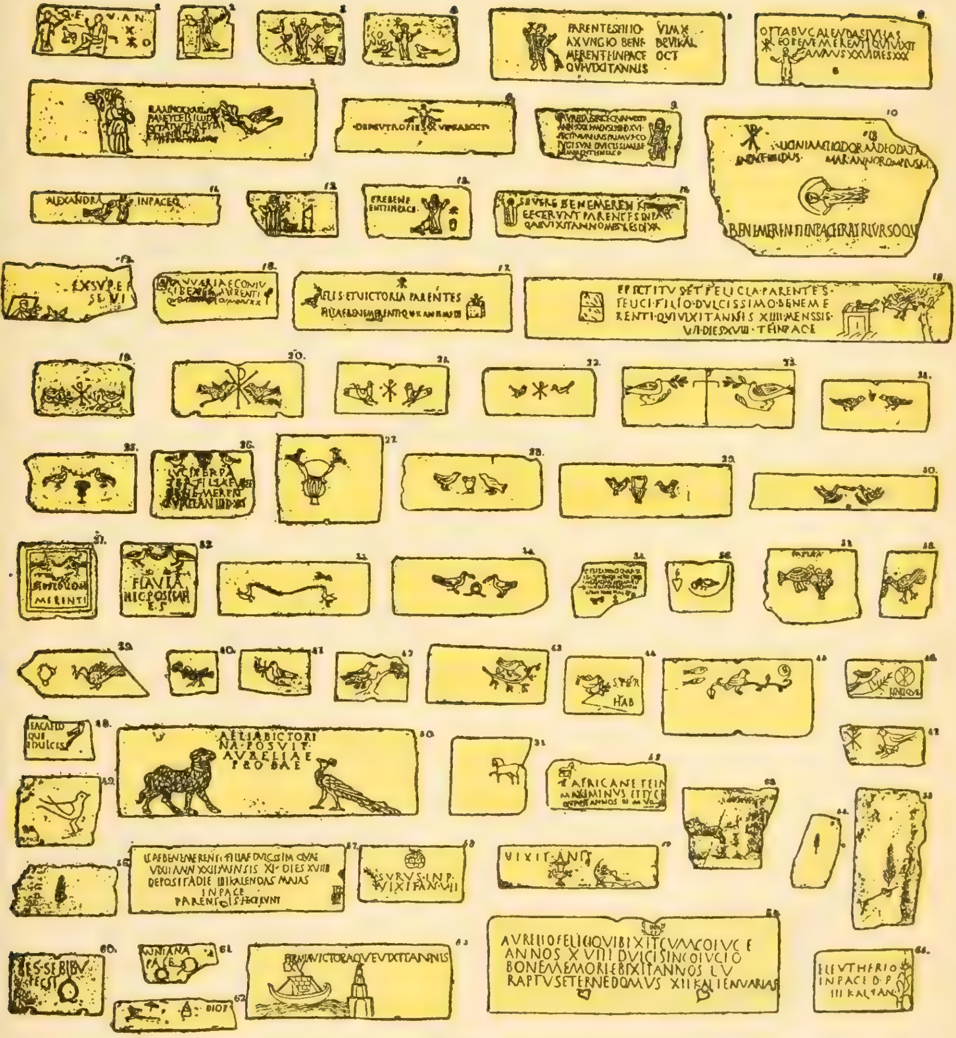
PARENTESFILIO VIMX
AXVNGIO BENE BEVIKAL
MERENTI INPACE OCT
QVI VIXIT ANNIS
ALEXANDRA INPACE
EXSVPER
FELIS ET VICTORIA PARENTES
FELICI TITVS ET FELICLA PARENTES
FEUCI FILIO DVLCISSIMO BENEME
RENTI QVI VIXIT ANNIS XIIII MENSSIS
VII DIES XVIII TE IN PACE
FLAVIA
HIC POSITA
ES
AELIA BICTORI
NA POSVIT
AVRELIAE
PROBAE
AFRICANE
VIXIT AN
SVRVS IN P
VIXIT AN VII
AVRELIO FELICI QVI BIXIT CVM COIVGE
ANNOS XVIII DVLCISSIN COIVGIO
BONEMEMORIE BIXIT ANNOS LV
RAPTVS ETERNE DOMVS XII KAL IENVARIAS
ELEVTHERIO
INPACE D P
III KAL IAN

PLATE IV.—Christian Symbols on Burial Monuments.

close of the fifth century, if found in Gaul.[1] The simplicity of No. 11, *Alexandra in pace*, as well as the accompanying figure of the dove, might suggest a monument of the middle of the third century or the beginning of the fourth.

In Nos. 15, 16, 17, 18 is found repeated the box-like ark, believed to be the symbol of the Church, and of safety to all who enter it.

The dove.

The grapes.

The lion.

The frequent recurrence of the dove upon burial monuments has given occasion for much writing on its significance. As with respect to other figures, so here, too, is wide difference of opinion. Interpreters who would reduce Christian symbolism to its minimum of meaning, or regard it as only imitative of the pagan thought, would see in the dove little more than an appropriate and pleasing decoration for the monument, with no symbolic significance; while another class, who are finding in each object connected with the Christian monuments a hidden yet important lesson, would in every instance attach to this figure of the dove the idea of innocence, of purity, etc., as illustrative of the character of the deceased, or as symbolic of the soul itself, which finds its rest and assurance in the presence of Christ—the ☧. In Nos. 24, 38, it is very difficult for the observer to be convinced that any thing more than a pleasing ornamentation was designed; yet in these, and in monuments like 27, 28, 29, the school of extreme symbolism has professed to find a reference to the eucharist: the grapes suggesting the wine, the wine suggesting the words of Jesus, "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom" (Matt. xxvi, 29). In No. 50 is found a very unusual combination for a Christian monument. The inscription, *Ælia Bictorina posuit Aureliæ Probæ*, "Ælia Victorina set this up to Aurelia Proba," is a very common form. The peacock was likewise used as a symbol of immortality; but the other figure is obscure in its reference. If it is to be regarded as a lion, then the suggestion that it may refer to Christ as the Lion of the tribe of Judah may not be unreasonable, and the whole monument may teach that the immortality of the departed soul was secured through this One who had been victor over death, whose power and worthiness are the subject of the inspiring apocalyptic vision given in Rev., chap. v.

In 62, 63 is the recurrence of the ship or ark, with the addition of the tower or lighthouse. It may not violate any law of symbolism to regard this tower as the goal of the earthly voyaging, the eternal mansions which are to receive the faithful wanderer over life's perilous sea. "Firmia Victora, who lived sixty-five years," is the simple inscription; the symbols tell a more significant story.

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[1] Le Blant: *Manuel d'Epigraphie chrétienne*, pp. 27–29.

The palm branch.

The palm-branch is of very frequent occurrence on the marbles, as in the frescos. In Nos. 54, 55, and 56 this appears as the prominent symbol. It is not difficult to interpret this, since here is the frequently recurring reference of the Apocalypse to the victory which the redeemed shall finally achieve, as in 60, 61 the like triumph is symbolized by the chaplet or crown.

Simple inscriptions.

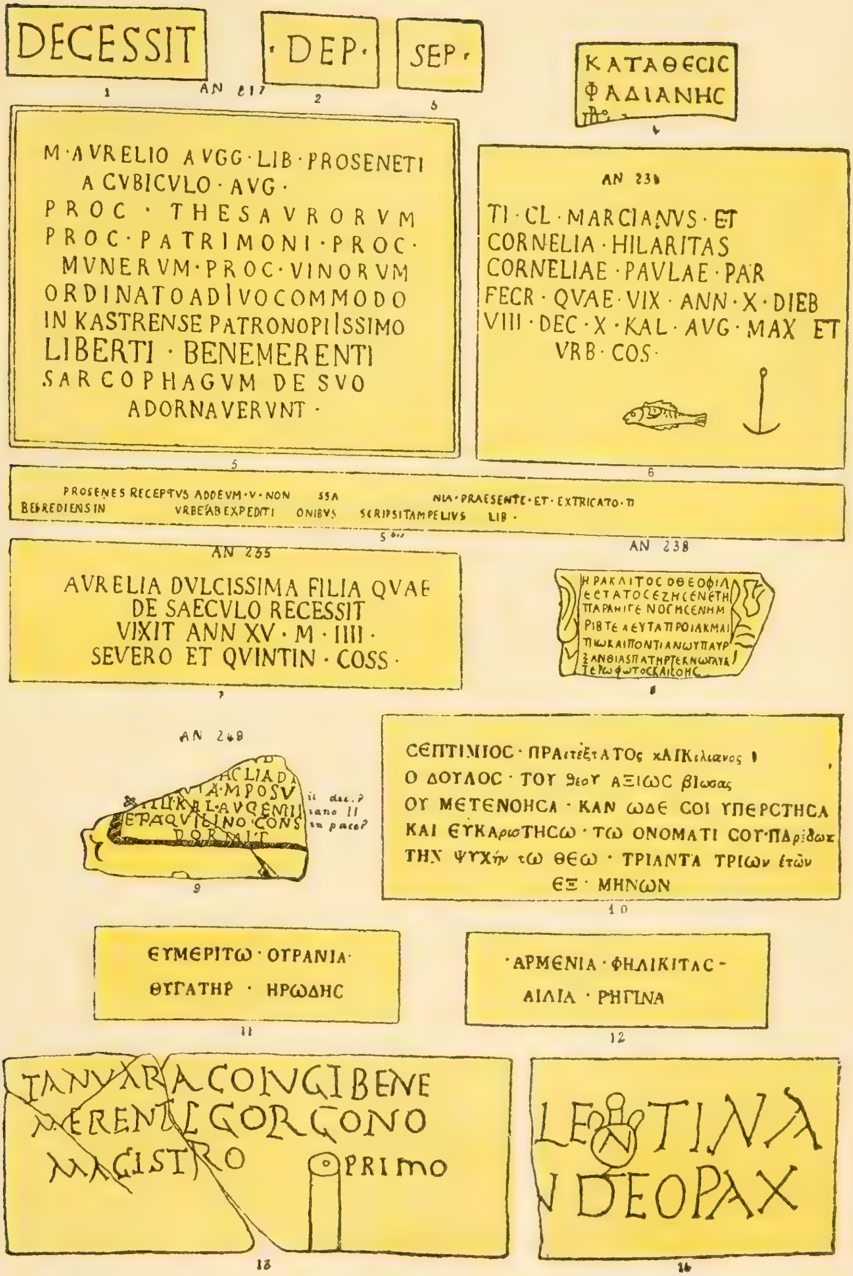
Significance.

Plate V represents inscriptions from the first half of the third century. The first four give the simplest expressions used upon the burial monuments of the early Christians. *Decessit*, often abreviated to *dec.*, *dep. depositus*, *sep. sepultus*, are the most common designations of Christian interment. The Greek KATAΘECIC is most nearly synonymous. Rather it would be more strictly correct to say that this is the original word, since the Greek language is usually the earlier in Christian inscriptions of Rome, and *depositus* may be looked upon as the adequate translation of the Greek KATAΘECIC. It is generally agreed that the primary idea of these words is here preserved, namely, that of a temporary deposit, in distinction from the idea of a permanent and final act, which the heathen generally expressed by the word *positus* and *compositus*. This is not an unimportant fact when the view of death entertained by the pre-Constantine Church is considered.

Christians in governmental offices.

No. 5 has few distinguishing marks of a Christian inscription. Its fulsome characterization of the offices and relations of the deceased is not in harmony with the usual simplicity of the second or third century. The fact that he was of the emperor's household as well as his freedman is clearly stated; but that a Christian should receive appointment to these important offices at the hand of a very cruel and profligate ruler has given rise to doubt as to the Christian character of the inscription itself. It is, however, supposed that here, as in case of other well known examples, this *libertinus* may have, quietly, and unknown to his patron, maintained his associations with the Christian Church, yet, from his superior fidelity to the duties of his offices, have been a favorite with the emperor. Some aid to understand No. 5 is furnished by the very mutilated inscription on the back part of this sarcophagus, in which this name of Prosenes again occurs. By this means the Christian character of the monument is proved. The expression *receptus ad Deum* is not found in pagan epigraphy.

No. 6 connects with its inscription two well-accepted Christian



DECESSIT

1

·DEP·

2

SEP·

3

ΚΑΤΑΘΕCIC
ΦΑΔΙΑΝΗC

4

AN 217

M·AVRELIO AVGG·LIB·PROSENETI
A CVBICVLO·AVG·
PROC·THESAVRORVM
PROC·PATRIMONI·PROC·
MVNERVM·PROC·VINORVM
ORDINATO A DIVO COMMODO
IN KASTRENSE PATRONO PIISSIMO
LIBERTI·BENEMERENTI
SARCOPHAGVM DE SVO
ADORNAVERVNT·

5

AN 234

TI·CL·MARCIANVS·ET
CORNELIA·HILARITAS
CORNELIAE·PAVLAE·PAR
FECR·QVAE·VIX·ANN·X·DIEB
VIII·DEC·X·KAL·AVG·MAX ET
VRB·COS·

6

PROSENES RECEPTVS AD DEVM·V·NON SSA NIA·PRAESENTE·ET·EXTRICATO·II
BEBREDIENS IN VRBE AB EXPEDITI ONIBVS SCRIPSIT AMPELIVS LIB·

5 bis

AN 235

AVRELIA DVLCISSIMA FILIA QVAE
DE SAECVLO RECESSIT
VIXIT ANN XV·M·IIII·
SEVERO ET QVINTIN·COSS·

7

AN 238

ΗΡΑΚΛΙΤΟCΟΘΕΟΦΙΛ
ΕCΤΑΤΟCΕΖΗCΕΝΕΤΗ
ΠΑΡΑΗΙΓΕΝΟCΗCΕΝΗΜ
ΡΙΒΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΠΡΟΙΑΚΜΑΙ
ΠΙΩΚΑΙΠΟΝΤΙΑΝΩΥΠΑΥΡ
ΞΑΝΘΙΑSΠΑΤΗΡΤΕΚΝΩΓΛΥΚ
ΤΕΡΩΦΩΤΟCΚΑΙΖΩΗC

8

AN 248

HCLIAD
TA·MPOSV
IIII·KAL·AVG EMII
ETPAQVILINO CONS
DORMIT

ii dec.?
iano II
in pace?

9

CΕΠΤΙΜΙΟC·ΠΡΑιτέξτΑΤΟς ΚΑΙΚιλιανος
Ο ΔΟΥΛΟC·ΤΟΥ θεοΥ ΑΞΙΩC βΙωσας
ΟΥ ΜΕΤΕΝΟΗCΑ·ΚΑΝ ΩΔΕ COI ΥΠΕΡCΤΗCΑ
ΚΑΙ ΕΥΚΑριστΗCΩ·ΤΩ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ COΥ·ΠΑρέδωκ
ΤΗΝ ΨΥΧήν τῷ ΘΕΩ·ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑ ΤΡΙων ἐτῶν
ΕΞ·ΜΗΝΩΝ

10

ΕΥΜΕΡΙΤΩ·ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ·
ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ·ΗΡΩΔΗC

11

·ΑΡΜΕΝΙΑ·ΦΗΛΙΚΙΤΑC·
ΑΙΛΙΑ·ΡΗΓΙΝΑ

12

IANVARIA CONIVGI BENE
MERENTI GORGONO
MAGISTRO PRIMO

13

LEONTINA
DEOPAX

14

PLATE V.—Epitaphs from First Half of the Third Century.

symbols, thus furnishing evidence of its character, while its date, A. D. 234, is well ascertained by the consular indications. No. 7 also has its consular date clearly inscribed. Without such positive information, other characteristics of the inscription would suggest a somewhat earlier origin. The expression *Dulcissima* has generally been regarded as of a very early date—usually pertaining to the second century, yet not confined to it. The phrase *de saeculo recessit* is somewhat peculiar, but finds illustration in other monuments, even in some that are non-Christian. It probably is to be understood in the sense of this condition, state, or life, in contrast with that upon which the departed has entered.

In the fragment No. 9 there is little of special interest except the word *dormit.* It is hardly ever found in the classical epigraphy, and then in a sense radically different from that which the Christians attached to it. Much has been said about the doctrinal import of this term. It has been quoted in support of the opinion that the common teaching of the Church of the third century was that there was a slumber of the soul between death and the final resurrection. Such use of a term in epigraphic study would hardly be justifiable. It must be taken in connection with other and equally important expressions which would point to a contrary doctrine. When we consider the terms *vivas*, *bivas*, *vives*, etc., and the accompanying words, *in Deo*, *in Christo*, etc., we should hesitate to build on such a form as *dormit* a whole doctrinal fabric respecting the intermediate state of the dead. It seems more probable that by the word *dormit* there would be conveyed something of the same significance as by the term *in pace;* a condition so grateful to the toiler, watcher, and soldier after the severe labors and conflicts of life are over.

The significance of *dormit.*

Two expressions in No. 10 arrest attention: O ΔOΥΛOC TOΥ ΘεοΥ, and ΠAPεδωκε THN ΨΥXην TΩ ΘEΩ. The whole inscription is worthy of study. Nos. 13 and 14 are good examples of the inelegant and careless style of very many of the Christian inscriptions. They would indicate both great haste in the execution of the chiseling, and a great want of culture and taste on the part of the sculptors. The presence of the roll in No. 13 may have reference to the teaching work of the deceased. The reference of the urn is obscure, but the expression *in Deo pax* is full of rich suggestion as pertaining to a monument belonging probably to the third century.

Carelessness in preparation of inscriptions.

Plate VI, which is designed to be a collection of monuments whose inscriptions are more or less dogmatic in character, is also from the Christian Museum of the Lateran palace, Rome. It has been

Fewness of inscriptions of a dogmatic character.

claimed that the 20,000 Christian inscriptions preserved at Rome are not more than one seventh part of those which survive; but of this large number very few are of doctrinal significance. Generally the statement of doctrine is not direct, but the belief is left to be inferred.

Ardent longing for future life.

In noticing the inscriptions of this plate we are impressed with the ardent wish that the departed may live with God, or in Christ; clearly pointing to a faith in the conscious union of the dead with the Divine in the future world. In the great variety of forms, *bives*, *vibes*, *ZH*, *vibos*, *bibas*, *vive*, is expressed the longing desire, the earnest prayer. The companionship of the new life after death, *in Deo*, *Deo*, EN ΘΕΩ, *in Domino Zesu*, *in Christo*, in ☧, is real, and with the source of all life and joy. There seems to be no thought of waiting for a full fruition to be realized in some far-off, indefinite future, but of a present, immediate blessedness in the enjoyment of all that is implied in being absent from the body and present with the Lord.[1]

Other indications of a belief in a continued life.

The frequent recurrence of the *in pace* is a further indication of the assurance which the promises of Christ have inspired, that the departed one is in a condition of repose. Moreover, the use of *refrigeret* implies a state of blessed activity such as is so significantly conveyed by the thought of spiritual refreshing. The various methods of indicating the immediate, active, conscious happiness of the soul after death leave no doubt with respect to the supporting power of the belief of the early Christians in the promise of Christ to his disciples: "I go to prepare a place for you, . . . that where I am ye may be also" (John xiv, 2, 3).

Also life in perpetuity.

Again, the expressions *in eternum*, ΕΙΣ ΑΙΩΝΑ, indicate that this life, this peace, this refreshment with God and with Christ the Lord are to be in perpetuity. "And they shall reign for ever and ever" (Rev. xxii, 5). The power of this faith in the immediateness and perpetuity of the promised fruition might well keep them steadfast, immovable, loyal to their divine Master, and ever ready to attest this loyalty by a martyr's confession.[2]

The Damasene inscriptions.

Damasus occupied the pontifical chair from A. D. 366 to A. D. 385. His zeal for the Church was well-nigh consuming. For the martyred heroes who had witnessed their faith by suffering he entertained a veneration akin to worship. The graves of these faithful ones were hallowed spots. His earnestness was so

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[1] These monuments should be studied in connection with those bearing the expressions "dormit," "dormuit," etc.

[2] The qualification of these statements has already been given. *v.* p. 254.

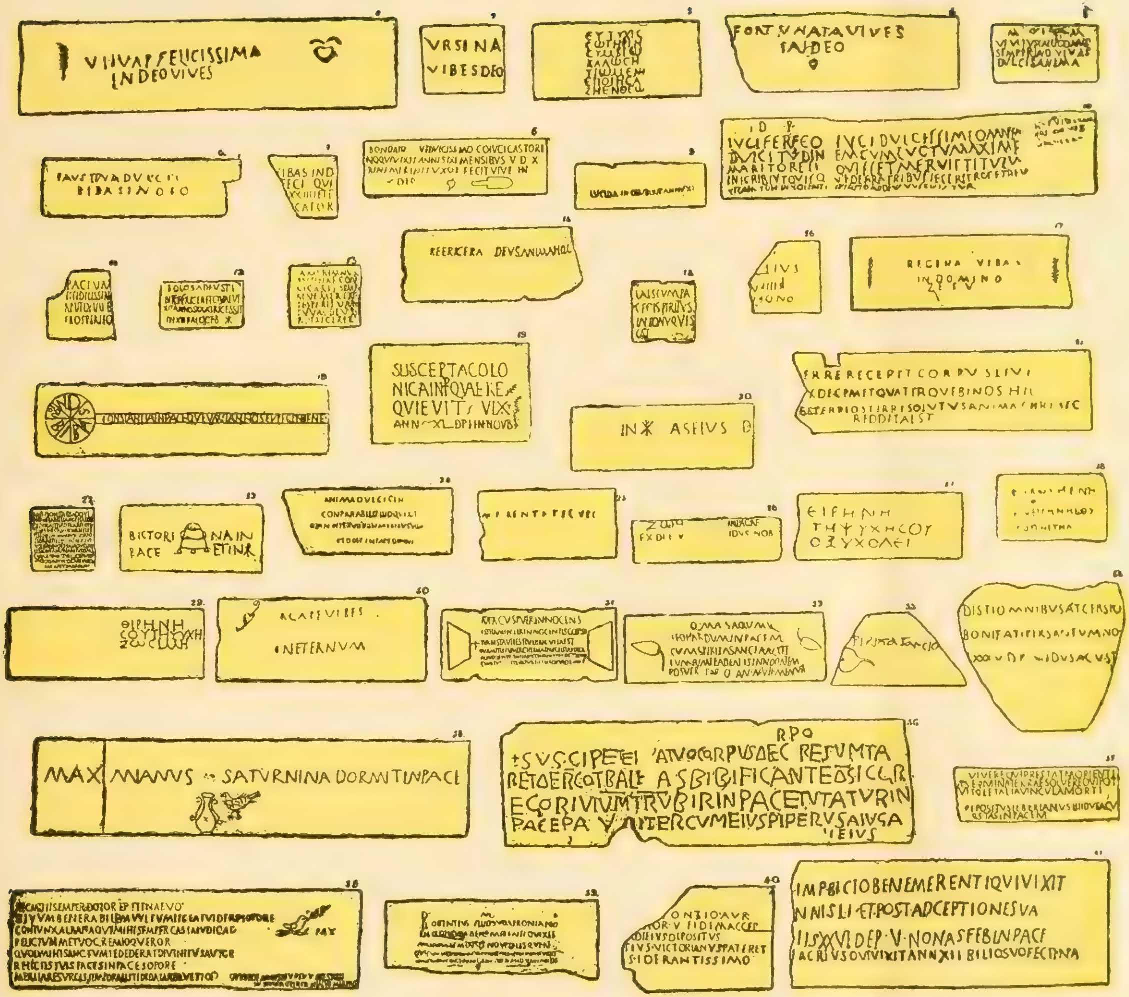
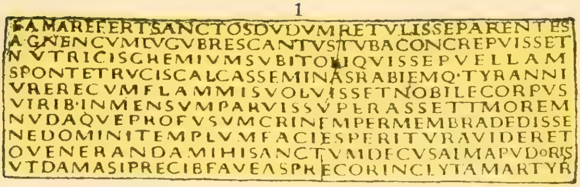


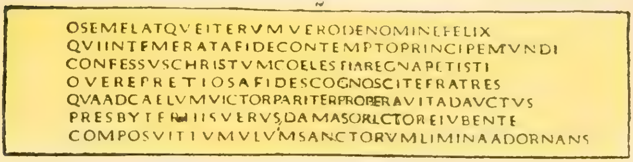
PLATE VI.—Inscriptions of Doctrinal Import.

1



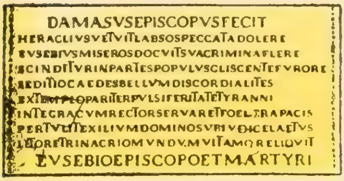
FAMAREFERTSANCTOSDVDVMRETVLISSEPARENTES
AGNENCVMLVGVBRESCANTVSTVBACONCREPVISSET
NVTRICISGREMIVMSVBITORELIQVISSEPVELLAM
SPONTETRVCISCALCASSEMINASRABIEMQ·TYRANNI
VRERECVMFLAMMISVOLVISSETNOBILECORPVS
VIRIB·INMENSVMPARVISSVPERASSETTIMOREM
NVDAQVEPROFVSVMCRINEMPERMEMBRADEDISSE
NEDOMINITEMPLVMFACIESPERITVRAVIDERET
OVENERANDAMIHISANCTVMDECVSALMAPVDORIS
VTDAMASIPRECIBFAVEASPRECORINCLYTAMARTYR

2



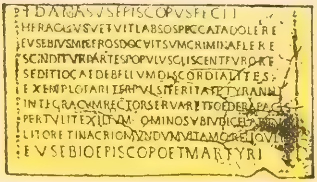
OSEMELATQVEITERVMVERODENOMINEFELIX
QVIINTEMERATAFIDECONTEMPTOPRINCIPEMVNDI
CONFESSVSCHRISTVMCOELESTIAREGNAPETISTI
OVEREPRETIOSAFIDESCOGNOSCITEFRATRES
QVAADCAELVMVICTORPARITERPROPERAVITADAVCTVS
PRESBYTERHIISVERVSDAMASORECTOREIVBENTE
COMPOSVITTVMVLVMSANCTORVMLIMINAADORNANS

3



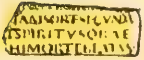
DAMASVSEPISCOPVSFECIT
HERACLIVSVETVITLABSOSPECCATADOLERE
EVSEBIVSMISEROSDOCVITSVACRIMINAFLERE
SCINDITVRINPARTESPOPVLVSGLISCENTEFVRORE
SEDITIOCAEDESBELLVMDISCORDIALITES
EXTEMPLOPARITERPVLSIFERITATETYRANNI
INTEGRACVMRECTORSERVARETFOEDERAPACIS
PERTVLITEXILIVMDOMINOSVBIVDICELAETVS
LITORETRINACRIOMVNDVMVITAMQRELIQVIT
EVSEBIOEPISCOPOETMARTYRI

4



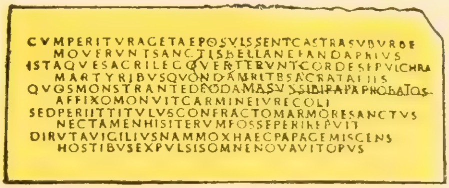
DAMASVSEPISCOPVSFECIT
HERACLIVSVETVITLABSOSPECCATADOLERE
EVSEBIVSMISEROSDOCVITSVMCRIMINAFLERE
SCINDITVRPARTESPOPVLVSGLISCENTEFVRORE
SEDITIOCAEDEBELLVMDISCORDIALITES
EXEMPLOPARITERPVLSIFERITATETYRANNI
INTEGRACVMRECTORSERVARETFOEDERAPACIS
PERTVLITEXILIVM·DOMINOSVBIVDICELA [illegible]
LITORETINACRIOMVNDVMVITAMQRELIQVI [illegible]
EVSEBIOEPISCOPOETMARTYRI

5



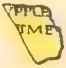
[illegible]
AABIMORTESECVNDI
ISPIRITVSQVEAE
HIMORTELLATVS

6



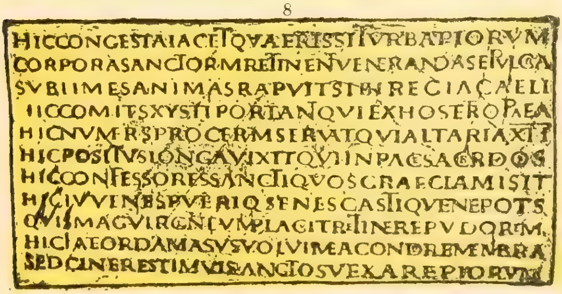
CVMPERITVRAGETAEPOSVISSENTCASTRASVBVRBE
MOVERVNTSANCTISBELLANEFANDAPRIVS
ISTAQVESACRILEGOVERTERVNTCORDESEPVLCHRA
MARTYRIBVSQVONDAMRITESACRATAPIIS
QVOSMONSTRANTEDEODAMASVSSIBIPAPAPROBATOS
AFFIXOMONVITCARMINEIVRECOLI
SEDPERIITTITVLVSCONFRACTOMARMORESANCTVS
NECTAMENHISITERVMFOSSEPERIREFVIT
DIRVTAVIGILIVSNAMMOXHAECPAPAGEMISCENS
HOSTIBVSEXPVLSISOMNENOVAVITOPVS

7



PPLE
TME

8



HICCONGESTAIACETQVAERISSITVRBAPIORVM
CORPORASANCTORVMRETINENTVENERANDASEPVLCRA
SVBLIMESANIMASRAPVITSIBIREGIACAELI
HICCOMITESXYSTIPORTANTQVIEXHOSTETROPAEA
HICNVMERVSPROCERVMSERVATQVIALTARIAXPI
HICPOSITVSLONGAVIXITQVIINPACESACERDOS
HICCONFESSORESSANCTIQVOSGRAECIAMISIT
HICIVVENESPVERIQSENESCASTIQVENEPOTES
QVISMAGVIRGINEVMPLACVITRETINEREPVDOREM
HICFATEORDAMASVSVOLVIMEACONDEREMEMBRA
SEDCINERESTIMVISANCTOSVEXAREPIORVM

PLATE VII.—Inscriptions of Pope Damasus. Fourth Century.

great that the practice of burial in the cemeteries, which had been largely discontinued, once more became almost universal at Rome. He was careful to decorate the principal cemeteries with beautifully prepared inscriptions, in which were found high eulogiums of the martyred saints, and his restorations of the tombs of the worthies were rich and characteristic. These inscriptions have a character so marked that they are readily distinguished by the skillful epigraphist. They have great regularity, are most beautifully and sharply chiseled, and have been preserved in much of their original integrity. Often they become the means of positive dogmatic statements, from which an almost complete *credo* might be framed. While the panegyric is often extravagant, it is nevertheless tempered by a spirit of love and veneration that disarms criticism and awakens lively sympathy. Living at a time when the purity of the Christian faith had been greatly menaced, and when the severe morality of the pre-Constantine period had yielded to the current worldliness, it is not wonderful that this zealous leader found delight in calling the attention of a decaying age to the self-sacrificing lives of saints who had made the Church illustrious in the days of its sorest persecutions.

Their characteristics.

Plate VII gives a good idea of these inscriptions. The clearness and regularity of the incisions, as well as the metrical character of these epitaphs, are manifest. Also from No. 4 may be seen the results of the painstaking work of de Rossi in collecting the minutest fragments of marbles bearing these Damasene inscriptions, and afterward completing the slab by most careful adjustments. By this means valuable historic materials have been obtained to supply many deficiencies in the record. It will be noticed that even the remarkably clear and beautiful inscription, No. 1, omits some letters, leaving them to be easily supplied by the reader. It is addressed to St. Agnes, and is a curious commingling of faith and poetic enthusiasm. Whether we are to regard this address as an invocation to the saint, after the manner of the classical writers, or as an expression of veneration, it is plain that here is a clear indication of faith in the influence of the dead upon the fortunes of the living.

The method of complements.

Prayers to the dead.

No. 2 is written in honor of the martyrs, Felix and Adauctus. Nos. 3 and 4 are from the crypt of Eusebius of the cemetery San Calisto—No. 4 being a restoration of the fifth or sixth century from numerous fragments found in this cemetery. The vertical inscription in the margin on each side the main one gives the name of him who prepared the work—Furius Dionysius Philoculus, the engraver to Damasus. The monument is of special interest in tell-

The terms for chief pastor.

ing what is not elsewhere found; namely, that the pope Eusebius, A. D. 310, died in exile in Sicily, whither he was banished by Maxentius. It is notable that three terms are here used in connection with Eusebius and Damasus: *episcopos*, *rector*, and *pappa*. Much discussion has been had respecting the meaning of these words, and respecting the time when the word *pappa* first became the official characterization of the head of the Western Church. The word *rector* implies a degree of authority, but can hardly be claimed to carry with it undisputed and irresponsible authority. It was at times applied to simple *curés*. The word *pappa* seems at first to have been used to designate the spiritual relationship of those who had been especially helpful as advisers. The term was applied to numerous bishops in both West and East, and was not the exclusive title of the Bishop of Rome. De Rossi has affirmed that it was originally a title of endearment rather than of dignity. The term *episcopos* is the proper official designation of the chief officer of the Church, both in the time of Damasus and with his successors. This is the term whose meaning is fixed and definite, about which no doubt can be entertained.

Number of martyrs not taught.

No. 9 has given occasion for much discussion as to its teaching. Some epigraphists (Marchi notably) have claimed that reference is here made to the great multitude of victims who perished during the persecutions, and it has been cited in proof of this opinion. But it would be unwarrantable to press the teaching of this inscription too far. The manifestly panegyric character of the writing may well suggest caution in the interpretation; yet it is instructive in revealing the enthusiastic spirit of this noted bishop in caring for the memory of those who had so faithfully witnessed for Christ.

Characteristics of inscriptions of the last half of the fourth century.

The eleven inscriptions of Plate VIII[1] are from the last half of the fourth century. They are of fixed date, this being determined by the consulates mentioned in the inscriptions themselves. They extend from A. D. 360 to the close of the century. The characteristics of the epigraphic monuments of this period have been most carefully studied, especially by de Rossi. In his exhaustive work[2] he has given the following as among their distinguishing marks: Frequent recurrence of the monogram of Christ in the Constantinian form, ☧; the use of the cruciform style of this monogram, ⳨; the association with it of the A Ω; the general absence of the symbolic anchor and fish; the continuation of the doves; and an almost exclusive use of the Latin language on

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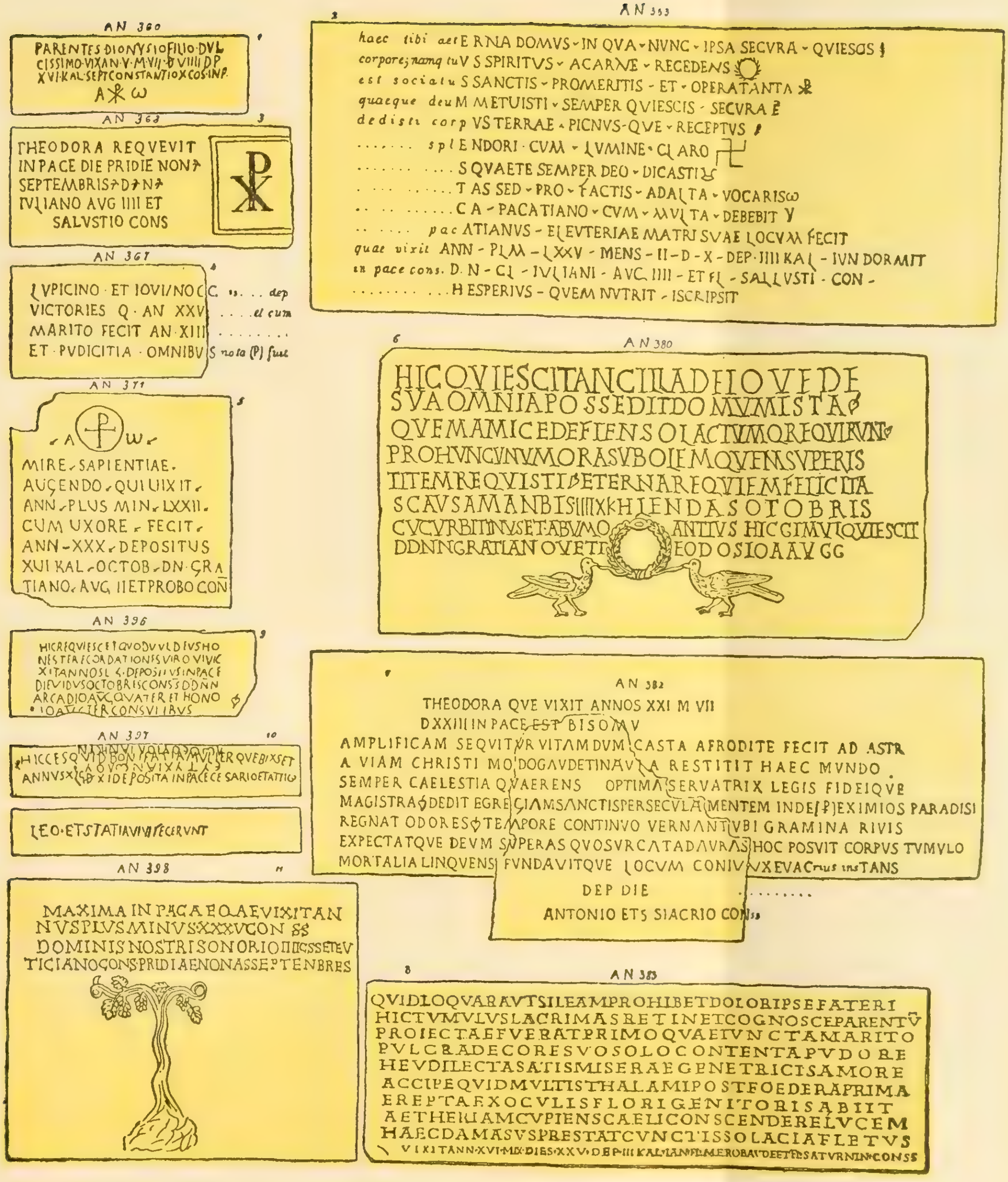
[1] Reduced from Plate lxii, vol. ii, of Roller's *Les Catacombes de Rome.*

[2] *Roma Sotterranea*, t. iii, p. 300.



1 AN 360

PARENTES DIONYSIO FILIO DVL
CISSIMO VIXAN V M VII D VIIII DP
XVI KAL SEPT CONSTANTIO X COS INP
A ☧ ω

2 AN 353

*haec tibi aet*ERNA DOMVS IN QVA NVNC IPSA SECVRA QVIESCIS
*corpore; namq tu*VS SPIRITVS ACARNE RECEDENS
*est sociatu*S SANCTIS PROMERITIS ET OPERA TANTA ☧
*quaeque deu*M METUISTI SEMPER QVIESCIS SECVRA
*dedisti corp*VS TERRAE PICNVS QVE RECEPTVS
.... *spl*ENDORI CVM LVMINE CLARO
....S QVAE TE SEMPER DEO DICASTI
. ...T AS SED PRO FACTIS AD ALTA VOCARIS ω
.. ..C A PACATIANO CVM MVLTA DEBEBIT
.. .... *pac*ATIANVS ELEVTERIAE MATRI SVAE LOCVM FECIT
quae vixit ANN PLM LXXV MENS II D X DEP IIII KAL IVN DORMIT
in pace cons. D. N. CL IVLIANI AVG IIII ET FL SALLVSTI CON
....H ESPERIVS QVEM NVTRIT ISCRIPSIT

3 AN 362

THEODORA REQVEVIT
IN PACE DIE PRIDIE NON
SEPTEMBRIS D N
IVLIANO AVG IIII ET
SALVSTIO CONS
☧

4 AN 367

LVPICINO ET IOVINO CC. *ss*. . . *dep*
VICTORIES Q AN XXV . . . .*et cum*
MARITO FECIT AN XIII . . . .
ET PVDICITIA OMNIBVS *nota (?) fuit*

5 AN 371

A ☧ ω
MIRE SAPIENTIAE
AUGENDO QUI UIXIT
ANN PLUS MIN LXXII
CUM UXORE FECIT
ANN XXX DEPOSITUS
XUI KAL OCTOB DN GRA
TIANO AUG II ET PROBO CON

6 AN 380

HIC QVIESCIT ANCILLA DEI QVE DE
SVA OMNIA POSSEDIT DOMVM ISTA
QVEM AMICE DEFLENS OLACTVM OREQVIRVNT
PRO HVNC VNVM ORAS VBOLEM QVEM SVPERIS
TITEM REQVISTI ETERNA REQVIEM FELICITA
S CAVSA MANBIS IIIIX KHLENDAS OTOBRIS
CVCVRBITINVS ET ABVNDANTIVS HIC GIMVL QVIESCIT
DDNN GRATIANO V ET TEODOSIO AAVGG

7 AN 382

THEODORA QVE VIXIT ANNOS XXI M VII
D XXIII IN PACE ~~EST~~ BISOMV
AMPLIFICAM SEQVITVR VITAM DVM CASTA AFRODITE FECIT AD ASTR
A VIAM CHRISTI MODO GAVDET IN AVLA RESTITIT HAEC MVNDO
SEMPER CAELESTIA QVAERENS OPTIMA SERVATRIX LEGIS FIDEIQVE
MAGISTRA DEDIT EGREGIAM SANCTIS PER SECVLA MENTEM INDE (?) EXIMIOS PARADISI
REGNAT ODORES TEMPORE CONTINVO VERNANT VBI GRAMINA RIVIS
EXPECTATQVE DEVM SVPERAS QVO SVRGAT AD AVRAS HOC POSVIT CORPVS TVMVLO
MORTALIA LINQVENS FVNDAVITQVE LOCVM CONIVNX EVAG*rius ins*TANS
DEP DIE ....
ANTONIO ET SIAGRIO CON*ss*

8 AN 383

QVID LOQVAR AVT SILEAM PROHIBET DOLOR IPSE FATERI
HIC TVMVLVS LACRIMAS RETINET COGNOSCE PARENTVM
PROIECTA EFVERAT PRIMO QVAE IVNCTA MARITO
PVLCRA DECORE SVO SOLO CONTENTA PVDORE
HEV DILECTA SATIS MISERAE GENETRICIS AMORE
ACCIPE QVID MVLTIS THALAMI POST FOEDERA PRIMA
EREPTA EX OCVLIS FLORI GENITORIS ABIIT
AETHERIAM CVPIENS CAELI CONSCENDERE LVCEM
HAEC DAMASVS PRESTAT CVNCTIS SOLACIA FLETVS
VIXIT ANN XVI M IX DIES XXV DEP III KAL IAN FL MEROBAVDE ET FL SATVRNIN CONSS

9 AN 396

HIC REQVIESCET QVODVVLDIVS HO
NESTE RECORDATIONES VIRO VIVIC
XIT ANNOS L S DEPOSITVS IN PACE
DIE V IDVS OCTOBRIS CONSS DDNN
ARCADIO AVG QVATER ET HONO
RIO AVG TER CONSVLIBVS

10 AN 397

HIC CESQVID BONIFATIA MVLIER QVE BIXSET
ANNVS XL D XI DEPOSITA IN PACE CESARIO ET ATTICO

LEO ET STATIA VIVI FECERVNT

11 AN 398

MAXIMA IN PACAE QVAE VIXIT AN
NVS PLVS MINVS XXXV CON SS
DOMINIS NOSTRIS ONORIO IIII CSS ET EV
TICIANO CONS PRIDIAE NONAS SEPTENBRES

PLATE VIII.—Epitaphs of Second Half of the Fourth Century.

the monuments of the West. With few exceptions the simple expressions of invocation, as *vivas*, *refrigera*, etc., are discontinued, and a style of high panegyric is frequently indulged; the day of death and even of burial is usually mentioned; and a general predominance of the expressions *depositus*, *depositio*, etc. These are to be regarded only as *general* marks of the inscriptions of this period; for it must be remembered that the style of the epigraphic monuments does not undergo a sudden and complete transformation, but some marks continue in permanence. No. 1 is somewhat rude of workmanship, tending to the cursive style. It is considerably abbreviated, yet the parts are easily supplied.

Warning against hasty inductions.

"His parents to their most dearly-beloved son, Dionysius, who lived five years, seven months, and nine days. Buried on the sixteenth before the Kalends of September, Constantine being for the tenth time consul. In peace."

The connection here of the A Ω with the monogram of Christ (said to be the first instance where these are associated on a monument of fixed date[1]) certainly suggests the everlastingness of the second person of the sacred Trinity. Yet it would probably be unwarrantable to regard the presence of the symbol, A Ω, upon a monument as conclusive proof of the faith of those who caused its erection in the deity of Christ. We have already spoken of the use of the D· M· upon Christian burial monuments, and have seen that this arose from the fact that it had probably become a sort of conventional heading to these inscriptions, and that little thought was probably had of the heathen significance of the symbol. So also it may be true that the placing of the A Ω upon the tombs of the deceased Christians may have been without thought of its deep dogmatic import on the part of the sculptor. But it certainly argues that what had once been deliberately chosen as significant of the nature and person of Christ continued, however unconsciously, to be accepted by the Christians of the fourth century as expressive of their faith in the eternity of that Lord in whose peace their departed dead now rested.

Divinity of Christ.

Ignorance of the significance of symbols possible.

The *semper quiescis secura* and *dormit* of No. 2, the *requievit in pace* of No. 3, and the *hic requiescit* of No. 9 recall the question whether these shall be regarded of dogmatic import, or are only expressive of the current belief of Christians in the quiet repose of the actor after the struggles of this earthly scene are passed.

In Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8, the high eulogistic character of many of

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[1] Roller: *Catacombes de Rome*, T. ii, p. 81.

Eulogistic character of inscriptions.

the inscriptions of this period is illustrated. The *miræ sapientæ, semper cœlestia quærens, optima servatrix legis, fideique magistra dedit, hic tumulus lacrimas retinet,* etc., are in strong contrast with the simple and expressive *in pace* or the *hic jacet* of the second and third centuries. In No. 8 are the clear-cut workmanship, the regularity of the lettering, the equality of the lines, as well as the high panegyric of the Damasene inscriptions, to which allusion has elsewhere been made.

Palimpsest.

No. 10, of the year 397 A.D., is interesting as a genuine palimpsest; since on the back is seen another inscription, *Leo et Statia vivi fecerunt,* while beneath the main Latin inscription is found a Greek one inverted, of good characters, and evidently of a date much earlier than the last. It reads ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΝΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ ΘΕΟΥ ΙΟυΛΙΑΝΗ CΥΝ (ϐιῳ). Thus on the same slab are found the purer Latin, the much earlier and almost classical Greek, and over it again the later and corrupt Latin. This monument would also suggest that the language of the early Church was the Greek.

The graffiti.

An interesting class of objects in epigraphical science are the *graffiti.* They are very widely diffused both in pagan and Christian monuments. They are more numerous in those places to which pilgrims and devotees resorted for worship and meditation, where the sanctity of the persons interred, or the inspiring memories of the scenes, transform the spots into holy shrines. Marked examples of such *graffiti* are met in many parts of the Orient, where original inscriptions have been in a degree effaced by others of a later date, and these in turn by still others.[1] The examples on Christian monuments and in sacred spots are very numerous, but the difficulty of deciphering them becomes very great, and many valuable facts, undoubtedly concealed under the commingling of characters, still elude the ingenuity of the epigraphist.

In some portions of the Christian catacombs of Rome the *graffiti* have been studied with great zeal, especially by de Rossi, who has given a *résumé* of results in his noted work.[2] As in the case of pilgrimages to heathen fanes the devotee was accustomed to inscribe a vow or a prayer, or to leave a record of his visit on or near the

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[1] Notable examples are found at Dog River, in Syria, Persepolis, and in many parts of Egypt. "Those faintly cut emblems of Sesostris, those stern, cold soldiers of Chaldea, those inscriptions in Persian, Greek, Latin, and Arabic, each embodies a history of itself, or rather tells of one written elsewhere, which we long to possess." Thomson: *The Land and the Book,* vol. i, p. 59. For Persepolis see especially Fergusson: *History of Architecture.*

[2] *Roma Sotterranea:* t. ii, tav. xxxii and xxxiii.

In San Calisto.

sacred shrine, so also in visiting the burial places of saints and martyrs the pilgrims were desirous to indicate their feelings. Fig. 123 is a representation of a small wall surface in the crypt of San Sisto in the cemetery of San Calisto, at Rome. The marks seem to be mere scratches upon the mortar, or in some instances are in pigment. The variety of forms in the letters, the different languages, Latin and Greek, and sometimes the almost barbarous vernacular of a later time, make a jumble of dates, of sentiments, and of experiences which, if unraveled, might doubtless furnish valuable historic truths to supply the hiatuses now so painfully felt. The portions which have been deciphered are entirely harmonious with the sentiments expressed in the well-understood inscriptions. The views of death are equally cheerful, and the joy of the soul in Christ is equally ecstatic.

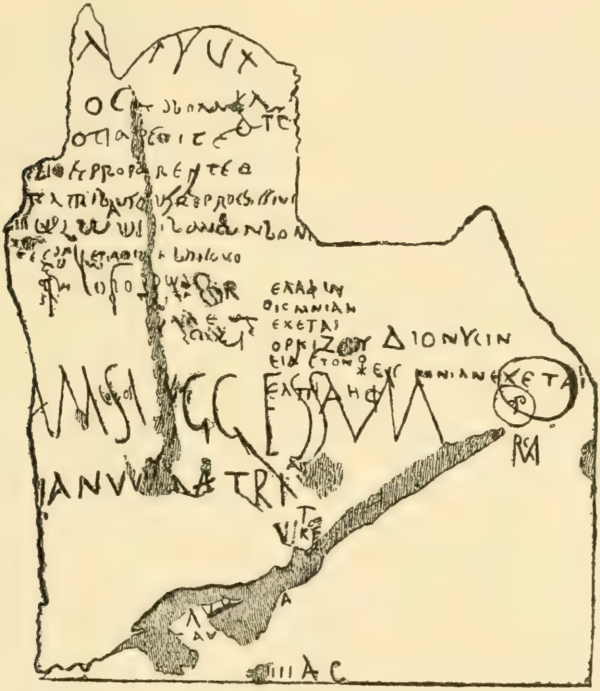

Fig. 123.—Graffiti from papal crypt, San Sisto, Rome.

Sometimes the cross appears with equal arms enclosed in a circle. It is not easy to determine how far this may be regarded as of symbolic import. The extreme school of symbolists would see in such forms the teaching of the eternity of the person symbolized, as well as the continuance in perpetuity of the doctrine and kingdom which He has established. In Fig. 124 we have an example from the first quarter of the fifth century. Probably it was part of a burial monument, and the legend in the circle was descriptive of the persons commemorated, while the two arms of the cross bear the quite common *deposita in pace*, and the age of the deceased. Unfortunately, the mutilated condition of the inscription prevents its satisfactory interpretation.

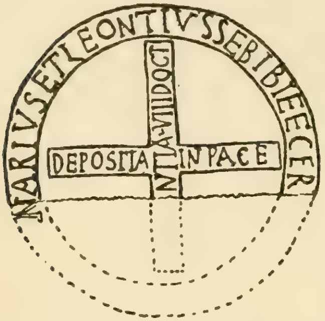

Fig. 124.—Cross in circle with inscriptions.

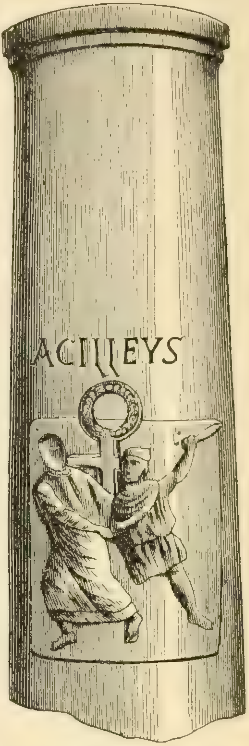

Fig. 125.—Column from the Basilica of Petronilla. Martyrdom of Achilles.

Epigraphic and pictorial aids to history illustrated.

Fig. 125 furnishes an example of the value of archæological remains in the illustration of obscure points in history. It is a small column found in 1874 among the ruins of the Basilica San Petronilla, Rome.[1] This ruined basilica has already been described (see pp. 174–176) as situated above the cemetery of San Domitilla, and seems to have been built on account of the peculiar sanctity of persons interred beneath. In former times this was known as the *Cemeterium Domitillæ, Nerei et Achillei, ad Petronillam Viâ Ardeatinâ.* The reasons why Nereus, Achilleus, and Petronilla should be thus associated with this cemetery were difficult to find, until the discovery of this column and a small fragment of a like column with faint indications of the representation of a scene similar to that depicted in Fig. 125. Here is clearly a martyrdom. The pursuing soldier with the deadly weapon would slay the retreating victim, ACILLEVS. The further indication of martyrdom is the crown above the cross, the *triumphus Christi*, which is the symbol of the martyr's death and triumph. It is conjectured that the other like column, a small portion of which has been found, may have similarly depicted the martyr death of Nereus. Further excavations have given abundant proofs, also, of the connection of Petronilla with this basilica and cemetery. The most plausible explanation is that the cemetery originally took its name from Domitilla, to whom this plot of land belonged, and that its name was afterward changed on account of the interment of these martyrs in the sacred precincts.[1]

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[1] It had fallen through the pavement of the basilica into a lower gallery of the cemetery. *v.* Figs. 76, 77.

Most instructive, in this connection, are the extremely valuable and numerous inscriptions from Aquileia, which are now in Aquileia and Trieste. Two thousand have already been brought to light and the excavations are constantly adding new ones. It is to Bertoli, Zandonati, Cassis, and especially to Gregorutti, that we owe the collection and scientific arrangement of these inscriptions. Most of them may be found in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. v. The "*Corpus*" fails, however, to give any adequate idea of the symbols, and is occasionally defective as to the text. Wilpert in 1891 went carefully over the inscriptions, taking squeezes of them all. They have also been recently copied by Dr. Nikolaus Müller, of the Berlin University. They clearly illustrate the principles already laid down. They are hardly earlier than the middle of the fourth century. They differ in the use of symbols and in certain formulæ from the Roman monuments.

The typical symbol for Aquileia is the Orant. We find it now alone, now surrounded by sheep or doves, most often between monograms of Christ, which the old stonecutters seem to have used quite lavishly. One of Gregorutti's stelæ shows the deceased Petronia as Orant standing in the midst of four monograms of Christ, while three others appear in the first line. Often associated with the monogram are the letters A Ω, more rarely the cross; the dove occurs frequently, usually with the olive branch, more seldom with the palm. While on the Roman monuments the Orant rarely is met in connection with inscriptions, in Aquileia the reverse is true. The star, the candlestick with candle, and the curtain, symbols which rarely occur on Roman monuments, occur frequently in Aquileia.

Certain expressions also sharply distinguish these monuments from those at Rome. Such formulæ as "*recessit in pace fidelis*," "*depositus in pace fidelis*," "*dolens contra votum facere*," "*pausat in pace fidelis*," introduce new words to express the departure of the deceased. The familiar "*hic jacet*," "*hic requescit*," give place to "*pausat*," "*recessit*." The word "*fidelis*" is used often, and indicates that the deceased had been baptized.[1]

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[1] *v.* Northcote and Brownlow: *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. i, pp. 121, 180–183. Roller: *Les Catacombes de Rome*, vol. ii, plate xciv, No. 4, p. 331.

Figs. 125^a^, 125^b^, 125^c^, 125^d^ are from the Zandonati collection in Trieste, and are from squeezes taken by A. W. Patten in 1892. The others are from the brochure of Joseph Wilpert, given by him as a "Festschrift" at the first congress of Christian archæologists, held at Spalato, Dalmatia, May, 1892, and published in the *Ephemeris Salonitana*, 1894.

Fig. 125^a^ shows the familiar symbol of the dove, associated with the circle, the Constantine monogram, and the A Ω. This ancient and favorite symbol is very frequent on these monuments. The suggestion is clearly concerning the eternity of Christ.

Fig. 125^b^ is a very crude representation of the Orant with the monogram. The bower of palm branches is supposed to indicate the heavenly mansions into which the deceased has entered.

The following figures present the Orant in connection with inscriptions.

Fig. 125^c^ consists of a veiled figure and two unveiled, standing evidently in the midst of a garden. The veiled figure indicates a married woman (Wilpert). The suggestion is that the three persons represented have reached the paradise of the blessed—CRESCENTINA IANVARIVS FL(*avius*) AQVILINVS SEVIBVM FECIT. "Crescentina, Januarius, Flavius Aquilinus did it during his lifetime" (*sevibum*). The corrupt Latin and the crude sculpture are characteristic of this period. Two of these figures being men supports the statement that the Orant is not always "a female figure representing the praying Church," as held by some archæologists.

Fig. 125^d^, in addition to the Orant, contains the dove and an uncommon and most interesting figure of the Good Shepherd beneath a draped arch. He is a young, beardless man, wearing a toga, his feet clad in shoes. He holds the shepherd's pipes to his mouth. Between the two figures appears the dove. Above the arch appear the monogram and the palm branches. The Good Shepherd does not bear the sheep upon his shoulders, for the departed is now among the saved. The Orant beside him is the representative of the soul which has been received into eternal blessedness, has received from Christ the palm of victory, and has entered the heavenly mansions: (*dulcissi*)MO FILIO· BALERIO (*qui vixi*)T ANOS· XVIII· MEN(*ses*)· V· D(*ies*) (*qu*)I· DISCESSIT· CRISTI(*anu*)S MATER SIMPLICIA CONTRA VOTVM· POSVIT Q· VSQVE(*t*) IN PACE ET PVELLA NOMINE MALISA.

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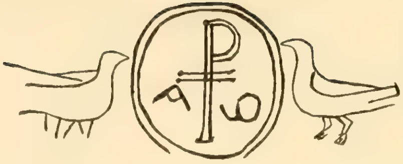
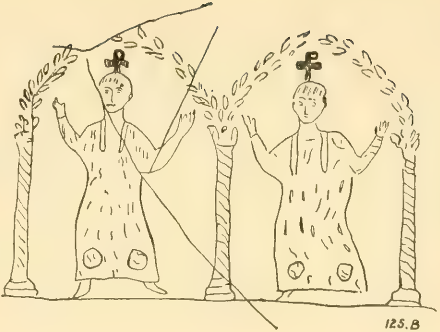
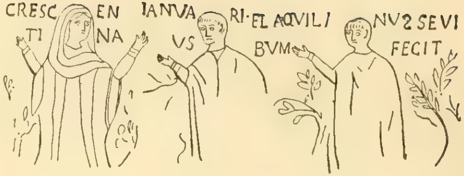
[1] For further discussion of this see chapter on Baptism.



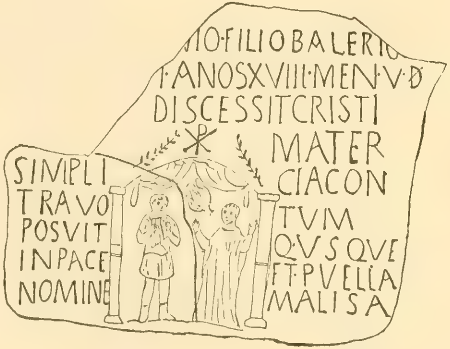
125.A.



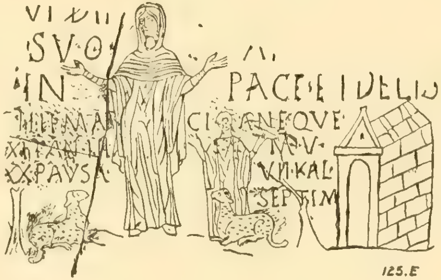
125.B


CRESC EN IANVA RI·EL AQVILI NV2 SEVI
TI NA VS BVM FECIT

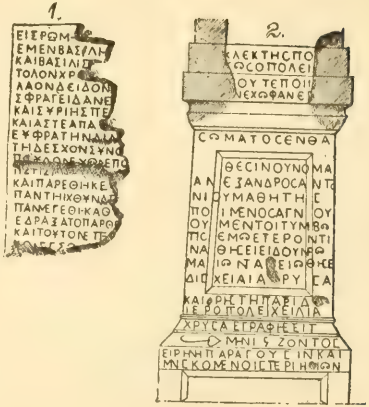
125.C.



125.D.



125.E



125.F.

Fragments from Aquileia and the Abercius Inscription.

"The Mother Simplicia erects the tablet in memory of her sweetest son Valerius, who lived eighteen years, five months, and certain days, and departed a Christian." There is also added the name of a daughter, "Malisa," who "rests in peace."

The expression "*Contra votum*" is frequent on these monuments. The full form is, "*Contra votum facere dolens.*" It is urged by Wilpert and others that the deceased Valerius had not been baptized. He is therefore described as "*Christianus,*" not "*fidelis,*" being only a catechumen. A passage from Augustine supports this view: "*Interroga hominem, Christianus es? Respondet tibi, Non sum, si Paganus est aut Judæus. Si autem dixerit, Sum: adhuc quæris ab eo, Catechumenus, an fidelis? Si responderit, Catechumenus; inunctus est, nondum lotus.*"[1]

The Orant is a prominent and almost a characteristic feature of these fragments, extending from the crudest to the most graceful forms. Fig. 125^{e} is one of the finest symbolical groups found on any early Christian monument. It is apparently the gravestone of mother and daughter. Two inscriptions, of different style and date, are evident. The trees, the sheep looking upward, the gracefully draped figures of the mother and her daughter, together with the house indicating the tomb, render this an interesting fragment.

The second volume of de Rossi's great work on the Christian inscriptions of Rome appeared in its first part in 1888. It contains Christian inscriptions in metrical form from the pre-Constantine era up to the Middle Ages. The general style of these metrical inscriptions is crude; they are not to be considered as poems, but merely as rhymes.[2]

In some of them occur quotations from the heathen poets, especially from Virgil. The epigraph hymns of Christian poets in Gaul, Spain, and Britain from the sixth century to the age of Charlemagne we expect will be more fully given in the second part of volume ii, which is yet to appear.

The publication of few inscriptions has occasioned greater discussion among archæologists than the celebrated Greek inscription of Abercius of Hierapolis, assigned to the third century. It is given by de Rossi, vol. ii, part i, *Proem.* xii, who thus expresses his opinion of its value: "*Epigramma et pretio inter Christiana*

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[1] Migne, PP. lat., vol. xxxv, col. 1714.

[2] De Rossi: *Insc. Chr. Urbis Romæ*, vol. ii, part i, vi, 1888: "*Inscriptiones Christianæ versibus confectæ elegantia stili, arte versificationis et spirito poetico vix unquam commendantur: sæpe neglectis legibus metri ad numeros tantum rhythmicos sunt exactæ. Quare visum est eas appellandas potius esse metricas et rhythmicas, quam cum Morcello, qui ætatis præsertim elegantioris epigrammata respexit, poeticas.*"

facile princeps." In this Lightfoot coincides (*The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. i, p. 493). On the other hand, Harnack holds to its heathen origin (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. xii), Ficker assigns it to the Cybele cultus, Hilgenfeld believes it to belong to the Isis cultus.

It was known to the Byzantine hagiologists, but remained unnoticed, because the description of Abercius's life had been, since Tillemont, regarded as legendary poetry. The archæological journeys of Ramsay in Asia Minor in 1882 resulted in discoveries which have cleared up the genuineness of the Abercius inscription. Wilpert holds that this inscription is of the greatest importance to Christian symbolism, and is a witness to the unity of the Christian faith over a wide territory (Euphrates to Rome) in the third century. For the full text of the inscription see de Rossi; also Wilpert, *Principienfragen der Christlichen Archæologie*, p. 50.

Fig. 125^{f} represents the two stones which support the genuineness of the manuscript copies of this inscription. No. 2 is the Alexander stela found by Ramsay in his first journey through Phrygia in 1882. No. 1 is the original inscription of Abercius found by Ramsay in his second journey. It was built into the walls of a bath. With the manuscript copies and the assistance of these two fragments the entire inscription is substantially reproduced. It carries us to the year 300 of the Phrygian reckoning ; 216 of the Christian reckoning.

CHAPTER VIII.

EARLY CHRISTIAN POETRY AND HYMNOLOGY.

§ 1. *Preliminary Considerations.*

Relations of poetry and religion.

RELIGIOUS emotions have ever sought expression in poetic measure. The first poets of a people have been instinct with prophetic fire, while the prophets of religion clothe their weightiest utterances in poetic garb. Poet and prophet alike draw inspiration from a common source. Religion suggests to poetry its richest themes, while poetry furnishes to religion the vehicle for the expression of its deepest truths. The sacred song is therefore found associated with every religion. The heathen used it, the Hebrews chanted it in their temple service, the untutored savage utters it in sacred grove or consecrated wood.

Earliest hymns.

Nor is the Christian religion an exception to this rule. The true *Te Deum Laudamus* had been chanted by the angelic choir when they announced the advent of the Prince of Peace, and the song of holy triumph of the devout Simeon, *Nunc Dimittis*, has been counted among the valued treasures of the universal Church. In imitation of the Hebrew custom the first apostles had inculcated the use of hymns in the social gatherings of the Church, and in the more public congregation. That these spiritual songs were a means of edification and profit cannot once be doubted. But we are not to suppose that a feeble and despised Church was in circumstances favourable to the development of a distinctive hymnology or to the origination of a characteristic music.[1]

Early Christianity prolific of poetic themes.

The first period of Christianity was, indeed, filled with an inspiration such as the world had never before known. The founding of a religion so new in spirit, which tended to break down the barriers of social life and unite all men in one holy communion; which presented so noble an array of witnesses and martyrs for the truth's sake, and furnished supporting power to triumph over every form of persecution and death, was the occasion for awakening the true poetic spirit in the minds of its disciples.[1] Such circumstances are especially prolific of themes of song. Nevertheless, a degree of leisure is requisite to set these themes to harmonious verse. While the mind is at the extremest stretch of action, or moved by a consuming passion, poetic conceptions may be richest, yet poetic versification is impossible; this comes only from quiet contemplation and conditions of peace.[2]

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[1] "It is probable that whatever of hymnology was practised by the Jews at the time of Christ was appropriated by the new Church. All the instructions of the apostles agree with all the traditions to confirm this opinion. Since during the life of St. Paul there could have been no new literary development in the Church, his exhortations to the use of hymns and spiritual songs must have chiefly referred to what was then extant in the Jewish Church." *v.* Burgess: *Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem Syrus*, London, 1853, p. xxiv. Still it is quite probable that in the social gatherings there may have been a kind of improvisation which was the beginning of an independent hymnology.

Yet not favourable to metrical forms.

It must likewise be recollected that circumstances of danger and persecution interfered with the growth and perfection of the Church services, and also retarded the development of the metrical hymn. Add to this the fact before referred to (pp. 52, 53), that the Church of the first two and one half centuries was somewhat hesitant to cultivate some forms of the fine arts because of their supposed contaminating influences through association with heathen practices. The threat to the purity of Christian doctrine and life seemed so grave that long after Christianity had received recognition from the state Jerome wrote: "A Christian maiden should not know what a lyre or a flute is, or what is its use." The first disciples in nearly every city were from Jewish families who in their wide dispersion had maintained the Hebrew worship in private houses or in synagogues. It would therefore be antecedently probable that many elements of the Jewish service would at first be incorporated into the religious forms of these early converts. The writings of the apostles confirm this presumption.[3] The chanting of the Psalter by the priest, and the probable antiphonal singing by the congregation, would suggest like forms to the proselytes to the new faith. The extent to which the Church of the first two generations appropriated and adapted the then existing poetry and music to its own wants, is a question that has been sharply debated by archæologists. It is, however, generally conceded that intimations of a church psalmody and hymnology are found in the writings of the New Testament. Especially in the Apocalypse are met suggestions of hymns which bear a distinctively Christian stamp.

The Psalter at first in general use.

Germs of a hymnology in the New Testament.

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[1] "Christianity began among a people who were full of active imagination, and of keenest sensibility. They delighted to have the heart aroused and the fancy elevated through appeals to the eye and ear." Herder: *Zerstreuete Blätter*, 5th Samml.

[2] Schletterer: *Geschichte d. geistlichen Dichtungen u. kirchlichen Tonkunst*, Hanover, 1869, s. 54.

[3] Burgess: *Op. cit.*, pp. xxiii, xxiv.

The gradual liberation of the disciples from the burdens of the Mosaic ritual would tend to eliminate Jewish elements from the public services, and lead to the preparation of a liturgy in harmony with the needs of an independent and distinctive Church.[1] The sharp contrasts between the monotheistic belief of the Christians and the prevalent polytheism, their adoration of the now risen and glorified Christ, the inspiring and supporting doctrine of the resurrection, and the quite prevalent expectation that the Lord would soon return to awaken the sleeping saints to enter upon the inheritance of a universal kingdom, turned the thought away from systems which now seemed to them obsolete, and contributed to the development of a hymnology new in form and content.

Further influences.

No extended description of the public Christian services of the first two centuries by contemporary writers has been preserved; we are therefore compelled to be satisfied with a somewhat imperfect induction. The early fathers and the "Apostolic Constitutions" associate prayers with the song of thanksgiving.[2] They were regarded as like in spirit. They also seem to avoid the use of the term "hymn" through fear that their worship of the one God and Christ might be confounded with that of the heathen, who were accustomed to sing "hymns" in praise of their divinities.[3]

Confounding of "hymn" and prayer.

"Psalm" and "ode" are the usual terms used to describe these writings and exercises. Although no hymns from the first or second century have been preserved to our day, and no mention of any composer of hymns is found in the records of the first two centuries,[4] it may, nevertheless, be safely inferred from the nature of the case, as well as from the few incidental allusions to the early ritual, that hymns were composed and existed in written form at the beginning of the second century.[5]

The probable use of hymns in second century.

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[1] "Even if the Psalms of the Old Testament could, at the beginning, have expressed all the deep feelings of the Christian heart, the very use of these would have aroused in the worshiper a desire for new hymns which their peculiar gifts and inspiration would have created." *v.* Rambach: *Anthologie christlicher Gesänge aus allen Jahrhunderten der Kirche*, Bd. i, s. 4.

[2] *v.* Augusti: *Handbuch der christlichen Archæologie*, Leipzig, 1836, Bd. ii, s. 10.

[3] Augusti: *Op. cit.*, Bd. ii, s. 113. *Contra*, Böhmer: *Christ.-kirchliche Wissenschaft*, Breslau, 1836, Bd. ii, s. 335.

[4] With the possible exception of the *Pedagogus* of Clement, and the *Gloria in Excelsis*.

[5] Eusebius: *Hist. Eccl.*, v, 28, where a writer from the end of the second century is represented as answering the Artemonites by appealing to a great number of

Münter has given the following brief summary of his investigations: 1. The congregations of the apostolic period used hymns of thanksgiving in their public worship. 2. They also used these hymns on the occasion of their sacred feasts, the Agapæ, etc. 3. The sacred song was set to music, and chanted by the entire congregation. 4. These hymns and psalms which the early Christians used were not all derived from the Old Testament Scriptures, but some were of their own origination and composition.[1] With regard to the meagreness of our information relative to this subject, he suggests that it should cause no surprise when it is considered that only merest fragments of the history of the early Church have been preserved, while the larger part of what may have been written has been irrevocably lost; that since the hymns were kept with the other books of the Church, they may, therefore, have furnished a special reason for persecution when the sacred writings of the Christians were hunted out and destroyed.

Münter's conclusions.

Causes of meagreness of information.

That the number of these hymns must have been quite limited, as compared with the number in later times, seems probable from the fact that most of the early Christians were uncultured and not in circumstances to patronize, much less to cultivate, the fine arts. Moreover, at a still later date the councils of the Church were much divided in opinion relative to the introduction of hymns other than from the Psalter into the public services; therefore, the writing of them received little encouragement even by those who possessed the requisite gifts and culture.[2]

Conciliary decisions diverse.

The hesitation of Christian councils and bishops to sanction the use of other metrical compositions than the Psalter and inspired utterances from the Old Testament Scriptures finds its partial explanation in the fact that the heretical leaders were among the earliest patrons of hymnology, and were the first to introduce into the public worship a greater regularity and pomp. By this means multitudes were attracted from the orthodox service, and the spread of the Gnostic heresy was greatly promoted.

On the propriety of using other metrical compositions than the Psalms of David synods and councils were not agreed. In most

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ancient hymns whose theme was the praise of Christ. "Psalmi quoque et cantica fratrum jam pridem a fidelibus conscripta Christum Verbum Dei concelebrant, divinitatem et tribuendo." Also the custom of Paul of Samosata in changing the praise hymns designed to be sung to Christ to those praising himself, is a further evidence of the existence of hymns and music.

[1] *Ueber die älteste christliche Poesie*, ss. 18, 19.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 30, 31.

instances their decisions were very cautiously expressed. By some none but the Psalter was permitted. Nevertheless, the eastern fathers, Chrysostom, Ephraem of Syria, and others had ventured to introduce hymns of their own composition, whose use had greatly added to the fervor of devotion, and had been powerful in recalling to the orthodox fold many whom the alluring service of the heretical sects had led astray. The character of most of the early sacred poetry which has reached us hardly permits it to be classified with hymnology. Even the very prolific poet of the Greek church, Gregory Nazianzen, has not contributed a single poem which deserves the name of hymn.[1] Indeed, there is a most marked contrast between the productive power of the early and the modern Church with respect to the number and character of sacred poems. It is estimated that the aggregate hymns of the Latin, Greek, and Syrian churches, prior to the sixth century, would not equal those found in the ordinary collections used by the churches of our day. Rambach[2] has affirmed that the total number of Latin hymns and sentences which were in use prior to the fourteenth century did not exceed four hundred. This arose, not so much from the want of proper gifts as from the ends had in view by the writers of these poetic compositions. Much of their poetry was of a dogmatic character, and was intended to advocate a doctrine or combat a heresy rather than to contribute to the edification of the worshiper.[3]

The Greek fathers favorable to the use of hymns.

Small number of hymns.

Reason of the fewness of good hymns.

We must also be reminded that the general use of hymnbooks in the public service of the early Church is not once to be supposed. While the diffusion of books in the Imperial period was very considerable, and the multiplying of manuscripts was comparatively inexpensive,[4] from the best authorities to which we have access it is inferred that in many instances large congregations had but few copies of the hymns which were in use. It is therefore probable that by frequent repetition the worshippers committed the hymns to memory, and, where permitted, also sang the tunes and chants by rote. In studying subjects of this character the investigator must, as far as possible, transfer himself to the times, and realize the peculiar circumstances of the early Christians. It must be considered how many arrangements of the service of the modern Church have sprung from the ease of

And of aids to public service.

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[1] Augusti: *Handbuch christ. Arch.*, Bd. ii, p. 128.

[2] *Anthologie*, ii, 8.

[3] Augusti: *Op. cit.*, B. v, c. 4, ii.

[4] *v*, Uhlhorn: *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, p. 24. Merivale: *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. vi, p. 232.

multiplying Bibles, hymnbooks, catechisms, etc., by means of the art of printing.

The partial exclusion of the private members of the early Church from participation in the singing is attributable far more to their want of training in the arts of poetry and music than to the arbitrariness of church officials. While by the fourth century the new religion had made very wide and important conquests, it nevertheless seems probable that most of the professed Christian communities enjoyed but limited means of cultivating the arts to which the grandeur and impressiveness of public worship are so largely due. Not till a later period did the singing-schools of Rome, Fulda, Metz, St. Gallen, etc., prepare the clergy to lead the congregation in portions of the singing service. By the study of the early hymnology we are impressed with its comparative poverty. The depth of devotional feeling and the perfection of rhythm which characterize the mediæval and the modern hymn are largely wanting. The dignity and high inspiration which have characterized public worship since the reformers joined the perfected hymn to appropriate music, and thus brought the singing to the entire congregation, could not have been attained even in the most imposing churches of Constantinople, Antioch, Milan, or Rome.

§ 2. *Sacred Poetry of the Syrian Church.*

Syria was the native land of Christian hymnology. To that city where the disciples were first called Christians probably belongs the honor of introducing the formal hymn into the public services of the Church. A questionable tradition contained in Socrates[1] says that Ignatius, the first Christian bishop of Antioch, used the antiphonal hymn as early as the beginning of the second century. From this very brief reference no definite knowledge of the character of the hymn or of its relative prominence in the public service may be gained.

Antioch the mother city.

By other means, however, the history of Syrian hymnology can be traced with little interruption to the second or early portion of the third century. In Syria, more than elsewhere, the Gnostic heresy sought to propagate itself through the means of sacred poetry and hymns. The philosophic theologian, Bardesanes, who flourished

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[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. vi. c. 8. "Jam vero didamus, unde consuetudo hymnorum, qui in Ecclesia alternis decantantur, initium ceperit, Ignatius Antiochæ quæ est in Syria, tertius a Petro apostolo Episcopus, qui cum apostolis ipsis multum versatus est, visionem vidit angelorum Sanctam Trinitatem hymnis alterna vice decantatis collaudantium: et formam canendi in ea visionem expressam ecclesiæ Antiochanæ tradidit. Unde illa traditio in omnibus ecclesiis recepta est."

The hymns of the Gnostics.

Ephraem of Edessa.

His methods.

in the last half of the second century at Edessa, in Mesopotamia, was among the earliest writers of hymns which were used by the heretical churches of the East. While with a single exception his writings have been lost, we are informed by Ephraem, the Syrian, that he composed one hundred and fifty hymns in imitation of the Psalter. By clothing his peculiar tenets in the enchanting forms of song he seriously threatened the purity of the Syrian church.[1] Multitudes were drawn away from the true faith. His skill as a composer of music was equal to his poetic gifts; for it is certain that he gave name to tunes which were afterward appropriated by the orthodox party. For nearly a century and a half the influence of these hymns was perpetuated.[2] The orthodox teachers became alarmed. To arrest the evil tendencies they saw that like means must be used. Ephraem, deacon of Edessa, a contemporary and friend of Basil the Great, entered upon this work with intensest zeal. He organized female choirs,[3] taught them hymns which embodied sublimest spiritual sentiments, set to song the fundamental truths of the nativity, baptism, passion, resurrection, and ascension of the Lord, and required the deaconesses to assemble in the church on all Sabbaths and feast days. On these occasions he was present as leader to teach them musical notation and the laws of poetic rhythm. He believed that this was the surest means of gaining the goodwill and kindly aid of the people, and of breaking the power of his opponents.[4] Sozomen [5] informs us that from that time the Syrians sang the odes of Ephraem according to the methods indicated by Harmonius,[6] the son of Bardesanes; and Theodoret affirms that these hymns proved to be efficacious medicine to arrest the spread of heresy.

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[1] Ephraem of Syria, in his Homilies against Heresies, bears frequent testimony to the influence of Bardesanes.

[2] "For these things Bardesanes Uttered in his writings—
He composed odes, And mingled them with music;
He harmonized Psalms And introduced measures."—Homily 53, Against Heretics.

"In the resorts of Bardesanes Are songs and melodies.
For seeing that young persons Loved sweet music,
By the harmony of his songs He corrupted their minds."—Homily 1.

v. Burgess's translation, *Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem Syrus*, pp. xxx and xxxi.

[3] Burgess translates this term, "Daughters of the convent." *Hymns and Homilies*, p. xxxviii.

[4] *Acta St. Epraem*, c. xxii.

[5] *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. iii, cap. xvi, "Ex eo tempore Syri juxta numeros canticorum Harmonii scripta Ephraim psallere solent."

[6] If the accounts of Sozomen and Theodoret can be relied upon, Harmonius, the son of Bardesanes. reduced the Syrian literature to measures and musical laws which had been suggested by the Greeks. He also adapted these to the uses of choirs, and by the beauty of his compositions allured his hearers to embrace the heretical doctrines. Sozomen: *Life of Ephraem*, lib. iii, cap. 16. Theodoret: *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. iv, cap. 29.

His poems numerous.

The number of Ephraem's poems is unknown.[1] It is certain, however, that they were numerous, and covered a very wide range of subjects—theology, exegesis, hymnology, etc. His hymns were widely used both by the schismatic sects of the Syrian church and by the orthodox Christians of the East.

Their metrical principles.

Of the metrical laws governing these Syrian poems little is known. It seems, however, that the meters were regulated by the number of the syllables, and not by the quantity, as in Greek and Latin verse. The Latin and Greek could vary the number of syllables in a verse according to their quantity, but the Syrian seems to have adhered rigidly to the syllabic order, and thus greatly hindered the beauty, flexibility, and variety of utterance which produce the greatest charm.

Burgess's opinion.

"The strophes vary in length from four verses to twelve, sixteen, and even twenty. Many of them are uniform in their structure, every verse containing the same number of syllables; but others are studiously varied, exhibiting great art and labor in their construction. . . . Indeed, Ephraem seems to have had a nice ear for variety, and if what has already been said respecting the dislike of his countrymen to the monotony of the psalms is correct, he must have gratified the most fastidious seeker of novelties."[2]

The attention given by Ephraem to antiphonal singing, by which the interest and attractiveness of the public assemblies could be promoted, compelled a careful arrangement of the liturgy. His contributions to the Church of his own time were varied and noble, and the influence of his labors in the promotion of Christian hymnology was positive and widespread.

The following will give a good idea of the character of his poetry:[3]

CANON LX.

NECESSITY FOR PREPARATION FOR DEATH.

1.

Pity me, O Father! in thy tender mercy,
And at thy tribunal, let thy love be with me;

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[1] There has been a tendency to ascribe to him every thing extant in the metrical forms of Bardesanes and Harmonius, and which was used in the Syrian sacred offices. But this is evidently erroneous. Many metrical compositions in the Ephraemitic rhythm are plainly the work of other hands. *v.* Asseman: *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, tom. i, p. 60.

[2] Burgess: *Op. cit.*, p. liv.

[3] Translated by Burgess: *Metrical Hymns of Ephraem Syrus*, pp. 56, 57.

And make me to rise up from the dust,
In the day when thy standard shall be revealed.
O Father! whose lovingkindness formed me,
And who at the first fashioned our image;
Let thy nod raise our bodies again,
In the day when the world is destroyed.

2.

Example of his poetry.

At the appearing of Jesus our King,
The buried of all ages shall stand up;
His living voice shall call loudly,
And awaken every sleeper;
What terror shall be to all men,
When the thrones are set in order!
How will the wicked be confounded,
And all be turned into hell!

3.

The day of judgment is at hand,
And all faults shall be disclosed;
Who then can be pure in thy sight,
In the hour when the books are opened?
For there are no penitents,
No offerers of supplications;
For that is the day of doom
In which no word or speech is uttered!

§ 3. *The Greek Hymnology.*

The *Pedagogus* of Clement of Alexandria.

While no hymns in the present collections of the Greek Church, or which are used in its authorized service, are older than the eighth century, sacred poetic compositions in Greek by the fathers of that church probably date from the second.[1] The well-known work of Clement of Alexandria, *Pedagogus*, written primarily for the defence and propagation of the orthodox faith, closes with two hymns which were well calculated to promote the religious fervor of the worshipper. Both are clearly in the interest of the doctrine of the Trinity, in opposition to the growing and threatening heresies. These are probably the oldest Christian hymns which have been preserved to our day.[2] They have often been translated, yet are not easily adjusted to the wants of the modern Church.[3]

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[1] Augusti: *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Bd. v, s. 292. The "candle hymn" of the Greek Christians has been claimed to be very early. *v.* Egbert Smyth, *Andover Rev.*, 1887.

[2] Daniel: *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, iii, pp. 3, 4. Some good archæologists regard the *Gloria in Excelsis* as of earlier origin. Rambach: *Anth. christ. Gesänge*, Bd. i, s. 35.

[3] Probably Dr. Dexter's free modernization, while it fails to reproduce the spirit of the original, is yet the happiest that has appeared in English—"Shepherd of Tender Youth," etc. Piper: *Evangelischer Kalender*, 1868, ss. 17–39, has given the text and an excellent German translation, as well as a good analysis, and a good literal translation has been given by Schaff: *History of the Christian Church*, vol. ii, p. 230.

Gregory of Nazianzen.

Gregory Nazianzen, of true Christian parentage, was educated in the best schools of Cæsarea, Alexandria, and Athens. He had for fellow-students Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and the future emperor, Julian the Apostate. His earnest devotion to the interests of the Church after his elevation to the see of Constantinople, and his florid, fervent eloquence, joined to a lowly humility of manner and life, were the means of restoring many churches of his diocese to the prosperity which they had enjoyed forty years before. His poems were numerous, and glowed with a true religious fervor well suited to stimulate the Christian life. Nevertheless, scarcely a trace of his poetry is preserved in the authorized office-books of the Greek Church.[1]

Synesius.

His defects.

Synesius of Ptolemais, a well-trained scholar, became bishop of his city late in life. Many notices of his poetic writings are found in the Christian fathers, but only ten poems have been preserved. While he had a reputation among his contemporaries for great poetic gifts, his poems were but poorly adapted to the public religious services, and have never been incorporated into the authorized collections of the Eastern Church. His influence as a writer of hymns seems to have been considerable, but it was greatly lessened by the introduction of the philosophic adages of the pagan schools, and by his too careful imitation of the style of the heathen poets.[2] In his hymns Platonic notions obscure and well-nigh supplant Christian doctrine.

Decadence of sacred poetry.

While the surviving poems of Gregory, Synesius, Euthimius, and Sophronius exhibit considerable regularity, and some may be reduced to metrical order as of anapests and iambics, Greek poetry had already fallen into decay, and the Eastern Church had yielded to the prevalent artificiality and clamor for the strange and the extravagant in poetic form and content.

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[1] Rambach: *Op. cit.*, p. 48. For a translation and note of his *Ποῦ δὲ λόγοι πτερόεντες; ἐις ἀέρα*, *v.* Daniel: *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, etc., iii, 11. Also Schaff: *Christ in Song:*

"Where are the winged words?
Lost in the air," etc.

v. Migne: *Patrologia Græca*, vol. 37, p. 1346. Lines under *πρὸς ἑαυτον*, etc.

[2] *v.* Christ and Paranikas: *Anthologia Græca carminum Christianorum*, Lipsiæ, 1871. This work has been the means of awakening new interest in the Greek hymnology. Its four prologomena are packed with learned discussion. 1. On the Greek Christian poets. 2. On the different kinds of ecclesiastical hymns. 3. On the rhythmical laws of the Byzantine hymns. 4. On the Byzantine music. This work gives the first place to Synesius, and reproduces in excellent form the Greek of his ten surviving hymns.

Anatolius.

Anatolius, of Constantinople, about the middle of the fifth century, endeavored to drop the classic metre, and to develop a form of poetry more in harmony with the wants and spirit of the Church. In this he was but partially successful. Neale has given an English version of the hymn on Christ stilling the tempest (ζοφερᾶς τρικυμίας), which ranks among the best specimens of the Greek hymnology:

1.

Fierce was the wild billow
  Dark was the night:
Oars labored heavily;
  Foam gleamed with white;
Mariners trembled;
  Peril was nigh;
Then said the Son of God,
  "Peace! it is I."

2.

Ridge of the mountain wave,
  Lower thy crest!
Wail of Euroclydon
  Be thou at rest!
Peril can none be—
  Sorrow must fly—
Where saith the Light of light,
  "Peace! it is I."

3.

Jesus, deliverer!
  Come thou to me;
Soothe thou my voyaging
  Over life's sea!
Thou, when the storm of death
  Roars, sweeping by,
Whisper, O Truth of truth!
  "Peace! it is I."

Even less satisfactory were the attempts of Nonnus of Panopolis in Egypt, of the Empress Eudoxia, and of Paul Silentiarius.[1] Most of the Greek hymnology of the first five and one half centuries lacks the simplicity, earnestness, and depth which characterized the life of the earlier Church. A complete collection of the hymns and chants of this church during the first six centuries furnishes little that can worthily compare with the richer and more devotional spirit of the West.[1]

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[1] The description (ἔκφρασις) of Saint Sophia, in poetic measure, by Paul Silentiarius has helped us more fully to appreciate the grandeur of this temple, and the dedicatory services herein described illustrate the ritual of the Eastern Church in the reign of Justinian. This work has been translated and ably annotated by Dr. Kartüm in the appendix to Salzenberg's work: "*Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinople vom V bis XII Jahrhundert.* Berlin, 1854.

§ 4. *The Poetry and Hymnology of the Western Church.*

Two kinds of sacred poetry.

To estimate the originality and creative power of the poets of the Western Church it is necessary to make careful discriminations. The ecclesiastical poetry of the first centuries is divided into two distinct classes; namely, the descriptive or narrative, frequently employing high panegyric, and the lyric, which took the form of sacred hymns and songs.[2] The first conforms quite closely to the then prevalent type and spirit. This style only had been successfully cultivated by the later Roman poets. Both heathen and Christians alike imitated the writers of the classic period, who had made the exploits of gods and heroes the theme of their noblest verse. The descriptive and narrative poetry of the Roman world during the first three Christian centuries is, however, characterized by an extravagance of panegyric which is almost entirely wanting in the literature of the golden age. Nor are the Christian writers of the same period seemingly more chaste in style or more sober in the treatment of their themes. The lives and fate of their martyred heroes and saints being the favorite subjects which they treat, their style is entirely conformable to heathen models. To make known to the world the history of those who had given their lives to attest the verity of the new religion, to exhibit the mighty supporting power and completest victory of faith, and to awaken in others a burning zeal for the truth as it was in Jesus, were the high aims of these

A high panegyric.

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[1] From the splendid qualities of the Hellenic mind, and from the rich inheritance which the Greeks of the first centuries had entered into, we might antecedently expect much from the hymnology of this church. These expectations are, however, sadly disappointed. The classic age of hymnology in the Eastern Church did not begin before about A. D. 650, hence lies outside of the period of our inquiry. The iconoclastic controversy gave inspiration to the hymnology. This Greek sacred poetry is of immense volume, filling, according to Neale (*v. Hymns of the Eastern Church*, Introduction, p. xli), 4,000 closely printed, double-column quarto pages. This mass of material is becoming somewhat better known to the West through the devoted labors of Neale in England, Cardinal Pitra in Italy, Vormbaum (*Daniel's Thesaurus*, vol. iii) and Christ in Germany. Yet the judgment of Neale with regard to the *Menœa* (the books containing the services for each month) is generally accepted as just: "They contain a deluge of worthless compositions; tautology till it becomes almost sickening; the merest commonplace again and again decked in the tawdry shreds of tragic language, and twenty or thirty times repeating the same thought in slightly varying terms." *v. Op. cit.*, 4th ed., p. 88.

[2] Bähr: *Geschichte der römische Literatur*, bd., iv, §1.

narrative and descriptive poems. Somewhat later is noticed a tendency to set the Christian doctrine to poetic measure, and to clothe the biblical narratives in poetic garb. To supply the lack of copies of the sacred books, their most important truths were taught to the Christian congregations in the popular hexameter verse. The chief difference between the heathen and Christian poets was that the latter adhere strictly to the truths of history, and there was in their writings a spirit which could be inspired only by a system that cared for the sufferings of humanity, and could cast light on the destiny of the race.[1]

Christian doctrine in poetic form.

The other class of Christian poetry was wholly different. Even in the golden age of Roman literature lyric poetry seems to have been an exotic,[2] while during the first period of the history of the Christian Church it had become almost totally neglected: it was revived through certain noted poems which belong to its hymnology. It was animated by a spirit wholly novel, and it evinced a noteworthy richness and originality. Its introduction into the common services of the Church required that it be simple, earnest, and popular. Some of the descriptive and narrative poetry of the fourth century is in imitation of the masters of the best period of Roman literature, while the lyrics are original not only in their spirit and depth of feeling,[3] but in their rhythmic forms as well. In this species of literature the Christian Church of the fourth century stands out in bold and honorable relief.[4]

Lyric poetry an exotic in Rome.

High character of Christian lyric.

The poems sometimes ascribed to Tertullian, because in some manuscripts they are associated with his name, are probably the production of a later author. Several works of this nature, as

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[1] "The old hymns, from Ambrose to Gregory the Great, still bear in their earnest and powerful lineaments the portrait of the conquering martyr period of the Church. Their entire content is derived from the new and sublime view of the world which, in opposition to the scope of heathen thought, sustained and filled the souls of the Christians. Subsequently there was developed much that was more delicate and cultured, but seldom, if ever, has there been seen any thing of greater purity and simplicity." Wackernagel: *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, Preface.

[2] Bähr: *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, Bd. iv, s. 2.

[3] Bähr: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iv, s. 10. Augusti: *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Bd. v, s. 292.

[4] "The hymnology of the Western Church may be conveniently divided into three principal eras. The first, which, borrowing a term from architecture, we may name the Romanesque period, extends to the conclusion of the pontificate of Gregory the Great, and is, as a general thing, distinguished by the absence of rhyme. . . . In this period the Church was unshackling herself from the fetters of metre; in the second she was bringing out all the capabilities of rhyme; in the third she submitted to the slavish bondage of a revived paganism." Neale: *Mediæval Hymns and Sequences*, London, 1851, Introduction.

Three eras of Latin hymnology.

Marcio, de judicio Domini, Genesis, Sodoma, etc., both from internal evidence of style and content, as well as from positive testimony, must be assigned to a period considerably later than that of Tertullian. Many poems bearing his name can no more be attributed to him than to Virgil or Homer.[1]

Poems attributed to Tertullian not genuine.

Commodianus.

If this opinion is well founded, then must Commodianus, who lived about A. D. 220–250, be regarded as the earliest Latin Christian poet whose works have been preserved.[2] Very little is known of his personal history. According to his own testimony he was of heathen parentage, but by the reading of the sacred Scriptures was converted to Christianity. From his use of the Latin language and his manifest acquaintance with its literature we infer his Roman descent. Even the place of his labors is not certainly known, but his zeal for Christianity, as against both Jews and heathen, is apparent in the poems which have been preserved. Only two are known to exist: the *Instructiones*, and the *Carmen Apologeticum adversus Judæos et Gentes*. The former, which appeared about A. D. 249,[3] shows a careless indifference to the laws of prosody, and appeals to the tastes of the less educated classes. It is, as its name indicates, a collection of teachings, in acrostic form, addressed in part to the heathen, pointing out the vanity of their worship of the gods, and exhorting them to seek a better system. In part it is addressed to the Jews, to win them to Christianity; while the last part is prepared for the Christians themselves. The whole writing evinces strong moral conviction and Christian zeal for the truth, but contains doctrinal errors which seem to have been disavowed by the Church authorities at a later period.[4] The *Carmen Apologeticum*, a later production, consisting of more than one thousand lines, is of somewhat greater value both in style and treatment. It furnishes a valuable contribution to the history of Chiliasm, and of the doctrine of the Trinity during the third century.

His poems.

Their character and value.

Lactantius.

Several poems have been attributed to the celebrated church father, Lactantius, many of whose writings have been preserved. These are often bound up with editions of his works, thus expressing the opinion of the editors respecting their authenticity. But it is highly probable that the poems *de Phœnice, de Pascha*, and *de Passione Domini* belong to a later age.[1]

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[1] Dupin: *Bibliotheca nova Auctorum Ecclesiasticorum*, i, p. 141. Translation under the title *A New History of Ecclesiastical Writers*, vol. i, p. 87.

[2] Bernhardy: *Grundriss der römischen Literatur*, 5te *Aufg.*, s. 986. Bähr: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iv, §§ 8, 9. Commodianus's description of himself as "Gazæus" probably refers to dependence upon the Church for support (*gazophylacium*). Wace: *Dict. Ch. Biog.*

[3] Teuffel, W. S.: *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 4te aufl., Leipzig, 1882.

[4] Bähr: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iv, s. 30. Teuffel: *Op. cit.*, s. 900.

Juvencus.

The Spanish writer, Juvencus, who lived in the first half of the fourth century, is the first Christian poet of eminence whose works are clearly authentic. While little of his personal history has been preserved, there seems to be slight question of his authorship of the *Historia Evangelica* and of the *Liber in Genesin*.[2] The first is a metrical version of the Gospel history, based chiefly on Matthew, though having reference to the other evangelists as well. It consists of more than three thousand lines. It imitates the heroic verse of the heathen writers, and, for the age in which it is written, the style is flowing, easy, and pleasing. It may be called the first Christian epic.[3] The design of this metrical version was to bring the principles of the gospels to the attention of the heathen world.[4]

Character and purpose of his poems.

While in the ordinary form in which they were then preserved there was a contempt for these writings on the part of the learned, an imitation of the great poets, it was believed, would be effective in awakening a wider interest in a religion too little understood. Like attempts were made in the time of Charlemagne, by the Saxon and German ecclesiastics, for the more rapid education of the common people in the doctrines of the Church. The *Liber in Genesin* is a similar attempt to popularize the historic writings of the Old Testament Scriptures. These are the first examples of a metric form which afterward frequently appeared in the poetry of the Church.

Hilarius and his works.

Jerome, Isodorus, and other ancient writers mention with great respect the Christian poet Hilarius of Poitiers. He was a contemporary of the great fathers Ephraem, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, and Damasus, and also shared their anxious labors to hold the Church steadfast to the orthodox faith. During his banishment to the East, Hilarius became convinced of the effectiveness of Church songs in the public service. On his return he, therefore, composed a number of hymns for popular use, and compiled a hymnbook for the congregations of his diocese, which has unfortunately been lost. The genuineness of several poems formerly ascribed to him has been questioned. While it is difficult to determine with accuracy the extent of his work, the beginning of a genuine Latin hymnology is usually ascribed to him.[1] The most celebrated of his hymns are the latinization of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, *Beata nobis gaudia*, and *Lucis largitor splendide.*

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[1] Bähr: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iv, s. 35. *Contra*, Teuffel: *Op. cit.*, s. 932, who attributes *de Phœnice* to him.

[2] Teuffel: *Op. cit.*, s. 943, questions the ascription of *Liber in Genesin* to Juvencus *v.* R. Peiper: In the Vienna *Corp. Script. Eccl. lat.* He ascribes the authorship to Cyprian, Bishop of Toulon. *v.* J. T. Hatfield: In *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xi, No. 1, p. 2, where objections to Juvencus's authorship are given.

[3] Jacob: *Die Kunst im Dienste der Kirche*, s. 371.

[4] J. T. Hatfield: *Juvencus*, 1890.

He first began the Latin hymnology.

Through the liberty of worship guaranteed by Constantine the services of the Church assumed more regularity, and the growing splendor of the basilicas occasioned a growing demand for instructive and impressive ceremonies. The leaders of the Church now gave increasing attention to the improvement of the forms of public worship. The hymns were more carefully written and adjusted to the improved music. So rapidly had its membership multiplied, and so widely had its influence extended, that the Church no longer deemed it expedient to leave the public worship to uncertain tradition or to the mere caprice of individuals. To secure uniformity in the more public services there must be a fixed and authorized liturgy.[2] Also, the memory of the heroic men and women who had attested their faith by suffering a martyr's death now became more cherished. Every act was sought to be perpetuated. The monuments were adorned with inscriptions, and churches covered the spots where the sacred dust reposed. These resting-places of the holy departed became sacred shrines.[3]

Increasing demand for hymns.

Increasing attention to liturgies.

Among the most zealous promoters of this work was Damasus, bishop of Rome, who was born about the beginning of the fourth century. His zeal for the doctrines and ritual of the Church was wellnigh consuming. To him is attributed the regulation of the morning and evening hymns. He was among the most earnest promoters of the hymnology of the Latin Church, and zealous for its orderly arrangement. The number of his poems still extant cannot be determined with certainty, but more than thirty are of unquestioned genuineness. Among these are but two of a lyric character; one to St. Andrew, the other to St. Agatha. These are constructed upon a model almost entirely unknown to the Christian poetry of that period, since the latter is in rhyme, and has, on this

Damasus.

Number and character of his hymns.

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[1] According to Neale he begins the *second* period of Latin hymnology.

[2] The discussion of these attempts belongs to the history of Church canons and liturgies. These subjects are ably treated in such works as Beveridge: *Codex con. Eccl. Prim.;* Ultzen: *Constitutiones Apostolicæ;* Chase: *Constitutions and Canons of the Apostles;* Muratori: *Liturgia Romana vetus;* Palmer: *Origines Liturgicæ;* Daniel: *Codex Liturgicus*, etc.; Neale: *Tetralogia liturgica*, etc. *v.* Bk. III.

[3] For the influence of this sentiment on Christian architecture, etc., see pp. 206, 207.

Indulges in panegyric.

account, been thought by some writers[1] of authority to belong to a later age. The inscriptions which he composed for the sepulchral monuments of the popes and martyrs share in the general departure from the purity and simplicity of the earlier classical masters, and abound in the excessive panegyric which the heathen writers of his age had adopted, and which is a marked symptom of decadence in style and taste.[2]

Disturbed condition of society under Constantine.

The fourth century was an age of fiercest conflict in Church and State. The means by which Constantine had come to the throne were such as only a desperate condition of society could justify. The toleration granted to the Church, its adoption as the religion of the state, and the forceful suppression of the heathen worship awakened the hostility of a large and learned class of the Roman world. It was, therefore, not strange that on the death of the first Christian emperor a great revulsion of feeling ensued and heathenism attempted to reassert itself.

Perils to the Church.

The tenacity of heathen belief.

Upon the downfall of Licinius multitudes of the heathen had accepted Christianity. They donned the white robes of baptism, and the churches were crowded with catechumens. Through an evident want of deep intellectual and spiritual conviction on the part of many of these nominal Christians their accession became a source of weakness rather than of strength. Moreover, a majority of the Roman nobility still clung with fondness to the ancient institutions, and held the masses loyal to the ancient religion. Within the territory of the Eastern Empire the new doctrines had been more popular. While the strong influence of a civil or military aristocracy was there wanting, nevertheless the great schools at Athens, Ephesus, and Antioch were still under the direction of heathen teachers who by their zeal and ability attracted to their precincts sons of the most powerful families. Thus an aristocracy of learning was arrayed against the Church, now weakened by its fierce doctrinal struggles.[3] The imperial power exerted by Constantine in the defence and promotion of the Church had become weakened through the contentions of his sons, and the cruel suspicions of rulers had wellnigh annihilated the Flavian family. But the hopes of heathenism now centered in the person of Julian. This emperor,

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[1] Grimm, W.: *Zur Geschichte des Reims*, in the memoirs of the Berlin Academy of Sciences for year 1851, p. 683, cited by Bähr.

[2] Bähr: *Op. cit.*, iv, 18. De Rossi: *Inscriptiones Christianæ*, i, 329, has called attention to the remarkable neatness of these sepulchral inscriptions; *v.* also his *Roma Sotterranea*, i, p. lvi. For Damasene inscriptions see Plate VII.

[3] Uhlhorn: *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, bk. iii, ch. iii.

Julian and his policy.

the object of the intensest hatred of his enemies, the noble advocate of philosophy and tolerance in the judgment of his apologists, certainly aimed at the restoration of the heathen religion at the expense of Christianity. His profession of impartial toleration was contradicted by his edicts against the Church. The law requiring the restoration of the heathen temples which had been destroyed under the previous reigns bore with exceptional severity upon such societies as had removed the ancient shrines, appropriated the valuable ornaments, and on the old sites had erected new and splendid Christian churches. The horrors of the grove of Daphne near Antioch[1] were by no means exceptional, and the attitude of Julian toward their promoters clearly reveals the insincerity of his professions of toleration.

Christians prohibited from teaching.

But the law prohibiting the Christians from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric was, if possible, still more wide-reaching in its consequences, and revealed the purpose of Julian to cast upon the Christian doctrine the most withering contempt. Since the education of the Roman youth was a matter of strict legal control, the effect of the edict was to banish from the schools all Christian teachers, and to exclude from those which the Church maintained at her own expense all so called heathen classical authors. Julian firmly believed that the consequence of this prohibition would be to shut up the Christian teachers to their own sacred books, and, inasmuch as he supposed that in these was no "perennial fountain of truth," the Church would certainly be reduced to a mass of ignorant and enthusiastic devotees, whose utter extinction must speedily ensue. The effects of the publication of this edict were far other than the mystical emperor had anticipated. This was the occasion of one of the most interesting phases of Christian literary history.

Effects of these edicts upon Christian culture.

In the heathen schools alone the influence of classical teaching could be enjoyed, and to these the emperor earnestly invited the youth of the realm. He supposed that this invitation would be gladly accepted, and that a new generation might thus be reared who would reverence the ancient institutions and contribute to their early and complete restoration. But the Church was unwilling to entrust her children to this heathen secular tuition. Moreover, her influence must be lost through neglect of her youth. The result of the edict was to develop a Christian poetry, to take the place of the heathen authors who had been legally excluded from the schools of the Church. Instead of the epic poems with which the professors of rhetoric and grammar had familiarized themselves, a class of able Christian teachers attempted to imitate the heathen epic by substituting biblical characters for those of fable and tradition. Thus the interest in Christian schools was maintained, and the charge of ignorance successfully met. The great men of the Church who were engaged in this struggle did not cease their efforts even after Julian's death. The work whose beginning he had compelled went forward, greatly to the honor and to the edification of the body of believers. Not only were important poems written in order to avert the evils threatened by the imperial edict, but theories of poetry were developed which have not become obsolete.[1]

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[1] Gibbon: *Decline and Fall*, etc., chap. xxiii.

Paulinus of Nola.

His theory of poetry.

Perhaps no writer of the fourth century more clearly and beautifully expressed the principles of Christian æsthetics than Paulinus of Nola. In his poem addressed to Jovius[2] we find these brought together in consecutive order. He first claims that Christianity provides the truest and noblest subjects for poetry; that the fables of the gods have amused the childhood period of the race; that to yield one's self to the Word of truth is worthy of the adult age of a genuine culture, and of the most conspicuous talent. "Though I may give myself to the art of poetry I will adhere to strict historical truthfulness, since it should be unworthy of a servant of Christ to indulge in the false and the deceiving. Such art may be pleasing to the heathen, but it is abhorrent to those whose master is the Truth." The subjects of Christian poetry are so vital and exalted that they give a higher dignity to language, ennoble the poet himself, and bestow upon him more abundant honor. Faith is the one perfect art, and Christ is the true music, since he first restored the shattered harmonies of the soul, and united in himself the divine and the human spirit which were before so widely separated. In such efforts the poet can confidently ask the aid of the Creator of all things. Therefore, he will not invoke the Muses, nor to them ascribe praises, but he will rely upon Christ, who for us became incarnate and redeemed the world through his own blood. He will invoke Him—"Pour thyself into my heart, O Christ, my God, and slake my thirst out of thy perennial fountains. One drop administered by thee will become in me a river of water. Graciously stoop to my relief, O thou Source of Speech, Word of God, and let my voice become melodious as that of the bird of spring!" Only such a poetry can deserve the patronage and genuine approval of rational and right-minded judges. "Then," adds Paulinus, "will I call thee a true, divine poet, and will quaff thy poems as a draught of sweet water, since they flow to me as from the fountains of heavenly nectar, because they sing of Christ the Lord of all."[1]

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[1] If we are to believe Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.*, iii, 16, the writings which had been prepared to counteract the effects of Julian's edict were little esteemed by the Christians themselves after the death of this emperor. Nevertheless, the interest awakened by this stimulus continued.

[2] *Poem.* 22.

His themes.

Thus this early writer developed the theory of genuine Christian poetry which has widely governed the Church during the centuries.[2] Consistently with this theory, he carefully avoids all reference to the heathen mythology and to those topics in which the heathen poets were most fully interested. While in form he imitates the classic poems of heroic and iambic measure, and sometimes even rivals these in easy rhythm and flow of verse, he adheres closely to Christian thought, and furnishes examples of poetic writing which could take the place of the heathen poetry interdicted by Julian, and after his death was measurably excluded by the power of Christian sentiment. Since Paulinus had received a liberal education in the flourishing schools of Bordeaux, and was, therefore, familiar with the classic literature of the period, he was on his conversion of great benefit to the Church in the education and guidance of the young. His literary and poetic influence upon the Church of his period was marked and permanent.[3]

Ambrose.

Of even greater prominence in the history of Christian hymnology was Ambrose, bishop of Milan, born about A. D. 335. During a life of sixty years he deeply influenced the theology and church life of his own time, and by his intelligent reform of the ritual service made an epoch in Christian history. Among the four great Latin fathers whose works gave substantial aid, and were a bulwark of defence to the Christians, Ambrose stands preëminent. Like his noble contemporary, Hilary, he was of influential heathen parentage. His careful training under the direction of pagan masters was designed to fit him for honorable public station. Under Probus he was appointed governor and judge of Italy, and in the year A. D. 370 obtained the governorship of Milan, together with the control of Bologna, Turin, and Genoa. He began his career as a mere catechumen in the Church, and not until designated by the

His education.

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[1] *Poemeta*, 6, 10, 20. 22, 23, etc., in Migne's *Patrologia*.

[2] Jacob: *Die Kunst im Dienste der Kirche*, pp. 369, 370.

[3] Doubtless the estimates placed upon the writings and services of Paulinus by some Catholic writers are extravagant. On the other hand, we believe that some Protestants are chargeable with almost equal errors from the low value at which they represent his labors.

popular judgment for bishop of Milan did he receive Christian baptism. But when once he entered upon the duties of the episcopal office all his native gifts and his acquired powers were devoted without stint to the advancement of the orthodox faith. When, after the custom of the Greek and North African churches, he had introduced the sermon into the regular services of each Sabbath, he also felt the need of reforming the music and the hymns.

His contributions to hymnology.

Connected with his eminent services in church music were his attempts to improve its hymnology. In the midst of bitter strifes of factions he aimed to hold the Church steady to its pristine faith. As we have before seen, the reform and perfection of the service were intimately connected with the Arian controversy. The vigorous leaders of this heresy had observed that the mass of the people was more surely influenced through attractive Christian ceremonies than by formal dogmatic statements. Here, as in the East, they aimed to propagate their peculiar doctrines through the impressive means of music joined to sacred song. Numerous hymns of Arian origin had become familiar to the people of the West, and by their pleasing and insinuating influence were leading multitudes away from the orthodox faith. Both Athanasius and the Church historian Philostorgius make reference to this influence. The spiritual songs of Arius were so much in favour as to contribute powerfully to the dissemination of his doctrines. We are told by the historians Socrates and Sozomen that the public services of the Arians in Constantinople were so popular, on account of the hymns and antiphonies, that even Chrysostom felt compelled to introduce into the orthodox churches a like provision in order to retain his congregations. In A. D. 386 Ambrose had completed his important reforms, and very soon these were introduced into many churches of the West.

Influence of Arian hymns.

Some difference of opinion has existed relative to the exact character of the Ambrosian service. It is, however, pretty generally agreed that the whole body of assembled believers participated in it, and that his chant was founded on the ancient Greek music, while it also sought a more intimate union of the rhythm and metre of the hymn with the musical melody. It might be expected that Ambrose himself would become the author of hymns appropriate to the new ritual; still, it is very difficult to distinguish those of his own composition from many which the new order had called into existence, and which also went under the general name of Ambrosian. The Benedictine editors of his works[1] claim that the united testimony of the writers from the fourth to the ninth century is to the effect that only twelve of the so-called Ambrosian hymns can be regarded as genuine.[1] Of the form and character of these hymns it can be said, "They rank well with the best heathen poems of that age. When they are compared with the poetry of Ausonius or of Claudianus they are to be preferred both for their perfection of rhythm and earnestness of spirit."[2] They are of the form of iambic dimetre, which seemed best suited to this service, but avoid all attempt at rhyme. They glow with a pure devotion, and place their renowned author very high among hymnologists of the ancient Church. Both Catholics and Protestants have appropriated these hymns for the enrichment of their service.[3]

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[1] Tom. ii, pp. 1219–1224.

Number and character of his hymns.

Very prominent as a poet, and in the discussion of the principles which should regulate poetic writing, was the Spaniard, Marcus Aurelius Clemens Prudentius, who flourished in the last half of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century. Until his fiftieth year his life was passed in public service, chiefly as an advocate. He then resolved to withdraw from the affairs of state and devote himself exclusively to the Church. In common with so many others of the teachers of the fourth and fifth centuries he clearly perceived what service poetry might render for the education and edification of the Christian assemblies, and for the defence of doctrine. His poems were of both a didactic and lyric character. Of his clearly authenticated writings there have been preserved more than ten thousand lines. Of these his *Cathemerinôn*, a collection of twelve hymns originally designed for daily use in the worship of the Church which the poet frequented, was widely accepted by the Latin fathers, and incorporated into the early hymnology. These poems are characterized by simplicity of diction, sublimity of thought,[4] and a

Prudentius.

His works and their character.

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[1] Daniel: *Thesaur. hymn.*, Bd. i, p. 12, adds largely to the number given by the Dominicans. Mone: *Lateinische Hymnen*, Bd. i, has ascribed to him three others. So also Rambach: *Anthologie*, Bd. i, s. 60. and Wackernagel: *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, are inclined to increase the number of genuine Ambrosian hymns. Neale: *The Ecclesiastical Latin Poetry of the Middle Ages*, reduces them to ten.

[2] Bähr: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iv.

[3] Among the most valued of his hymns are the celebrated doxology, *Te Deum laudamus*, *Veni, Redemptor gentium*, and *Deus Creator omnium*. They have found their way through translations into many modern collections. His *Veni, Redemptor gentium* has been translated by Luther, "Nun komme, der Heiden Heiland;" by John Franck, "Komm, Heiden Heiland, Lösegeld;" by J. M. Neale, "Come, thou Redeemer of the earth;" by Ray Palmer, "O thou Redeemer of our race." His *A solis ortûs cardine* has been well translated. *v.* Schaff: *Christ in Song*.

[4] Bähr: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iv, s. 77.

spirit of ardent piety; they have been cherished by the universal Church as expressive of the believer's richest experiences. His *Peristephanôn* is a like collection of fourteen poems in celebration of the praises of the martyrs who have won their heavenly crown. The growing honor paid to the witnesses for the truth here finds expression. The spirit animating these poems is born of a high and holy faith, but they cannot take rank among the foremost Christian writings of the first six centuries. In his *Apotheosis*, consisting of one thousand and eighty-five hexameter verses, he attempts to set forth and defend the orthodox doctrine of the true divinity and humanity of Christ as against the Sabellians, the Jews, the Manichæans, the other heretical sects. In his *Psychomachia*, of about one thousand verses, the conflict of virtue with vice in the human soul is portrayed. This poem contains some truly eloquent passages which rise almost to the intensity of the dramatic.

The tenacity of heathen thought.

The attempt of Symmachus to reinstate heathen worship, by rebuilding the altar of Victory, has already been referred to (*v.* p. 66). The Christian apologist was temporarily successful. But the spirit of the old faith was not thus easily subdued. The too common view that heathenism was already effete is evidently erroneous. A critical examination of the teachings of the leading minds of heathen Rome from A. D. 150 to A. D. 450 will show that the number of atheistic and purely materialistic thinkers was quite insignificant. Even Lucian substantially confirms this view, though his interest is evidently against it.[1] Thus while the triumph of Ambrose seemed at the time complete, and Theodosius refused to reinstate the altar of Victory, Symmachus renewed this attempt under the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius. This was probaby the occasion for Prudentius to write the *Libri duo contra Symmachum*, in the first book of which he most zealously defends the excellencies of the Christian faith as against the absurdities and defects of heathen philosophy, and showed that the evils which the empire was suffering were the direct effect of the corruptions and moral delinquencies of the heathen teachers. In the second he refutes the arguments of Symmachus.[2] The intelligent zeal of the writer appears most conspicuously in this poem. While at times indulging in extravagant statements, it must be ranked among his most vigorous writings.

The works of Prudentius mark a new period in the history of

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[1] *Jup. Tragœd.*, quoted by Friedlander: *Darstellungen aus d. Sittengeschichte Roms*, 5te Ausg., Bd. iii, s. 552.

[2] Teuffel: *Op. cit.*, s. 1029.

Christian poetry. His influence was lasting, and the Middle Ages cherished most carefully his poems and imitated his treatment.[1] His peculiar themes initiated him into an almost unexplored department of literature. His early training put him into sympathy with classical writers, and led him to incorporate into his poems classic constructions. Yet the spirit of the new religion and the sublimity of the themes introduce into these poems a novel and, at times, almost grotesque inharmoniousness.[2] While his talent was so great, it was, however, insufficient to found a new school of poetry.[3]

His influence lasting.

Fortunatus.

Another eminent writer of the sixth century, whose poems have been preserved in the hymnology of the Church, was Venantius Fortunatus. Both from the references found in the works of Gregory of Tours and of Paul Diaconus, as well as from his own writings, we gain a fair idea of the character and works of this renowned Christian poet. The date of his birth is unknown. According to his own account he was educated in Ravenna, the seat of superior schools for training the young in the principles of the Roman law. He afterward journeyed into Austrasia, where he became the friend and adviser of King Sigibert. He wrote the *Epithalamium* on the occasion of the marriage of Sigibert with Brunihild, daughter of Athanigild, king of the West Goths. Soon after he was appointed superior of a cloister of nuns at Poitiers. Here he took up his residence, and became bishop of Poitiers toward the close of his life. He died in the latter part of the sixth century, and was buried in the Basilica of St. Hilarius. He was of noble character, and his name was held in highest veneration by the mediæval Church. His poems, like those of most of his contemporaries, were largely narrative and panegyric. In this respect, as well as in the form of his poetry, he was in harmony with the fashion of the time. Of the eleven books of his poems, the largest, as *de vita S. Martini*, *de excidio Thuringiæ*, etc., are descriptive and eulogistic. John of Frittenheim speaks of seventy-seven hymns composed by Fortunatus, but scarcely more than a dozen have been preserved to our time.[4] Some have gone into the hymnology of the general Church, and are of

His poems, their character and influence.

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[1] Bähr: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iv, s. 86.

[2] Bernhardy: *Gesch. d. Rom. Lit.*, s. 995.

[3] Schaff: *Christ in Song*, has pronounced the *Jam mœsta quiesce querela* his masterpiece. It has been very beautifully translated by Mrs. Charles—"Ah! hush now your mournful complainings," etc., and by many others.

[4] Teuffel: *Op. cit.*, ss. 1177–1181. Bähr: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iv, s. 155.

great excellence and breathe the spirit of a pure devotion. The beautiful hymn on the Nativity, *Agnoscat omne sæculum*, and the two in celebration of the passion of the Lord, *Pange lingua gloriosi*, and *Vexilla regis prodeunt*, are still greatly prized. Their spirit of simple piety is in strong contrast with most of his descriptive poems and panegyrics.[1] In some of his works there is a close imitation of the style and metre of the earlier classic poets, while occasionally the influence of Claudianus is clearly discernible. Close attention is not always given to the measure and rhythm, while all traces of what we understand by rhyme are wanting. The Church has placed very high value on the few gems contributed by this author to her hymnology. As a theologian, scholar, and publicist he held high rank among the men of his century; while as poet he is scarcely excelled by either heathen or Christian of his time.

The genuineness of most of the hymns once attributed to Gregory the Great is now questioned. The *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, formerly reckoned among his noblest productions, is now believed to be the work of another; so, also, the All Saints' hymn, *Christe, nostra nunc et semper*, the Advent hymn, *Christe, redemptor omnium*, and the Baptismal hymn, *Ora primum tu pro nobis.* A few which are believed to be genuine are found in the hymnology of the modern Church. His morning hymn, *Ecce jam tenuatur umbra*, with No. 15 of the appended doxologies, has been translated by Caswell:

> "Lo, fainter now lie spread the shades of night,
> And upward shoot the trembling gleams of morn."

Other writers, as Augustine and Cælius Sedulius, wrote a number of hymns of considerable excellence; but the genuineness of much which was formerly attributed to them has been seriously questioned, and their influence upon the hymnology of the West has been comparatively unimportant.

We give six specimens of doxologies used in the Latin Church during the first six centuries. They are taken from Wackernagel's work, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, and are numbered as they there stand:

1.

Deo patri sit gloria,
Eius que soli filio
Cum spirito paraclito
Et nunc et in perpetuum.

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[1] Some of his hymns have been frequently translated, notably by Neale, Caswell, and Mrs. Charles, and have been very widely used by the modern churches.

4.

Gloria et honor deo
  usque quo altissimo,
Una patri filioque,
  inclito paraclito,
Cui laus est et potestas
  per eterna sæcula.

6.

Gloria patri ingenito
  eius que unigenito
Una cum sancto spiritu
  in sempiterna sæcula.

11.

Laus, honor, virtus, gloria,
  deo patri cum filio,
Sancto simul paraclito
  in sempiterna sæcula.

15.

Præstet hoc nobis deitas beata
  patris ac nati, pariter sancti
Spiritus, cuius reboat in omni
  gloria mundo.

18.

Sit laus, perennis gloria
  deo patri cum filio,
Sancto simul paraclito
  in sempiterna sæcula.

CHAPTER IX.

EARLY CHRISTIAN MUSIC.

Educational value of Jewish ceremonies.

The strict religious education received by every Jew put him in sympathy with the history, the trials, and the hopes of his people. The repetition of the synagogue service three times a day, the duty of private prayer, the ceremonial at every meal, the imposing ritual on the occasion of new moons, new years, feasts and fasts, and the great national festivals celebrated with unequaled pomp and solemnity, must have kept alive in every Jewish heart a warm affection for his nation, and thoroughly indoctrinated him in the truths which were regarded as essential to life and salvation.[1] It is not, therefore, surprising that the converts from Judaism to Christianity were sometimes slow to distinguish between the symbol and the reality, and clung with fondness to what had become so venerable from age, and had pervaded their history as the chosen people of God. Every part of the temple and synagogue service had been prescribed with the utmost minuteness, and maintained with scrupulous care. It is therefore somewhat disappointing that no records of the Hebrew music have been preserved to our time. The contrary opinion of De Sola[2] relative to the great antiquity of some of the Hebrew melodies, as, for example, "The Melody of the Blessing of the Priests" (No. 44 of his collection), "The Song of Moses" (No. 12 of his collection), etc., can scarcely be accepted by the best historic criticism. It is likewise true that no tune from the first two centuries of the Christian Church has come down to our time. In the absence of actual examples by which a comparison may be

Hebrew music lost.

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[1] *v.* Edersheim: *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, bk. ii, chap. ix. Geikie: *Life and Words of Christ*, vol. i, chaps. xiii, xiv. Shürer: *The Jewish Church in the Time of Christ*, Clark's Foreign Theological Library, vol. ii, §§ 27, 28.

[2] *The Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, by E. Aguilar and D. A. de Sola, p. 15, *et al.* The attempts of Delitzsch: *Physiologie u. Musik in ihren Bedeutung für die Grammatik, besonders die hebräische*, Leipzig, 1868; Saalschütz: *Geschichte u. Würdigung der Musik bie den Hebräern*, Berlin, 1829, and many others, have failed to convince the unprejudiced that any remnant of the old temple music has been preserved. The traditions in the East and West do not at all agree, and the methods of service of the Jews in Germany, in England, and in Spain are widely different.

instituted, we must betake ourselves to other sources of information relative to the early Christian music.

First Christians familiar with Jewish forms.

The first converts to Christianity were Jews. They were therefore entirely familiar with the Jewish forms of worship. The few notices of early Christian assemblies found in the New Testament indicate that the infant Church largely observed the services of the synagogue, and that little peculiar or original was at first introduced. Prayer, the reading of the Scriptures, the chanted psalm, and the exposition and exhortation by some chosen rabbi or educated member of the congregation constituted the chief features of the Jewish synagogue service. But what was the character of the music then used? The characteristic chanting or singing called *cantillation*, so widely practiced by oriental peoples, as well as the fixedness of the oriental type both of music and instruments, might at first sight seem to furnish a suggestion of the probable character of the Hebrew music in the time of Christ. But to suppose that the Jewish music of that period was the music practiced in the Solomonic temple service, or even in that of Zerubbabel, would be misleading. By the wide conquests of Alexander Greek influence had been disseminated throughout the subject nations. For three hundred years prior to the Advent Greek thought had been powerful in modifying the Jewish philosophy and literature. Not only in Alexandria and other chief Greek cities where the Jews had congregated, but in Jerusalem, and especially in Samaria and Syria, this Greek influence was felt. The Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Scriptures is a conspicuous illustration of the mutual interpenetration of Greek and Hebrew thought.[1] Many of the Hellenistic Jews acquired such aptitude and ease in the Greek poetic art that they competed with Greek masters, and produced remarkable poems whose subjects were derived from their own history and religion. The truths of the Hebrew Scriptures were thus cast in a Greek mould. Frequently their teachers assumed the costume of the ancient Greek poets and philosophers. This syncretism of thought continued into the earlier years of Christianity, and must have seriously affected the poetic and musical art of the Jews.[2]

Cantillation affords no suggestion as to the ancient music.

Greek influence a powerful factor.

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[1] For the extent of the Dispersion and its influence on Jewish thought, religious observances and manners, among others *v.* Shürer: *Op. cit.*, § 31: Friedlander: *Die Sittengeschichte Roms*, 1881, ss. 570–584; Westcott: article "Dispersion," in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible.*

[2] *v.* Ewald: *The History of Israel*, translated by J. Estlin Carpenter, London, 1874, vol. v, pp. 260–262, and vol. iii, p. 283. "The music of the temple services was

The old temple service a partial conservator.

The old temple service, in which the prescribed forms were observed with scrupulous inflexibility, served, indeed, as a partial breakwater to this insetting tide of Greek innovation. "The old Hebrew music must have been resumed in the new temple of Zerubbabel, and pursued with great zeal. This is plain from the superscriptions of many of the Psalms, which were then collected afresh, and from the historic representations of the Chronicles. But the Greek translators of the Psalter evince only an imperfect and obscure knowledge of the art terms of the ancient music, which clearly proves that the whole of this ancient art suffered severely through the entrance of Greek music, and by degrees entirely disappeared."[1]

Influence of Jewish sects.

The purity of the temple service, including music, thus lost under the Greek conquerors, was not recovered under the Roman. The Asmonean princes sedulously cultivated the friendship of their new masters. Only by Roman protection and sufferance, indeed, was this house perpetuated. Moreover, the grand old festivals, which in the time of religious fervor had been celebrated with such pomp, had been partially displaced by others of more recent origin. The retirement from public life of the most devout sect, the Essenes, the proud holding aloof from state affairs by the Sadducees during the period immediately prior to the advent, and the obscuration of the law by the teaching of the Pharisees, tended to the neglect of the temple worship, and strengthened the desire for a Græco-Roman style of music. The magnificent temple of Herod, though reared in accordance with the requirements of the law, and by the encouragement of the priests while wearing their sacred vestments, failed to restore the purity of the service. The temple itself had originated in selfish ambition; its architecture was essentially Greek; its ritual had become contaminated.

The first converts to Christianity probably adopted the modified music then in use in the temple and synagogues. The music used in the celebration of the heathen rites could not be tolerated by

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doubtless conducted on a splendid scale, after Solomon's regulations, in all the subsequent centuries; and we know for certain that Solomon set a great value on musical instruments of costly workmanship (1 Kings x, 12). . . . All knowledge of it was, however, gradually lost after the Greek period, and cannot now be recovered; for even the Chronicles, from which we derive most light for understanding it, contains no more than faint reminiscences of the ancient music." *Contra*, Martini, G. B.: *History of Music*, vol. i, p. 350. Saalschütz: *Geschichte u. Würdigung der Musik bei den Hebräern*, § 61.

[1] Ewald: *Op. cit.*, vol. v, p. 267.

converts who had been saved from the polluting practices of heathenism.[1]

The first Christians adopted what was in use.

Paul probably refers to the then extant temple and synagogue music when he exhorts the churches which he had planted "to be filled with the Spirit; speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart unto the Lord" (Eph. v, 18, 19); "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord" (Col. iii, 16).

Confirmed by heathen testimony.

Christian testimony.

This custom of the early Christians seems to be confirmed by heathen testimony, notably by the younger Pliny in his letters to the Emperor Trajan, in which he states that they were accustomed "to sing responsively a hymn to Christ as God."[2] The meaning of this passage has been variously understood; but according to the comments of the Christian writers of the first four centuries its evident intent is to speak of responsive chants or songs which the Christians were accustomed to use in their early meetings.[3] The positive testimony of Justin Martyr[4] as to the custom of the Eastern church, of Tertullian regarding the African church, of Origen as to the church of Alexandria, of Eusebius, who quotes from earlier authorities to prove the antiquity and continuity of this custom, leaves little doubt respecting the use of music in the services of the Church from the apostolic period. An expression used by Tertullian in describing the worship will aid us to understand the growth or development of Christian music. When he says that each one of the assembly was invited to sing unto God, either from the Scriptures or something indited by himself—"de proprio ingenio"—we may well suppose that thus early was practiced a sacred improvisation which by degrees crystallized into forms which by frequent use and repetition became the common property of the Church. The original style of singing was evidently the chant. The antiphony, in its earliest form, is no more than a responsive chant conducted by the priests and the congregation. Yet the chant bears the same relation to music, properly so called,

Improvisation.

The chant.

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[1] Forkel: *Geschichte der Musik*, Bd. ii. ss. 91, 92. We have only to read the odes of Horace which describe the choral processions to be convinced that the music used in such associations must have been excluded from the services of the Christian assemblies.

[2] *Epistolæ*, Lib. 10, 97. "Carmen Christo quasi Deo diem secum invicem."

[3] Tertullian: *Apologeticus*, c. 2. "Cœtus antelucanas ad canendum Christo ut Deo," etc.

[4] *Apologia*, c. 13. "Rationalibus cum pompis et hymnis celebrare?"

as does speech to a developed language. Speech is spontaneous, while a grammatically constructed language is the product and property of peoples more or less advanced in culture and enlightenment. So man may sing by virtue of his nature; yet it is no more difficult to develop a literary language from primitive speech than to construct a methodical and scientific music from the rudimentary chant.[1] Nor are we to suppose that music comes from imitation of sounds in nature. There is no music in nature, neither melody nor harmony. The many expressions regarding "the harmonies of nature," "the music of the spheres," etc., are to be regarded as purely metaphorical.

Music is not imitation of nature.

From the simplest musical utterance in the chant or improvisation the musician, with almost infinite pains, must work out the complex results, also the orderly and harmonious combinations called music, which becomes the most effective means for the expression of the deeper emotions of the soul.[2] At what precise time the first attempt of the Church to develop a music peculiarly its own was made we have, unfortunately, no means of determining. In this, as in many other historical inquiries, we are left to conjecture and tradition, or are compelled to reach conclusions from analogical reasoning. From the circumstances of poverty, persecution, and obscurity with which the early Church was surrounded, it might be expected that little or no effort would at first be made to develop the simple chant into a more methodical and scientific form. The Christian assemblies were generally only tolerated, sometimes they were under the severest ban. These conditions of hardship and proscription were most unfavourable to the cultivation of the fine arts. Moreover, the natural disinclination to use either Jewish or heathen forms in their own services, through fear of some misleading influence upon the worshipers, probably induced in the overseers of the Church of the first two centuries a measure of indifference to whatever of musical science might then have been extant. Doubtless, by frequent repetition of chants and antiphonies a considerable body of simple melody had come to be the common property of the Church. But it was not until a period of quiet and toleration, when the erection of buildings for the worship of God called for a more methodical arrangement

The beginning of Christian music of uncertain date.

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[1] Fetis: *Histoire generale de la Musique*, Paris, 1869, p. 2. See also J. Grimm: *Ueber der Ursprung der Sprache*, ss. 19, 55, *et al.* Renan: *De l'Origine du langage*, Paris, 1858, chap. v. Max Müller: *Science of Language*, London, 1862, especially Lect. ix. *Contra*, Clément, Félix: *Histoire de la musique depuis les temps anciens jusqu'a nos jours*, Paris, 1885, pp. 3, 4, 5, etc.

[2] Haweis: *Music and Morals*, London, 1877, pp. 7, 8, *et al.*

of the public worship, that music could have been carefully cultivated.

First recorded attempts.

Arian influence.

The first well-authenticated account of the formal arrangement of church music is given by the historian Theodoret, where he describes the efforts of Flavianus and Diodorus, who divided the choristers of the church of Antioch into two parts, and instructed them to sing responsively the psalms of David.[1] It is probable that this did not originate a new era of musical invention so much as methodize what was already known. But the occasion of this innovation, as given by the surviving authorities, is most suggestive, and renders it probable that from this time the cultivation of music received greatly increased attention. The governor of the church of Antioch, Leontius, was an avowed Arian, while the monks, Flavianus and Diodorus, were zealous and saintly defenders of the orthodox faith. To draw away the people from the heretical preaching of their bishop these earnest men instituted the antiphonal service. It proved so attractive that the bishop was in turn compelled to introduce the same practice into his own church. Thus from the powerful capital of the East the practice extended to the provincial societies, and soon prevailed in many leading churches of the West.[2]

Conciliary action.

Opinion relative to this action.

The growing attention to the study of church music is shown from the fact that it soon after became a subject of conciliary action. The council of Laodicea (360–370), in order to the promotion of good order and the edification of believers, decreed that none but the canons, or singing men who ascend the ambo (or singing desk), should be permitted to sing in the church. Much diversity of opinion relative to the intent of this canon has been entertained by commentators. Baronius seems to regard it as a positive prohibition of the laity to engage in the public singing, thus confining this part of the service to an official class. Bingham[3] is inclined to the same view from the fact that from the time of this council the singers were regarded as officers of the Church, being called *κανονικοὶ ψαλταί*, canonical singers. He, however, believes that this was only of temporary authority. Neander,[4] on the contrary, regards this as nothing more than a prohibition of the laity to attempt the office of the regularly appointed singers in conducting the church music. He believes that such prohibition of the laity to engage in the singing would have been in direct contradiction to the instruction of the most noted Church fathers, as Basil, Chrysostom, etc., and the almost universal practice of the Eastern Churches. The opinion of Neander is entitled to great respect, since it seems to find confirmation in the teaching and practice of these saintly men. It is certain that Basil, during his education at Antioch, came to entertain an ardent love for the forms of worship there prevalent, so that when he was installed bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, he introduced the Antiochian music into his own diocese, and greatly encouraged it both by practice and public teaching. From the account preserved in his own writings we may suppose that the singing in the assemblies of Cæsarea in Basil's day somewhat resembled the informal praise service, or service of song, in modern social religious gatherings, barring the harmony, probably not yet known. Nevertheless, we are not too hastily to conclude that the use of simple melody by an entire congregation was necessarily less effective to awaken religious emotions than the more involved harmonies of later times, since it has often been remarked that by the uncultivated ear the simple succession of sounds may be better appreciated than the more involved, which may be pitched above the popular comprehension.[1]

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[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, l. ii, c. xix. "Hi primi, psallentium choris in partes divisis, hymnos Davidicos alternis canere docuerunt."

[2] Theodoret says: "Ubique deinceps obtinuit, et ad ultimos terræ fines pervasit" (*in loc. cit*).

[3] *Antiquities of the Church*, b. iii, c. vii.

[4] *History of the Church*, b. ii, p. 674, n. 4, Torrey's trans.

Basil's opinion.

The character of the singing service.

When he became bishop of Constantinople, Chrysostom likewise cultivated the music to which he had earlier become accustomed at Antioch. In the severe contest with the Arians, he, like Basil and others, used the new music to hold the people loyal to the orthodox faith. But in those times of passionate and brutal encounters the services of the Church were frequently interrupted by exhibitions of anger and party strife entirely at variance with the spirit of Christian worship. Only with greatest difficulty could the people be restrained even by the entreaties and authority of this most eminent and spiritually minded father.

Chrysostom.

Thus it seems fairly probable that the more serious and successful attempts to improve the music of the public services originated in the Syrian churches, and that the Syrian modes were to a greater or less extent adopted by the East and West.

Conclusion.

To St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, has usually been attributed the further reform and improvement of the music which was afterward extensively used in the Latin churches. This attempted modification dates from the last quarter of the fourth century. The *Cantus Ambrosianus* has come to be applied to a style of music which Ambrose is said to have arranged for his own cathedral, and which, in modified form, is believed by some to have continued in the Western churches to the present time. The subject is beset with difficulties, and opinions are at variance with respect to the originality, nature, and extent of the reform introduced by Ambrose.

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[1] *v.* Wallis: *Philosophical Transactions* (Abridgment), vol. i, p. 618

Ambrosian chant.

As to its originality, it must be recollected that the Church had now emerged from the catacombs, and had received the protection and patronage of the imperial government. Instead of obscure upper rooms, private houses, subterranean retreats, or humble churches, the Christians now had well-built and splendid edifices, to whose erection even emperors felt honored in making contribution. The circumstances necessitated a change in the church appointments. The ceremonial now assumed a splendor and an impressiveness before unknown. This is evident from the notices of contemporary writers both Christian and pagan. Christianity was now the state religion. Its votaries occupied the highest positions of trust in the government. Men thoroughly versed in the heathen philosophy were now high office-bearers in the Church. Prejudice against the literature and the art of heathendom had been greatly allayed.

Changed circumstances of the Church.

The introduction of art forms into the churches had long ceased to be regarded as sinful or misleading. All that was truly useful and educating was now pressed into the service of Christ, and thus became sanctified. Every analogy of the other arts which we have traced is convincing that the Christians of the fourth century freely appropriated whatever might contribute to the effectiveness of public worship. If they had not been offended by the statue of Hermes, the ram-bearer, if they had pictured upon the walls of the catacombs Orpheus as a type or heathen prophecy of the subduing power of Christ, if they had adopted the Greek style in the sculpture of their sarcophagi, if from their general convenience of form the heathen basilicas furnished suggestions for church architecture, it cannot be reasonably supposed that music alone, of all the fine arts, was an exception to this general Christian appropriation and use. With respect to music and poetry, as to philosophy and the arts of form, it was but natural that the attention of the Christian fathers should be turned toward the writings of the Greeks for suggestions in their attempted development of the congregational chant, which had grown up, from

Appropriation of art.

long-continued repetition, into more regular, scientific, and imposing forms.[1]

By his careful training prior to conversion Ambrose was prepared to successfully examine whatever of useful helps might be contained in the Greek writers on music, and to develop a system more in harmony with the conditions and needs of the Church.

Music of broader significance among the Greeks.

It must be remembered that the term "music" had among the early Greeks a much broader significance than in modern times. It embraced poetry, the dance, and the drama, as well as the melody of sounds. It was intimately connected with moral, intellectual, and even physical training; it was not, therefore, chiefly studied as a fine art. It ranked rather among the disciplines necessary to the best and completest education, and was regarded more as a means to an end than as an independent art. Based upon certain harmonic and rhythmical proportions, it was believed to contribute to the best mental training and the highest moral development. There is an essential agreement among the best historians that during the most flourishing period of Grecian art instrumental music had no separate existence. Music, recitative, and poetry were inseparably united. Musical rhythm was governed by the poetical cadence. Musicians were the poets; and poets invented melodies to which they chanted their verse at the national games. The early music of the Greeks had no higher aim than to supply the language of the poet with melody and musical accents. They never strove to invest music with a dignity that should make it independent of poetry.[2] It was only in the later history that music and poetry attained to a separate existence. Yet Plato complains of this divorce, and argues that it is a departure from the original lofty ethical aim of music, and it is certain that as an independent art Greek music thus suffered a real decadence.

Music and poetry associated.

Its close association with epic and lyric poetry in the religious life and ceremonial had dignified and inspired it. The decay of religion brought, therefore, like decay to poetry and music. The departure of the spirit left the body lifeless, as institutions do not long survive the wants and the spirit that call them into being. With the prevalent scepticism came the neglect of all which religion and devotion had devised to aid in their cultivation and expression.[3]

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[1] Kiesewetter: *Geschichte der europæisch-abendländischen oder unser heutigen Musik*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 2. Ambros: *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. ii, pp. 9, 10.

[2] Naumann: *History of Music*, translated from the German by F. Praeger, London, 1885, p. 137.

[3] Schlüter: *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, etc., Leipzig, 1863, p. 4.

While Christianity alone has brought music to its highest perfection as a fine art, expressive of the deepest spiritual emotion, the Greeks, nevertheless, developed a most complicated and ingenious system of musical notation, whose influence was felt far into the centuries of the Christian era. Their writers on music were the mathematicians, who treated it as a mathematical science.[1] The drama was little more than a musical recitative, while the chorus was intoned. Their theatres being open, roofless areas, where thousands gathered, it was often necessary to resort to the use of metallic masks to increase the sonorousness of the voices of the actors.

The Greeks furnished a musical notation.

The systems thus developed were complex and difficult in the extreme, and were capable of being understood and practiced by only a favored few, who must give years of study to their mastery. Moreover, there was little attempt to popularize these systems and to bring them into general use. On the contrary, there seems to have been a design on the part of those who treated this subject to make it the property of the few who were initiated into the mysteries of the science as it was taught by the philosophers. Their musical notation was, therefore, most involved and perplexing. The characters invented by the Greek writers on musical harmonics have been placed as high as sixteen hundred and twenty.[2] Since these were no better than so many arbitrary marks or signs placed on a line over the words of the song, and had no natural or analogical signification, the system must have imposed on the memory an intolerable burden.[3] Before the advent of Christianity the Greek system had somewhat fallen into disuse, and the practical spirit of the conquering Romans was unfavourable to the cultivation and patronage of the fine arts. Their great men were engaged in the affairs of state, and in developing and perfecting political policies for a now practically unified nation. They had, indeed, rejected the complex musical notation of the Greeks, which had been the product of refined speculation, and in place of the sixteen hundred and twenty characters had substituted the first fifteen letters of their own alphabet. Thus the enharmonic and even

The notation complicated.

Mere arbitrary signs.

The Romans not patrons of art.

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[1] Hawkins: *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, London, 1853, vol. i, p. 103. With this view agree Dr. Wallis and many other high authorities.

[2] Some authorities place the number at twelve hundred and forty. It is very difficult to determine, but fortunately the question is of slight archæological importance.

[3] Hawkins: *History of Music*, vol. i, p. 104.

chromatic scales had fallen into disuse, and the more natural diatonic with its greater simplicity and sweetness had been accepted.

The diatonic adopted.

The old Greek music had virtually perished in its childhood, and the world lost little or nothing. It is highly probable that the Western Church first developed a truly Christian music, such as contributed to the highest edification of believers, when it completely broke away from Greek influences.[1] The art of Greece was largely objective. In music, therefore, the Greeks did not attain to those grand results which in sculpture, architecture, and poetry have been entirely incomparable. The best authorities are in substantial agreement that they were not acquainted with music *in consonance*, or with harmony in its modern sense. Their music was simply a succession, and not a harmony, of sounds.[2]

Greece had no high music.

But with Christianity began an era of feeling and contemplation. From the study of government and the state it directed attention to the life, obligations, and destiny of the individual. This tendency to introspection, and to the study of the condition of the feelings, gave occasion for their expression by methods in harmony with this new view of individual life and duty. Music is the art which of all others is expressive of the feelings of the soul.[3] Unlike poetry, architecture, sculpture, or painting, music can express itself freely and completely without the aid of other arts.[4] Hence it might be supposed that each nation and each independent religious or psychical development would have its own music to express its peculiar emotional condition, just as each nation or tribe has had its own language or idiom.[5] Since every religion has had much to do with the sentiments and emotions—Christianity most of all—this new revelation of God to man in Jesus Christ would greatly quicken the emotional nature and lead its followers to devise means for its appropriate expression.

Christianity first developed it.

Each nation develops its peculiar music.

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[1] Kiesewetter: *Geschichte der europäisch-abendländischen oder unser heutigen Musik*, s. 2.

[2] This has been a subject of protracted controversy. Doubtless the lack of clear definition has been one cause of the great diversity of opinion. The preponderance of authority is in favour of the statement of the text.

[3] Haweis: *Music and Morals*, p. 10.

[4] "The musician has less connection with the outward world than any other artist. He must turn the thought inward to seek the inspiration of his art in the deepest recesses of his own being." Goethe: *Wilhelm Meister*, bk. ii, cap. ix. Brendel: *Geschichte der Musik*, s. 8.

[5] P. Clément: *Histoire generale de la Musique Religieuse*, p. 4.

In obedience to this principle Ambrose was led to devise a more appropriate music for his churches. It is to be deeply regretted that we have such scanty materials by which to judge of the character and extent of the Ambrosian reform. From the few historic notices, and from the musical traditions of the Latin Church, it is believed that he simplified the then prevalent Ptolemaic system by reducing the seven recognised modes to four. He deemed these sufficient for the proper conduct of the Church service. He believed that thus the various tunes which had been hitherto in use could be reduced to systematic form, and yet be so simple that the congregation might use them to their own profit and to the common edification.

Reduced the modes to four.

The four *modes* which he thus borrowed are indicated as follows:

The Antique.			Mediæval.		Ambrosian.
Phrygian	D to D̄	was the	Dorian	was the	1st tone or mode.
Dorian	E to Ē	" "	Phrygian	" "	2d " "
Ionian	F to F̄	" "	Lydian	" "	3d " "
Hypophrygian	G to Ḡ	" "	Mixolydian	" "	4th " "

These seem to have been distinguished from one another only by the place of the half tones in the gamut, thus:

1st mode	D. E.⁀F. G. A. H.⁀C. D.
2d "	E.⁀F. G. A. H.⁀C. D. E.
3d "	F. G. A. H.⁀C. D. E.⁀F.
4th "	G. A. H.⁀C. D. E.⁀F. G.

Scheme.

In this reform the tetrachord system was abandoned, and the metric of the poetry determined the musical accent. It is believed that attention was given only to the pitch, and not to the volume or length of note. In the time of Charlemagne an attempt was made to displace the Ambrosian by the Gregorian chants. Thus the Ambrosian notation was lost. It is not even known whether Ambrose devised an independent notation, but since his system was of Greek derivation, it is conjectured that the Greek notation was retained in so far as was consistent with his purpose. The notation found in the so-called Ambrosian singing books is certainly of later origin: of the original nothing has survived. Also, in how far the traditional Ambrosian chant resembles the original is matter of pure conjecture.[1]

Fell into disuse.

While the range of the Ambrosian chants must have been very narrow, the influence of the service of song upon the church of Milan was most happy. Augustine, who was

Effect upon the service.

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[1] *v.* Forkel: *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, Bd. ii, ss. 163, 164.

accustomed to visit this then noted church, speaks of its inspiration to himself.[1] He afterward introduced the same form into the churches of his own diocese, and by personal efforts and the writing of a systematic treatise became a zealous promoter of sacred poetry and music.

During the following two and one half centuries the Ambrosian chants seem to have been widely used in the Latin Church. This is evident from the fact that they are mentioned in the acts of the fourth Council of Toledo, A. D. 633, as forming a part of the service in the Spanish churches. They gave form, method, and dignity to the public singing. The adaptation of words to these modes became a matter of deep interest to the bishops, so that even in the most trying and stormy times of Roman history the impressiveness and solemnity of the public services were maintained.

Other writers on music.

The writings of Macrobius, Capella, Cassiodorus, and Boethius exerted little modifying influence on the music of the Church. They lost sight of the practical needs of the times, and returned to the study of the theory of proportions as developed by the aid of arithmetic and geometry. Even the pious Boethius, in his labored work, *de Musica*, does not once refer either to the use of instruments, to the voice as used in the singing of the sanctuary, or to any practical application of his abstruse speculations. He was a close adherent of the Pythagorean theory, that consonances or harmonies are to be determined by mathematical ratios and not by the ear. His chief merit is that he has preserved the elements of the ancient systems of music; which fact makes it possible to compare them with what is now extant, and thus determine the originality of the modern masters of harmony.[2]

Boethius.

So far as can be inferred from either literary or monumental evidence, no further musical reform was effected until near the close of the sixth century. After his elevation to the pontificate, Gregory the Great gave much thought to the improvement of the Church ritual, and originated a style of music which has borne his name. The Gregorian chant (*Cantus Gregorianus*) marks a revolution no less distinct than useful. Such has been the tenacity of its life that it is still the leading form in nearly all the Catholic churches, and has modified the singing in some Protestant churches, notably the Lutheran and Anglican.

By his patrician rank, his sound learning, his wide experience of public affairs, and his thorough acquaintance with the most noted men of his age, Gregory was thoroughly qualified to exert a commanding

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[1] *Confessiones*, ix, vii.

[2] Hawkins: *History of Music*, pp. 124, 125.

Gregory's great services.

influence on both the temporal and spiritual interests of the Western Empire. The missionary and reformatory schemes which he successfully executed give to his pontificate a prominent place in the history of the Church. His efforts to mitigate the severities of slavery, and to secure a more complete recognition of the rights of the poor before the law, often brought him into conflict with the temporal authorities. He has been accused of undue ambition; but this charge is not sustained, since in all his efforts he seems to have had little thought of personal aggrandizement, but was only zealous for the honor and success of the Church. The service which he rendered Church music was great and lasting. Besides substituting the Roman letters for the Greek characters in his notation,[1] he reformed the antiphonary, and founded and endowed seminaries for the study of music. By the aid of singers herein trained, the improvements which Gregory had devised were widely introduced into the public worship of the West, and thus the influence of his reform was more lasting than otherwise had been possible.

Maimbourg's estimate.

"He also took time, even amid the great cares that severely taxed his frail body, to examine with what tunes the psalms, hymns, orisons, verses, responses, canticles, lessons, epistles, the gospel, the prefaces, and the Lord's Prayer were to be sung; what were the tunes, measures, notes, and moods most suitable to the majesty of the Church, and most proper to inspire devotion."[2] The accounts given by John the Deacon in his life of Gregory relative to the services of this pontiff are quite circumstantial, and awaken our admiration of his energy and tireless industry to perfect the Church service.[3]

Gregory's reform.

The so-called Ambrosian system was the basis of the Gregorian improvement. The four modes of this system were retained. To these were added four others, so that the first note in the Ambrosian became the fourth of the Gregorian. The original Ambrosian modes were called *Authentic*, and the four added ones, *Plagal*, as follows:

1st	Ambrosian or authentic mode	D.E͡.F.G.A.H͡.C.D.	gave rise to	1st	Plagal	A.H.C.D.E.F.G.A.
2d	" " " "	E͡.F.G.A.H͡.C.D.E.	" "	2d	"	H.C.D.E.F.G.A.H.
3d	" " " "	F.G.A.H͡.C.D.E͡.F.	" "	3d	"	C.D.E.F.G.A.H.C.
4th	" " " "	G.A.H͡.C.D.E͡.F.G.	" "	4th	"	D.E.F.G.A.H.C.D.

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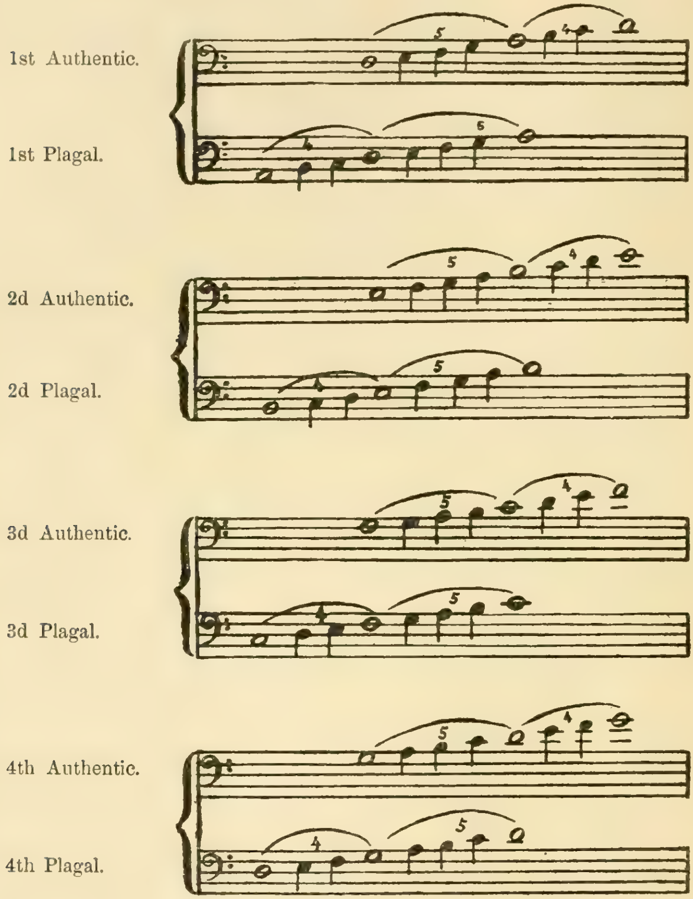
[1] That Gregory was not the inventor of the Latin notation is shown by Fétis: *Histoire générale de la Musique*, t. iii, pp. 521–528.

[2] Maimbourg: *Histoire du Pontificat de St. Grégoire*, Paris, 1686, pp. 330, 331.

[3] Johannes Diaconus: *in Vita Greg.*, lib. ii, cap. vi.

The following modern notation is believed to represent these Authentic and Plagal modes:



With Ambrose, Gregory exchanged the irrational system of the Greek tetrachord for the system of the octave, which is now recognised as the only natural system. He also liberated the melody from the metric accent, thus allowing to the melody a more free and independent development according to its own laws.[1]

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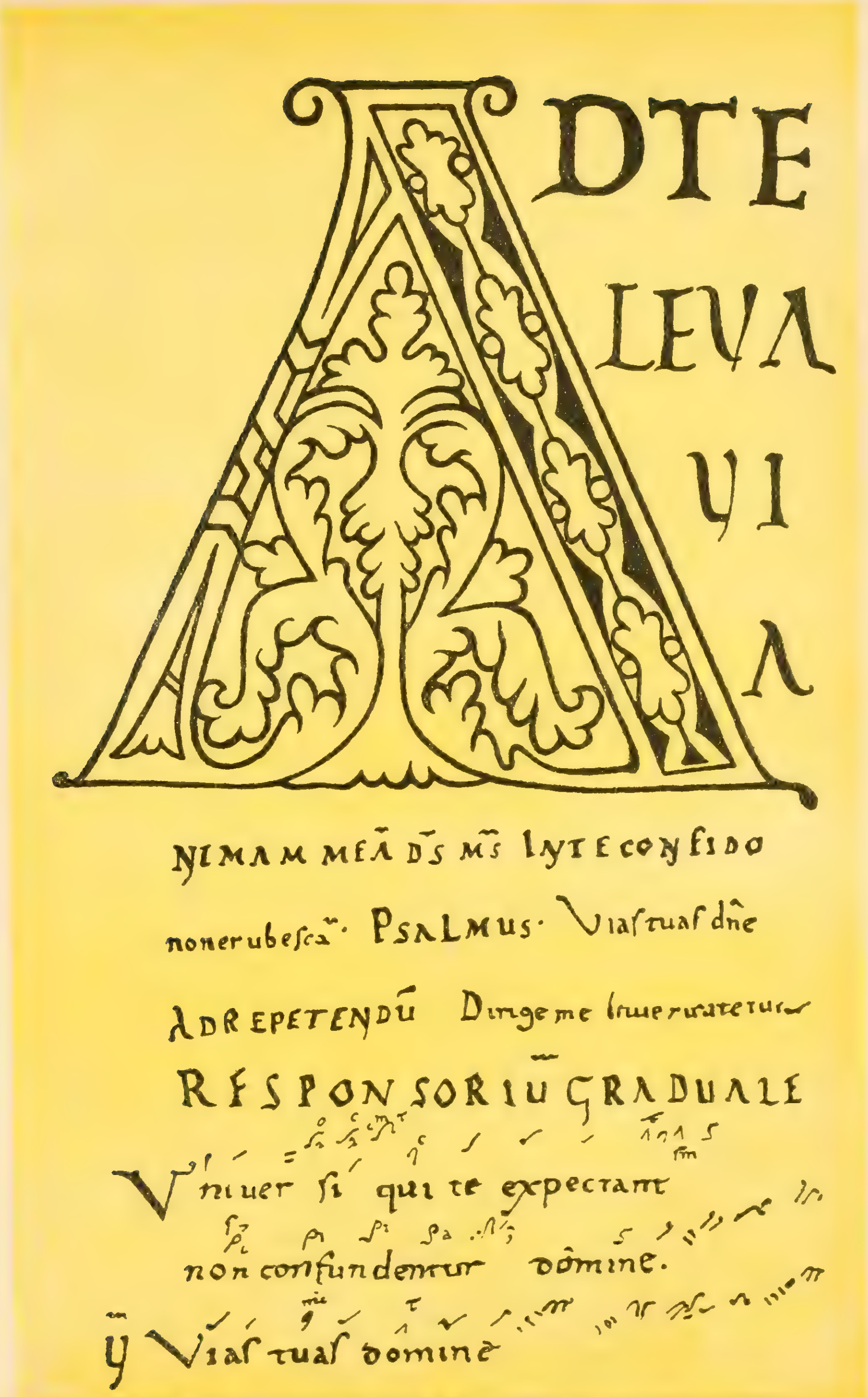
[1] Kiesewetter: *Op. cit.*, Bd. i, p. 5. Reissmann: *Gregorianischer Gesang* in *Musicalisches Conversations-Lexicon*, Bd. iv, ss. 346, 347. In a melodic sense (Gregory being unacquainted with harmony) an *authentic* mode was a melody moving from Tonica to Tonica. It is thought that by such modes the ancient Christians gave expression to firmness, deep conviction, or abounding joy. Those melodies that



A DTE
LEVA
VI
A
NIMAM MEĀ D̄S M̄S IN TE CONFIDO
non erubeſcā. PSALMUS. Viaſ tuaſ dn̄e
AD REPETENDŪ Dirige me inueritate tua
RESPONSORIŪ GRADUALE
Uniuerſi qui te expectant
non confundentur domine.
V̄ Viaſ tuaſ domine

PLATE IX.—Facsimile of the first page of the Antiphonarium of Gregory the Great.

Nature of this reform.

The contribution to the improvement of music by this increase of tones can be better appreciated by observing the change effected in the place and use of the *Dominant* and the *Final* note. The Ambrosian chant recognized but four modes, or eight sounds in a natural or diatonic order of progression, proceeding from D, E, F, and G to the octave of the same. This system required the chant to begin and end on the same note. The Dominant (so called from the note which was most prominent in the rendering of the chant, "the note on which the recitative is made in each psalm or canticle tune") did not, therefore, accord with the fundamental or key note of modern music, upon which all the harmony must be based. In the Ambrosian chant the frequent return to the fundamental note was necessary in order to keep the voices of the chanters and of the congregation in unison by being sustained at the proper pitch, and holding to the mode to which the chant was set. The Gregorian chant differed from the Ambrosian also in the place of ending. While the latter must return to the note of beginning, the former permitted the final to be other than the lowest note, thereby giving a greater variety to the ending of the chants. "Each of the Plagal modes added by Gregory is a fourth below its corresponding original, and is called by the same name, with the prefix *hypo* (ὑπο) *below*, as follows: 5. Hypodorian; 6. Hypophrygian; 7. Hypolydian; 8. Hypomixolydian. Each scale here also consists of a perfect fifth and a perfect fourth, but the positions are reversed; the fourth is now below, and the fifth above. In the Plagal scales the Final is no longer the lowest note, but is the same as that in the corresponding Authentic scale. Thus the final of the Hypodorian mode is not A, but D, and a melody in that mode, though ranging from about A to A, ends regularly on D, as in the Dorian. . . . The semitones in each scale naturally vary as before. The *Dominants* of the new scales are in each case a third below those of the old ones, C being, however, substituted for B in the Hypomixolydian, as it had been before in the Phrygian, on account of the relations between B and the F above and below." [1]

Further development.

This system was subsequently developed by the addition of two other Authentic modes, called the Æolian and the Ionian, and of their corresponding Plagals—the Hypoæolian

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moved *around* the Tonica were called Plagal. These are believed to have been expressive of variable emotions, or of a more pensive and subdued state of religious feeling.

[1] *v.* Rev. Thomas Helmore in *Grove's Musical Dictionary*, vol. i, p. 626, article "Gregorian Modes."

and the Hypoionian. Thus resulted a complete scheme which has powerfully influenced the ecclesiastical music of the Western Church. The Ritual Service books have been a means of preserving this improved system, so that in most churches of Western Europe the psalm and canticle tunes, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Benedictus, the Antiphones, the Nicene Creed, the Processions, etc., are based essentially on the scheme which Gregory devised, and on whose strictest observance he so strongly insisted.[1]

Gregorian Antiphonarium.

Gregory also invented a system of notation for his improved method. Tradition says that his *Antiphonarium*, the book containing this notation, was kept chained to the altar in the Basilica of St. Peter's at Rome, in order that it might be immediately consulted in case of any suspected innovation in the choral service. In order to conform the music in the churches of his empire to this standard it is claimed that Charlemagne, in A. D. 790, applied to Pope Adrian I. for a copy of this manuscript Antiphonarium. The copy is now one of the most valued treasures in the library of the Abbey of St. Gall in Switzerland.[2]

The numæ.

Plate IX represents the first page of Lambillotte's facsimile of this famous manuscript. It contains portions of Psalm xxv; on this page are parts of verses 1, 2, 3, 5.[3] The extreme care with which this work was prepared proves the thoroughness of the Gregorian reform. The various marks connected with the words, technically called *numæ*, have elicited the most careful and patient study; but their meaning and use have not yet been determined. Whether they were a system of musical notation, or were indications to the singers of variation in quality and volume of tone, is still a matter of debate. Already in the time of Guido of

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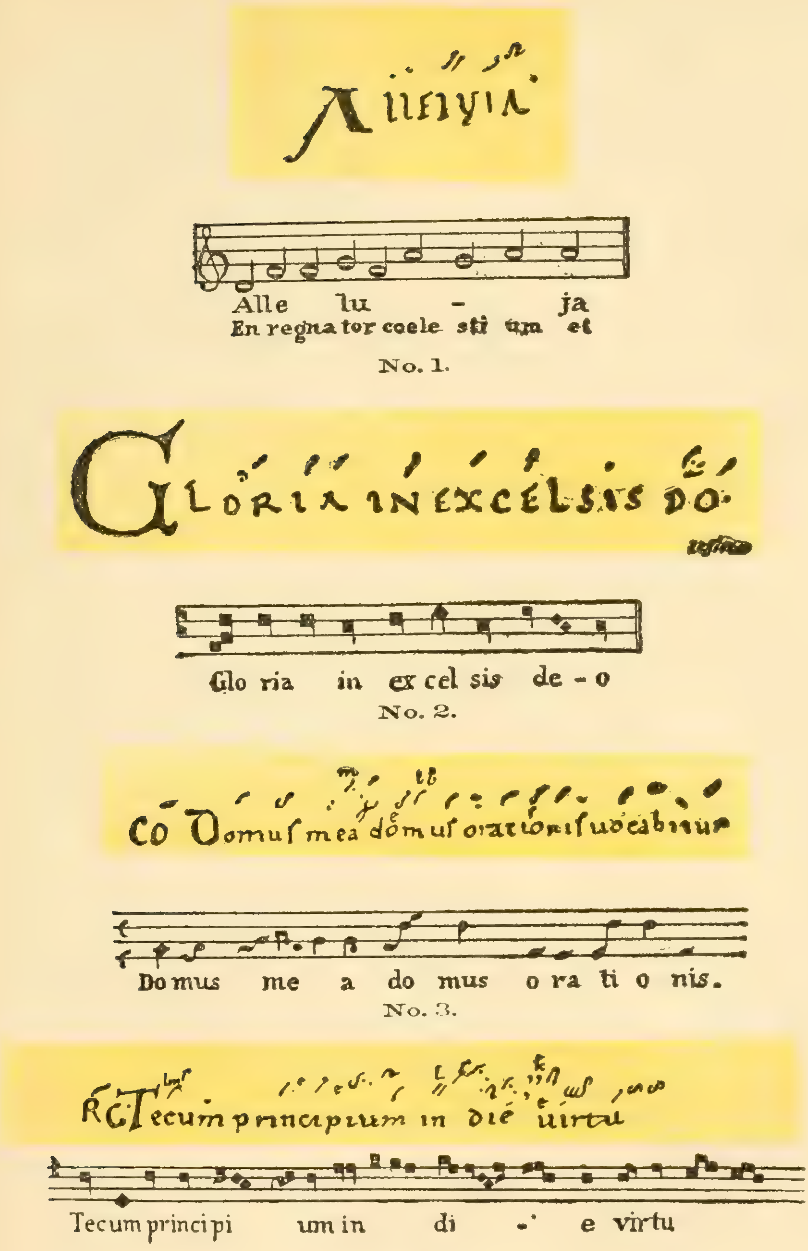
[1] Helmore: *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 627.

[2] This copy at St. Gall was most faithfully facsimiled under the direction of the zealous Jesuit, Lambillotte, in 1848 (*v.* his work *Antiphonaire de Saint Grégoire, Facsimile du Manuscript de Saint-Gall, VIII^e Siècle*, Paris, 1851, 4to.) He claims that the manuscript is authentic, and contains the system as it was instituted by Gregory. Against the objections to its authenticity urged by Danjou, Fétis, and others (who claim that it is of a later origin) Lambillotte gives what he regards abundant evidence, both external and internal, of its genuineness. The art work connected with the Antiphonarium would point to an origin not later than the tenth century, possibly considerably earlier. *v.* also Coussemaker: *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen age.*; and Schubiger: *Sängerschule St. Gallens vom achten bis zwölften Jahrhunderte.*

[3] The text is sufficiently clear to most readers: Ad te levavi animam meam, Deus meus, in te confido non erubescam. [Psalmus.] Vias tuas, Domine [ad repetendum], dirige me in veritate tua [responsorium graduale]. Universi qui te expectant non confundentur, Domine. Vias tuas, Domine, etc.


Alle lu - ja
En regna tor coele sti um et
Glo ria in ex cel sis de - o
Do mus me a do mus o ra ti o nis.
Tecum principi um in di e virtu

No. 1.

No. 2.

No. 3.

No. 4.

Plate X.—Facsimiles of Earliest Musical Manuscripts.

Arezzo (eleventh century) their signification had been lost.[1] Much learned comment upon them has appeared, and a few writers claim that the key to their meaning has been discovered.

Illustrations and translations.

We give examples from four most ancient and interesting codices, now preserved in the abbey libraries of St. Gall and Einsiedeln, Switzerland (*v.* Plate X). No. 1 is a "Hallelujah" from the tenth century,[2] giving the accompanying numæ and the suggested translation into modern musical notation. It is from the library of St. Gall.

No. 2 is a facsimile of an early *Gloria in excelsis* from a codex now preserved in the abbey library of Einsiedeln.[3] The numæ are well defined; the manuscript is among the earliest. It is very interesting as giving this noble hymn of the early Church, and seems to justify the earnest attempts to find the key to the strange notation whose discovery would so materially aid in the appreciation of the work of Ambrose and of Gregory in the reform of ecclesiastical music.

No. 3 is from the same codex, showing a still more complicated system of numæ.[4] In the appended scale is given the proposed equivalent in the modern notation.

No. 4 is the copy of a portion of a very early codex in the abbey library of St. Gall,[5] in which the numæ are found in their greatest complication. As in the foregoing, the accompanying scale is a tentative translation of the same.

No key to the numæ.

While names and values have been given to every distinct numa and to their combination in these early manuscripts, it is exceedingly doubtful whether any of the interpretations have proved satisfactory; much less have they real historic foundation.

The Gregorian system contained the germs of the later advanced and perfected system of Church music; but during the stormy times following the pontificate of Gregory it fell somewhat into neglect, and even the hymns which he had so carefully prepared and arranged to music for the use of the Church were in danger of being lost. A few learned men took upon themselves the duty of saving to the Church what it would have been impossible to do by means of simple tradition. Even during the lifetime of Gregory the ambition of musical leaders strove to break away from the simplicity of his prescribed methods, and so frequent and serious were the innovations which threatened the purity of the choral service after his death that the ecclesiastical court at Rome was frequently besought by the temporal princes to interpose to restore it to its simplicity and save it from utter extinction.[1]

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[1] *v.* Migne: *Patrologiæ*, tom. 141, pp. 413, 414. *Aliæ Guidonis regulæ de ignoto cantu*, "Vix denique unus concordat alteri, non magistro discipulus nec discipulus condiscipulis," etc.

[2] From *Cod. S. Galli*, No. 338, sæc. x. *v.* Schubiger: *Sängerschule St. Gallen*, s. iv, No. 22.

[3] From *Cod. Einsidlensi*, No. 121. Schubiger: *Op. cit.*, s. iii, No. 5.

[4] Schubiger: *Op. cit.*, s. iii, No. 12.

[5] From *Codex S. Galli*, No. 359. Schubiger: *Op. cit.*, s. iii, No. 7.

Perpetuation of the Gregorian reform.

It is evident, therefore, that in the development of this new system Gregory and his helpers had a deeper insight into the essentials of an ecclesiastic music than any of their predecessors. While he betook himself without stint to the study of the music of the Greeks, his system was original in its greater simplicity, in the richness of its results, and in its practical adaptation to the wants of the Church. As in other fine arts, so here, from the materials at hand Christianity constructed a new body, and breathed into it its own new spirit of life and hope.[2] It is probable that the chants of the Christian liturgy had no more resemblance to the Greek melodies than the sacerdotal garments of the Christians had to those of the Levites or the priests of Zeus. In these respects this ecclesiastical music may be regarded as original, and not a derivation from the old Greek musical theory or notation.[3]

Its originality.

While it is probable that the Ambrosian chant, introduced into Milan, resembled in some respects that which was used in the churches of Basil and Chrysostom, it is nevertheless true that neither these simple modes, nor even the improved and perfected modes of the Gregorian chant, could satisfy the restless and fiery spirit of the East.

The Greek Church was then expending her energies in wrangling over dogmas often the most insignificant. The intimate relations of the temporal and ecclesiastical powers likewise subjected this Church to influences destructive of the simplicity and purity of Christian faith. The great festivals were celebrated with a pomp and splendor of ceremonial before unknown. It was not the happy alliance of religion and art to express and more powerfully to inculcate the saving truths of Christianity, but a degeneration into a semibarbarian finery and senseless extravagance indicative of spiritual bondage, and destructive alike of purity of doctrine and of nobility of art. Hence this

Music declined in the Eastern churches.

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[1] Kiesewetter: *Op. cit.*, p. 7. Hawkins: *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 131.

[2] Ambros: *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 11.

[3] Clément: *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

condition of absolutism in the state, and of superstition in the Church, was most unfavorable to the development of poetry and music, as well as of painting and sculpture. Hence, too, the simple and impressive Gregorian modes were never introduced into the Greek Church. New and extravagant modes were devised, and the singing of the processions and of the Church services was intermingled with the braying of trumpets and the clangor of horns. Only eunuchs were admitted to the choirs, whose very dress was an example of degenerate finery. Thus every thing in the Greek Church, after the sixth century, took on that type which is the sure effect, as well as evidence, of a decadence of faith and manners.[1] The bondage of art to false and degenerate Church standards repressed all vigor and originality in the artists. The iconoclastic spirit declared war against sculptured images, while a subsequent degrading superstition came to attach special sanctity to the most grotesque and repulsive pictures.[2]

Decadence of faith brought decadence of art.

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[1] Early Christian music is a subject of peculiar difficulty. The researches of the historians have been most thorough; yet with respect to some features of the subject there seems to be little promise of substantial agreement. The immense literature of the subject, down to near the end of the eighteenth century, as given by Forkel: *Allgemeine Literatur der Musik*, etc., Leipzig, 1792, and by other writers since his day, may well induce modesty of opinion respecting many controverted points.

[2] "The ruder the art the more intense the superstition. The perfection of the fine arts tends rather to diminish than promote such superstition. . . . There is more direct idolatry paid to the rough and illshapen image, or the flat, unrelieved, or staring picture—the former actually clothed in gaudy or tinsel ornaments, the latter with the crown of goldleaf on the head, and real or artificial flowers in the hand—than to the noblest ideal statue, or the Holy Family with all the magic of light and shade." Milman: *Latin Christianity*, ii, pp. 303, 304.

"These miraculous images were not admitted to be the work of man, but were proclaimed to have fallen from heaven, to have been dug from the bowels of the earth, or obtained in some similar mysterious manner. Others were said to be as old as the religion itself, such as the picture of Christ in Edessa, given by the Saviour himself to the messengers of King Abgarus, and the many portraits of the Madonna painted by the evangelist Luke, etc. Idolatry of this kind excited the ridicule of the unbelieving, the serious disapprobation of the Church, and, finally, the forcible interference of the temporal powers. This destruction of earlier artistic monuments, and interference with the customary pictures, resulted in a change in the traditional manner of representation, and gave to all succeeding Byzantine art a somewhat different character. The objection had not been raised against painting itself, but against the portrayal of Christ, of the Virgin, and of the saints: thus the attention of the artists was diverted from sacred subjects to other themes, and the merely decorative treatment of the ecclesiastical edifices again became of importance." Reber: *History of Mediæval Art*, New York, 1887, p. 92.

"Let us be thoroughly penetrated with the thought that art is also to itself a kind of religion. God manifests himself to us by the idea of the true, by the idea of the good, by the idea of the beautiful. Each one of them leads to God, because it comes from him. True beauty is ideal beauty, and ideal beauty is the reflection of the infinite. So, independently of all official alliance with religion and morals, art is by itself essentially religious and moral; for, far from wanting its own law, its own genius, it everywhere expresses in its works eternal beauty. . . . Every work of art, whatever may be its form, small or great, figured, sung, or uttered—every work of art, truly beautiful or sublime—throws the soul into a gentle reverie that exalts it toward the infinite. The infinite is the common limit after which the soul aspires upon the wings of imagination as well as reason, by the route of the sublime and beautiful as well as by that of the true and the good. The emotion that the beautiful produces turns the soul from this world; it is the beneficent emotion that art produces for humanity." Cousin: *The True, the Beautiful, and the Good*, p. 164.

BOOK SECOND.

THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

THE ARCHÆOLOGY

OF

CHURCH CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN ITS IDEA AND ORIGIN.

§ 1. *New Testament Idea of the Church.*

A kingdom.

CHRIST taught his disciples to pray, "Thy kingdom come" (Matt. vi, 10). He designates his Church as "the kingdom of God," *τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ* (Matt. vi, 33; John iii, 3, *et al.*); "the kingdom of heaven," *ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* (Matt. v, 3; xi, 11; xviii, 1, *et al.*); or simply "my kingdom," or "the kingdom," *ἡ βασιλεία μου, τὴν βασιλείαν* (Matt. xiii, 38; Luke xii, 32; Luke xxii, 30, *et al.*).

The term *ἐκκλησία*[1] is used by Christ (Matt. xvi, 18) to describe the unified and collected body of disciples; in Matt. xviii, 17, it seems restricted and localized.[2] It is applied by Luke to the company of the disciples on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii, 47); and to an ordinary town assembly (Acts xix, 41). In other passages in the New Testament it signifies the whole body of sanctified Christian believers (Eph. v, 27; Phil. iii, 6; Col. i, 18, 24, *et al.*); an organized church placed under pastors (1 Cor. xii, 18; Phil. iv, 15, *et al.*); the separate societies of a district or province (Gal. i, 2; 2 Cor. vii, 19); and sometimes the Christians gathered for worship, or the assemblies of these societies (1 Cor. iv, 17; xiv, 19–28, *et al.*). In all these passages the word measurably preserves its radical signification, *καλεῖν, to call, to invite; κλῆσις, a call, a calling, "the divine invitation to embrace salvation in the kingdom of God"* (Thayer's Grimm-Wilkie, *s. v.*); *κλητοί, the called, "the invited to salvation,"* etc. The fundamental notion thus suggested by this word is the body or assembly of those called or "*invited to obtain eternal salvation in the kingdom of God through Christ.*"

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[1] Hatch shows that *ἐκκλησία* was the term used for the "meeting" of the associations of which there were so many in the early centuries. *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, p. 30.

[2] On the genuineness of Matt. xvi, 18, and xviii, 17, much diversity of opinion exists.

The body of Christ.

Another characterization quite frequent in the epistles is *σῶμα Χριστοῦ* (1 Cor. xii, 27; Eph. iii, 6; iv, 4, *et al.*). "Ye are the *body of Christ*," and this "body is one," of which "Christ is the Saviour."

A temple.

The Church is also represented under the figure of a "spiritual house," *οἶκος πνευματικός* (1 Pet. ii, 5), which is composed of all God's people, and which he makes his dwelling-place (1 Cor. iii, 16, 17; 2 Cor. vi, 16; Rev. xxi, 3, *et al.*); of "a house, a holy temple in the Lord," *εἰς ναὸν ἅγιον ἐν κυρίῳ* (Eph. ii, 21, 22).

The Bride.

It is also spoken of as the Bride, of whom Christ is the Bridegroom, *τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν νύμφην τοῦ ἀρνίου* (Eph. v, 31, 32; Rev. xxi, 9); the Light of the World, *τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου* (Matt. v, 14), *et al.*

An organism.

From such characterizations it is evident that the vital element of the Church is spiritual. Its inspiration is from above; its essential life comes from direct contact with its Head and Lord. It is more than the aggregated life of those who have been sanctified by the Spirit through faith in Christ; it is a living organism, in which each feels the inspiration of the entire body, and the whole is sustained and invigorated by the abiding holiness of the individual members.

A visible form.

Nevertheless, like the Holy Scriptures, it contains a divine and a human element—a spirit and a body. While the life is spiritual, it must have a medium of manifestation. The visible Church is this body of divinely called or invited men and women, organized for moral and religious ends, and which is to become the channel through which, ordinarily, redemption is brought to fallen men, and they are fitted for the companionship of the Church triumphant.[1] The Church is therefore the outward form which results from the Christian life, as this is inspired and developed by the divine Spirit, and modified by providential environments (Matt. xviii, 15–18; John x, 16; 1 Cor. xii, 27; Eph. iv, 25, *et al.*).

§ 2. *The Names applied to its Members.*

Disciples.

The terms applied to its individual members will further illustrate the original conception of the Church. In the evangelists they are known only as "disciples," *μαθηταί*, of Christ; those who are in the relation of learners to a master, whose doctrine they seek to understand and heartily embrace. They are believers, *πιστοί*, who apprehend the Messiahship of Christ through his words and works. They are brethren, *ἀδελφοί*, who are born of the same spirit, and are associated in most intimate fellowship with their Lord and with each other, as in a common family.

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[1] This triumph and completion of the "kingdom of heaven" would be fully realized only at the reappearing of Christ on earth. The powerful influence of this expectation of the speedy second coming of the Saviour is seen in various passages of the apostolic writings.

Believers.

Brethren.

In their epistles the apostles frequently speak of the members of the Church as the "holy," *ἅγιοι*, set apart to sacred uses; the "elect," *ἐκλεκτοί*, chosen for good works to the honor of his name; "a chosen generation," *τὸ γένος ἐκλεκτόν*; "a royal priesthood," *βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα*; "a holy nation," *ἔθνος ἅγιον* (1 Pet. ii, 9). In Antioch they were first called "Christians," *Χριστιανοί*, that is, the dependents, the clients of their master, Christ.[1] Their Jewish enemies applied to them opprobrious epithets, as Nazarenes, *Ναζωραῖοι* (Acts xxiv, 5); Galileans, *Γαλιλαῖοι*,[2] expressive of the low popular estimate placed upon the city and province where was the home of Christ and his first followers (Acts ii, 7).

Opprobrious epithets.

§ 3. *The Apostolate.*

While the institution of a church by Christ is unquestionable, and its essential nature and design are clearly revealed, we search in vain in the acts and words of our Lord for any traces of an ecclesiastical constitution. He spoke of a kingdom; he chose and trained apostles to preach the truth pertaining to it; he prescribed the conditions of citizenship therein; in the last Supper he provided a centre of worship, and of possible future organization. The Church shall not lack an infallible Guide, for "when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth" (John xvi, 13). Nor shall the kingdom which Christ has established fail; rather must it "accomplish that which he please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto he sent it" (Isa. lv, 2). But what specific form it is to assume in fulfilling the purpose of its institution is not given by the Founder; no type of organization

Its triumph assured.

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[1] The origin of this name is not altogether certain. Probably it was first applied to the disciples by the heathen residents of Antioch. It is only in harmony with other examples in the history of the Christian Church, where a name that was at first used derisively was afterward accepted by the parties themselves. For example, Beghards, Methodists, etc. *v.* Lipsius: *Ueber Ursprung u. Gebrauch den Christennamens*, Jena, 1873.

[2] The Emperor Julian "countenanced, and probably enjoined, the use of the less honourable appellation of Galileans. . . . contemptible to men and odious to the gods." *v.* Gibbon: *Decline and Fall*, etc., chap. xxiii.

No inspired form.

Charisms.

is anywhere revealed. The single suggestion relative to the treatment of offenders seems to recognise the body of the Church as the depository of all governing and disciplinary power (Matt. xviii, 17); and the decisions of the early church, thus guarded from error by the Holy Ghost, were to be final with respect to faith and morals (Matt. xviii, 18; John xx, 23; Gal. ii, 7–9, *et al.*). By virtue of their receiving divine enlightenment, of sharing the divine nature, and of the impartation of those special charisms by which they could discern the character of spirits, the apostles and the primitive church were qualified to bind or loose (*δέειν*, *λύειν*), to remit or retain (*ἀφιέναι*, *κρατεῖν*), the sins of the people.

The early converts adhered to the temple service.

The lack of a distinct and thorough organization is likewise manifest from the continued participation of the apostles and disciples in the temple service after the ascension of Christ. They still observed the Jewish ordinances, and acknowledged the rightful authority of those in Moses' seat. While often meeting by themselves to listen to the preaching of the apostles, to pray, and to celebrate the communion in the breaking of bread, they nevertheless regarded themselves as still within the pale of the Jewish church, fulfilled the obligations thereby imposed, and revered the temple as the sanctuary of the Most High God.

Christ alone was teacher, the apostles were disciples.

Notwithstanding the prevalence of the new spirit of brotherly love, which led them to hold all things in common, and to sell their estates and place the price in the apostles' hands; and notwithstanding the rapid increase of the number of the disciples, from about six hundred at the date of the ascension to five thousand within forty days thereafter, there is no evidence of an ecclesiastical organization. The apostles appear prominent as actors in the history, but the spirit of prophecy rests upon the body of believers as well. The pungent preaching of Peter is scarcely more effective than the exercise of the varied gifts of the Spirit bestowed upon both men and women. The statement that the multitude who were converted under the preaching of Peter "continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine" (Acts ii, 42) might at first appear to clothe the apostles with the authority of original teachers, to whom the others stood in the relation of disciples (*μαθηταί*). This view appears, however, untenable from the positive injunction of Christ himself, "But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your master, *ὁ διδάσκαλος*, even Christ; and all ye are brethren," *οἱ ἀδελφοί* (Matt. xxiii, 8). The apostles imposed no doctrines of their own origination; they claimed no power to found schools or make disciples;[1] rather were they, and all who should believe on Christ through their preaching, alike disciples (μαθηταί) of one common Master. This view was strongly emphasized by Paul when he rebuked the Corinthian believers for their factious attachment to different teachers, thus fostering contention and dividing the body of Christ (1 Cor. i, 12, 13; iii, 4–6). The business of the apostles was not to make law for the Church, nor to institute any exclusive form of ecclesiastical constitution; but they were to preach the Gospel as they had received it from their Master, and inspire in the hearts of men faith in the doctrines which Jesus had taught them, and in the kingdom which he had come to establish (Matt. x, 7, *et seq.*; Acts ii, 32; iii, 15, 16; xiii, 31; xxvi, 22, 23; 1 Cor. iv, 5; Eph. iii, *et al*).

A fellowship.

The bond existing between the early disciples was, in its essential nature and purpose, far other and much more wide-reaching than that implied in a "school," or "guild;" it was best expressed by the word "fellowship" (κοινωνία);[2] they being partakers of a like faith in Christ, which was the inspiration of all their activities, and having a consciousness of common citizenship in the kingdom of God. This helps us to understand the fact already hinted at; namely, that the apostles and first disciples did not wish to be considered apostates from the old faith, but because they remained Jews they regarded themselves subject to the local authorities, and recognised the Sanhedrin as the supreme court.[3] A special and independent constitution was not yet thought of.

This view further illustrated.

The apostolate was originally instituted as a means of extending the Church through the preaching of doctrines which had been communicated by the infallible Christ (Mark xiv, 15). Its original number corresponded to that of the twelve tribes of Israel, and was, therefore, chosen in deference to the history and prejudices of the existing Jewish church (Matt. xix, 28; Luke xxii, 30). By careful training the twelve had been fitted to become the preachers and custodians of the truth which was to be accepted by all who would become the disciples of their Master.[1]

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[1] "Jesus was no founder of a sect. He had no desire to found a school; his ministry was directed to the people as a nation." *v.* Weiss: *Life of Christ*, Clark's trans., vol. ii, pp. 259, 260. "He was conscious of being in the strictest sense the King of humanity, and of founding a kingdom." Lange: *Life of Christ*, Edinburgh, 1864, vol. ii, p. 188.

[2] Compare Acts ii, 42 with Gal. ii, 9; also Acts i, 13, *sq.*, reveals the real bond of the first believers, and the simplicity of their assembly.

[3] Weizsäcker: *Das apostolische Zeitalter der christlichen Kirche*, Freiburg, 1886, ss. 36–38.

Apostles known to the Jewish Church.

The term "apostles" was in familiar use among the Jews. In the various centres where the Jews of the Dispersion had settled, large sums of money were contributed for the maintenance of the temple service at Jerusalem; and after the destruction of the temple by Titus this tribute was still collected by messengers, *ἀπόστολοι*, sent out by the patriarch of Jerusalem for this purpose. These are referred to by the early Christian writers and were the occasion of legal enactments.[2] It has also been well established that there was a Jewish propaganda for the dissemination of correct religious knowledge among the heathen, as well as for the preservation of the true faith among the Jews.[3] Nor can it be doubted that the Christians may have accepted the institution of apostles and their work from the then existing Jewish apostolate, and not the contrary.[4] The account (Acts xi, 27–30) of the work of Barnabas and Saul in bringing aid to the suffering brethren at Jerusalem reminds us directly of the functions of the Jewish apostles, so that before they are called apostles (Acts xiii, 14) they are doing the identical work which fell to these officers in the Jewish church. When, therefore, Jesus used the word "apostles" to designate the disciples whom he called to a special work, the term was not new nor unfamiliar to his hearers.[5]

By the spiritual endowments vouchsafed to them in virtue of being witnesses of the resurrection, and by the promised aid of the Holy Spirit, they were to be the representatives of Christ with respect to matters of life and doctrine. They were to be overseers and guides of no single society or diocese, but were themselves to be the pillars of the whole Church, Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. Their work was peculiar, their relation was unique. They were without predecessors; they were to have no successors.[1] The preaching of the word, the care of all the churches and their grounding in the truth, the careful guarding of the doctrine which they had received from all admixture of error, the care of souls, and the relief of the pressing needs of the poorer brethren were the distinguishing features of the apostolic function.

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[1] The exact time and circumstances of the call of the apostles are not readily determined, since it is not easy to harmonize the statements of the Synoptists. It is very probable that they were called at different times, as Jesus found men who were judged fit to be trained to become preachers of his doctrine.

[2] *v.* Schürer: *The Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ*, Edinburgh, 1885, vol. ii, pp. 269. 289. S. quotes the following authorities; Eusebius: *Comment ad Jesaj.*, xviii, 1. Epiphanius: *Haer*, xxx, 4, 11. Jerome: *ad Gal*, i, 1. *Codex Theodos.*, xvi, 8, 14.

[3] *v.* Hausrath: *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, Bd. ii, ss. 95, *seq.*, 101, *seq.*; Shürer: *Op. cit.*, pp. 297–307; and the authorities cited by S., pp. 304, 305. Harnack: *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1894, bd. i, ss. 73–75.

[4] *v.* Lightfoot: *Com. on Galatians*, p. 94, note 1.

[5] *v.* Seufert: *Der Ursprung u. die Bedeutung des Apostolates*, etc., s. 13.

Other ministers.

With the apostolic age this function ceased. The term apostle was not, however, confined to the original twelve, but was extended to those who had been intimately associated with them, and with Paul and Barnabas, in the extension of the Gospel and in the care of the churches. At this time the word seems to have had a broader application. Paul calls Titus and his fellow laborers "apostles of the churches," *ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν*, (2 Cor. viii, 23); and he speaks of himself, Timothy, and Sylvanus, as the "apostles of Christ," *ἀπόστολοι Χριστοῦ* (1 Thess. ii, 6); he is associated with Barnabas under the expression, *σὺν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις* (Acts xiv, 4); Barnabas and himself are equal to the other apostles, the brethren of the Lord and Cephas, *ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι κ.τ.λ.*, in matters of Christian freedom and privilege (1 Cor. ix, 5); and James seems to be reckoned among the apostles, *ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων κ.τ.λ.* (Gal. i, 19).

The twelve—its significance.

From these passages, as well as from the statements in the apostolic fathers, and of the "*Διδαχή τῶν δώδεκα 'Αποστόλων*,"[2] it must be inferred that there was no strict limitation of the term apostle to the number of twelve. "The twelve" was applied to the apostles of the circumcision as representative of the twelve tribes of Israel, and continued to be the leading idea in the Apocalypse, whose whole imagery is essentially Jewish.[3] Paul (1 Cor. xv, 5, 7) distinguishes, however, between "the twelve" and "all the apostles," *τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν*, who had seen the Lord. His statement may help to understand the ground of the extension of the term "apostle" to the seventy whom Christ had sent forth, and to those who had seen him after his resurrection, and were therefore competent witnesses to this vital truth.

While these various persons were performing duties which might characterize them as "the sent," they were, nevertheless, in the opinion of the Jewish Christians, lacking in some of the qualifica-

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[1] "The twelve, as the first preachers of the Gospel trained by the Lord for that end, occupied a position in the Church that could be filled by none that came after them. They were the foundation stones on which the walls of the Church were built. They sat, so to speak, on episcopal thrones, judging, guiding, ruling the twelve tribes of the true Israel of God, the holy commonwealth embracing all who professed faith in Christ." *v.* Bruce: *Training of the Twelve*, pp. 257, 258.

[2] *Teaching of the Twelve*, ch. xi.

[3] Lightfoot: *Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 95.

Other apostles.

tions essential to the real apostolate. As Paul here informs us, these had "seen the Lord," but had not been immediately chosen by him for their work, nor received from him special instruction in the truth, both of which were regarded by the Christians of the circumcision as among the peculiar marks of an apostle. The persons thus referred to as apostles, together with Mark, Timothy, Silas, Apollos, Trophimus, and others, were probably evangelists, itinerant preachers,[1] fellow-labourers with "the twelve," ministers of the word, or delegates entrusted with some special mission to the churches.

The first test of apostleship.

Others, as Barnabas,[2] Manaen, Agabus, etc., were specially endowed with prophetic gifts, and had the peculiar power of discerning the qualities and spiritual condition of those to whom important functions were to be entrusted. They thus possessed another indispensable requisite for an apostle, to which Paul appealed in his conflict with the Judaizing opposers of his own claim to be of equal rank, dignity, and authority with even the "pillar apostles," namely, success in preaching the word and in building up the kingdom of the Messiah (1 Cor. ix, 1, 2). When this important test of the apostolic office is applied to those whom Paul calls apostles, it may be safely inferred that only by the Christians of the circumcision could this term be limited to "the twelve," while in the thought of those who had embraced the universalism of the apostle to the Gentiles the apostolate was of broader scope and deeper import. This struggle between narrow and exclusive limitations on the part of the Judaizing sects and the Gentile Christians continued in the second century, long after the death of the original twelve.

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[1] It is interesting to notice the use of the term "apostle," ἀπόστολος, in the "Teaching of the Twelve," which probably belongs to the last quarter of the first, or the first quarter of the second century. He is a sort of itinerant preacher, having less claim to honour than the prophet, προφήτης. "But in regard to the apostles and prophets, according to the ordinance of the gospel, so do ye. And every apostle who cometh to you, let him be received as the Lord; but he shall not remain *more than* one day; if however there be need, then the next *day;* but if he remains three days he is a false prophet. But when the apostle departeth, let him take nothing except bread enough until he lodge *again;* but if he ask money he is a false prophet." *v.* chap. xi.

[2] Barnabas by special ordination (Acts xiii, 3), and by intimate association with Paul (Acts xiv, 12; xv, 2; Gal. ii, 1, *et al.*), stands specially near the twelve in dignity and honour.

CHAPTER II.

THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH—ITS COMPOSITION AND OFFICERS.

§ 1. *The Apostles and Deacons.*

Imperfect organization.

First discipline inflicted.

In the earliest stage of the history of Christianity scarcely a trace of a distinctive organization is noticed. The Christian church, as sharply distinguished from the Jewish, did not yet exist. Of a distinctive church office, and of a formal church constitution, there is as yet no evidence. The apostles were, for the most part, the mouthpiece and representative authority of the Christian community while it was yet one and undivided at Jerusalem. To them the freewill offerings were brought, through their word the first ecclesiastical discipline was inflicted in the death of Ananias and Sapphira.[1] As helpers in the performance of mere manual labor they appear to have had some younger men, *οἱ νεώτεροι*, of the company (Acts v, 6–10), whose service was voluntary rather than official. This superiority and leadership, and the consequent limitations of the authority of the body of believers, seemed due rather to the personal endowments of the twelve, their authority derived from Christ, and the manifest success of their ministry, than to the prerogatives attaching to a specific office[2] (1 Thess. ii, 7–10; 1 Cor. ix, 2; 2 Cor. xii, 12, etc.).

First officers.

The large accessions to the body of believers, however, early brought the evident necessity for a more methodical administration. The diversity of elements already found in the Christian society occasioned an unequal distribution of the charities which had been so liberally provided under the first impulse of a new faith and experience. To remove the cause of complaint, the recommendation of the twelve that "seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom" (Acts vi, 3), be appointed to this business, resulted in a division of labour most simple and salutary. The choice of the "multitude of the disciples,"

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[1] Thiersch calls this punishment "the fearful act of divine ecclesiastical discipline." *v. Die Kirche im apostolischen Zeitalter*, 3te Aufl., 1879, s. 75.

[2] Among others *v.* Bickell: *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, Frankfort, 1849, s. 71. Neander: *Planting and Training*, etc., trans. by Ryland, New York, 1844, p. 33. Weizsäcker: *Op. cit.*, s. 611. Lechler: *Das apostolische u. nachapostolische Zeitalter*, Leipzig, 1885, s. 91.

"the whole multitude," fell upon seven devout men "whom they set before the apostles; and when they had prayed they laid their hands upon them" (Acts vi, 6). Such was the occasion and such were the circumstances of the institution of the earliest distinct class of officers—the deacons.[1]

While the terms *διακονία*, *διακονεῖν*, etc., are used both in the New Testament[2] and by the early Christian fathers[3] in connection with any one who ministers, it is likewise applied to presbyters and bishops, and even to the apostles themselves. From the history given in the Acts of the Apostles, no conclusive evidence appears that in the apostolic Church there was more than one order of ministers, aside from the apostles.[4] While there is a variety of terms, these are neither clearly defined nor are the duties easily determinable. This was in harmony with the existing conditions of religious activity and devotion, and is entirely analogous to other institutions in the incipient stages of their organization. Not until the second century is the term deacon used with absolute precision of reference and function. Nevertheless, when Irenæus[5] marks with definiteness this term, he also insists that the order instituted by the apostles was identical with that of his day. The almost uniform traditions sustain this view, while the Latin Church, in deference to the apostles' institution, long restricted the number of deacons in a single church to seven. At a later period, when the organization of the Church had become more formal, the original functions of "the seven" were more clearly limited to the deacons, until the institution of hospitals, almshouses, orphanages, etc., transferred to others the services at first assigned to them.

But one order at first.

Who were the deacons?

The qualifications for this office, as enumerated by Paul (1 Tim. iii, 8, *seq.*), are just of that nature to fit them for mingling with the church in most familiar relations, to ascertain and relieve the wants of the poorer members with delicacy, appropriate reticence, and freedom from temptation to avaricious greed. It is noticeable that gravity, honest words, temperance, unselfishness, probity in themselves and in their households, and an honest faith outrank "aptness to teach," which in the context is said to be an indispensable qualification of the presbyter or bishop.

Gravity of their functions.

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[1] While Luke does not call the seven "deacons," the word was evidently derived from *διακονία*, the distribution of alms, which was their original function.

[2] Acts i, 24; 1 Cor. iii, 5; 2 Cor. vi, 4; Eph. iii, 7, *et al.*

[3] Chrysostom: *Hom.* 1 in Phil. i, 1, *et al.*

[4] Neander: *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

[5] Irenæus, i, 26, 3; iii, 12, 10.

Adopted by the Gentile churches.

Deaconesses.

There is abundant evidence that this office, first instituted in Jerusalem in a church composed almost exclusively of Jewish converts, was also widely adopted by churches of Gentile origin. At Corinth and Rome, likewise in the societies of Asia Minor, are met those "helps," *ἀντιλήψεις* (1 Cor. xii, 28), and "ministrations," *εἴτε διακονίαν ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ* (Rom. xii, 7), which were the peculiar duty of the deacons.[1] The office seems to have been generally recognized, although there are intimations that it was not regarded as absolutely indispensable.[2] A little later in the apostolic period is noticed a further provision for the more complete oversight and care of the poor. "The strict seclusion of the female sex in Greece and in some Oriental countries necessarily debarred them from the ministrations of men; and to meet the want thus felt it was found necessary at an early date to admit women to the diaconate. A woman deacon belonging to the church of Cenchreæ is mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans.[3] . . . Again passing over an interval of some years we find St. Paul, in the First Epistle to Timothy (1 Tim. iii, 8, *seq.*), about A. D. 66, giving express directions as to the qualifications of men-deacons and women-deacons alike."[4]

The diaconate peculiarly Christian.

Thus it is seen that to the deacons and deaconesses was assigned primarily the duty of ministration to the poor, and the oversight of the temporal affairs of the Christian societies, yet the deacons retaining, as in the case of Stephen and Philip, the right to teach and baptize.[5] "The deacons became the first preachers of Christianity; they were the first evangelists, because they were the first to find their way to the homes of the poor. They were the constructors of the most solid and durable of the institutions of Christianity, namely, the institutions of charity and beneficence."[6] Of all the offices of the Church the diaconate seems peculiarly Christian in conception and origin. The attempts to derive it from the synagogue[7] have proved unsatisfactory. The peculiar exigencies of the early apostolic Church compelled its institution. It was almost entirely independent of all then extant models and precedents, and in nature and function was original and unique.[1]

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[1] *v.* Lightfoot: *The Christian Ministry*; in *Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians*, 8th edition, London, 1885, p. 191.

[2] *v.* Titus i, 5, *seq.*

[3] Chap. xvi, 1. *Φοίβην τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡμῶν, οὖσαν διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας κ.τ.λ.*

[4] Lightfoot: *Op. cit.*, id.

[5] Acts vii; viii, 35–40.

[6] Stanley: *Christian Institutions.* New York, 1881, pp. 210, 211.

[7] Vitringa: *de Syn. Vet.*, p. 885. *seq.*, especially insists that the deacon of the Christian Church finds its suggestion in the chazan of the synagogue.

They also preached the word.

To their humbler work of the administration of charities were united, in the case of some, at least, certain spiritual functions. Stephen, a Hellenist, "with a remarkable depth of historical perspective," shocked the narrow exclusiveness of the orthodox Jews by clear intimations that the temple might not remain the center of the national worship, but that the principle expressed by Christ to the Samaritan woman might be an accomplished fact in the history of the favored people (John iv, 21–23). His powerful preaching precipitated a crisis, and the disciples "were scattered abroad" by the persecution that followed. Another of the seven, Philip, exhibited his broad catholicity of spirit by preaching to the Samaritans and to the Ethiopian eunuch. His baptism of the latter also illustrates the nature and importance of the functions of the diaconate. Added to distribution of alms for the relief of the poor, the work of preaching the Gospel and the administration of baptism are here connected with the work of a deacon.

Prior to the first persecution no proper church.

The dispersion which resulted from the persecution after the martyrdom of Stephen, and the large accessions of believers through preaching of the Gospel in other parts of Judea, in Samaria and in Syria, compelled a new order of supervision. Prior to this scattering abroad the distinction between a simple congregation of believers and a church had not been recognised. It was but natural that the new societies should, in their order and management, be modeled after the parent church. Moreover, in Jerusalem and the adjacent districts there seems to have been a method of supervision and government somewhat similar to that which later obtained in the cathedral churches of other great capitals, and in the suburban societies. No sooner does news come to the apostles of the acceptance of the Gospel in any part than a delegation is sent to make examination, to direct the work, and confirm the believers in the truth (Acts vii, 14, *seq.*; xi, 22, *seq.*).

This fact assists to answer the question: how far the different

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[1] In this view Neander, Baumgarten, Schaff, Baur, Renan, Lightfoot, and others substantially agree. Böhmer supposes that "the seven" had been elders; and with him Ritschl agrees: *Altkath. Kirche*, 2te Aufl., ss. 353, *seq.* Lange holds that from "the seven" the two orders of deacons and of elders were afterward differentiated. *v. Apostolische Zeitalter*, Bd. ii, ss. 73, 539, *seq.* This is also the opinion of Döllinger: *The First Age of the Church*, vol. ii, p. 111.

There was a union.

The Church first organized.

societies of Jewish Christians were thenceforth unified in what may properly be called "the Church." A careful study of all the circumstances attending these visitations will impress us that the various societies were, to a large degree, united in spirit, life, doctrine, and government. The apostles had an oversight and care of these as well as of the mother church in Jerusalem. This is manifest from their sending Barnabas to confirm the disciples at Antioch (Acts xi, 22). True, no definite proof is found in the history that this union was legal, formal, or expressed through the appointment of officers, or by the adoption of a formal constitution; but the conduct of the Apostles during their visitations shows that by virtue of their own personal character, of the authority derived from Christ in their first call to be the leaders of his Church, and of a common spirit that animated all believers, there was a unity of the various societies into a virtual Church.[1] It is remarkable that the historian says (Acts ix, 31): "So *the Church, ἡ ἐκκλησία*, throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria, had peace, being edified."[2]

James—his office.

Similar to the later bishop.

The second stage in the development of the organization of the Church is further marked through the occupancy by James of the chief place at Jerusalem. While the apostles were absent upon their missionary journeys, proclaiming the Gospel of the kingdom, or visiting the new communities that had believed, he became their mouthpiece or vicar. His personal character, as brother of the Lord, gave to his leadership dignity and authority which were generally recognised by the churches of Samaria, Judea, Galilee, the Phenician coasts, and by the congregations of the Dispersion. While he is never in the Scriptures called a bishop, and while there is no evidence of his special ordination to this office, his functions seem to have been very similar to those of the bishops of the following century; he is, therefore, sometimes recognised as the first bishop of Jerusalem.[3] At other times, however, he appears as a member of a council with the apostles and presbyters, of commanding influence, but with no official character.[1]

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[1] Compare Rothe: *Op. cit.*, ss. 278, *seq.*, and Lechler: *Op. cit.*, ss. 86–91.

[2] The preponderance of authority is certainly in favor of *ἡ ἐκκλησία* rather than *αἱ ἐκκλησίαι*. The New Version adopts the former as the true text. Paul uses the plural as well (Gal. i, 22; 1 Thess. ii, 14). There seems a suggestion that while the local congregations retained their independence there was a wider unity and fellowship, if not government, recognised. *v. Andover Rev.*, Feb., 1887, p. 217.

[3] Rothe: *Die Anfänge der christlichen Kirche*, s. 271. Lightfoot: *The Christian Ministry*, in Com. on Phil., p. 197. Cunningham: *The Growth of the Church*, etc., London, 1886, p. 60. "It is possible his position may have 'adumbrated' the episcopate, or even have done something toward paving the way to it." "But it is more probable that he owed this to his personal character."

§ 2. *Presbyters and Bishops.*

First pertained to local societies.

Presbyters common to Jewish and Christian societies.

In the apostolic Church are found other officers called indifferently *πρεσβύτεροι*, presbyters, or elders, and *ἐπίσκοποι*, bishops, or overseers. This office pertained to local congregations, and was extended as the churches multiplied under the preaching of the apostles, prophets, and evangelists. In distinction from the deacons, both "presbyter" and "overseer" were terms in common use by the Jewish church, by the heathen municipalities, and by the religious clubs, which were numerous throughout the Roman Empire. While the record is silent, it is nevertheless probable that peculiar exigencies of the Church called for the institution of the presbyters, as had been the case in the choice of "the seven." They first come into prominence on the scattering abroad of the disciples, and the withdrawing of the apostles from Jerusalem, in consequence of the persecution following the death of Stephen. In the absence of apostolic advisers, a body of presbyters is associated with James to give direction to the affairs of the Church. The manner in which they are mentioned in Acts xi, 30 (*τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους*) indicates a class of officials well known and established, and their connection with the reception of gifts for the poor, in the opinion of some, allies their duties with those of the deacons.[2] They come into greater prominence in Acts xv, 2, in association with the apostles. These, with the "brethren," constitute the council to which Paul and Barnabas, and the other messengers from the society at Antioch, refer the questions respecting circumcision. They unite with the apostles and the Church (*σὺν ὅλη τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*) in sending delegates to Antioch and other churches, who should bear the decision of the council (Acts xv, 22, 23). When Paul visits Jerusalem for the last time, he betakes himself to James, the president, where he finds all the elders assembled (Acts xxi, 18, *seq.*).

A council.

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[1] Neither Acts xii, 17, nor xv, 13–21, furnishes positive proof of the presidency of James, much less of a distinctively episcopal function. Acts xxi, 18, *seq.*, and Gal. i, 19; ii, 9, point somewhat more clearly to an official position. Hegesippus, among the very earliest of the writers of the second century, does not call James a bishop, but represents him as sharing with the apostles the government of the Church at Jerusalem. Eusebius: *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 23, 24. *v.* Lechler: *Das apostolische u. das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, 3te Aufl., s. 83. Ritschl: *Op. cit.*, ss. 417, *seq.*

[2] This is one ground for Ritschl's opinion, already referred to, that from "the seven" and their functions both the future diaconate and elderate were differentiated. *v. Die Entstehung der altkath. Kirche*, s. 358.

The presbyters already appear as the representatives and directors of the society at Jerusalem. Since their original function was chiefly oversight or government, the Jewish Christian congregations found in the Jewish synagogue a model which they readily adopted, and the Gentile churches found in the ἐπίσκοπος of the religious clubs an officer very similar in authority and function. It was his duty to care for the general order and preside at public deliberations. Nevertheless, it is manifest from various passages in the Acts, as well as from the epistles, that the whole Church participated in such deliberations, and sanctioned the decisions. In the various Jewish communities of the Dispersion, to which the apostles first betook themselves in the preaching of the Gospel, "there existed a governing body of elders whose functions were partly administrative and partly disciplinary. With worship and with teaching they appear to have had no direct concern. For those purposes, so far as they required officers, another set of officers existed. In other words, the same community met, probably in the same place, in two capacities and with a double organization. On the Sabbath there was an assembly, presided over by the ἀρχισυνάγωγος or ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, for the purposes of prayer and the reading of the Scriptures and exhortation; on two other days of the week there was an assembly, presided over by the γερουσιάρχης or ἄρχοντες or πρεσβύτεροι, for the ordinary purposes of a local court. Each community, whether assembling for the one class of purposes or the other, appears to have been in most cases independent. . . . Consequently, when the majority of the members of a Jewish community were convinced that Jesus was the Christ, there was nothing to interrupt the current of their former common life. There was no need for secession, for schism, for a change in the organization. The old form of worship and the old modes of government could still go on. . . . There is no trace of a break in the continuity; and there is consequently a strong presumption, which subsequent history confirms, that the officers who continued to bear the same names in the same community exercised functions closely analogous to those which they had exercised before; in other words, that the elders of the Jewish communities which had become Christian were, like the elders of the Jewish communities which remained Jewish, officers of administration and discipline."[1]

The entire society had part in the deliberations.

A double function.

Each congregation independent.

The presbyters officers of administration.

The fact that the Jewish Christians regarded themselves as only a sect within the Jewish church cannot be too much emphasized.

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[1] Hatch: *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, pp. 59–61.

Jewish Christians a sect in the Jewish Church.

They only recognised Jesus as the Messias, and were awaiting the time when all should receive their King, and Christ should return to set up his universal reign. The more thorough examination of all the hopes and expectations of the Jewish Christian societies, prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, leads to the belief that they looked upon their provisions for a special service, the care of their own poor, and the maintenance of order and regularity in their assemblies as something merely temporary, or as a means of influencing the whole chosen people to unite themselves with the new kingdom which was soon to be established.[1]

The early type republican.

Not monarchical.

The function of this body of Christian presbyters being at first like that of the Jewish presbyters in the synagogue, they must be regarded as an advisory board, whose decisions were looked upon with respect, and whose care for the congregations was official. Nor is there evidence that each ruled over a separate congregation, or over a section of the same congregation, without associates. The monarchical type of government which appeared at a later date does not accord with the genius of the apostolic age. The elders constitute rather a free deliberative body, which more resembles the meetings of the councils in the early republics of Greece. While no evidence exists that they or any other class monopolized the right of spiritual teaching and edification, they nevertheless so far directed it that it might be saved from confusion, and not degenerate into license or into the inculcation of false doctrine. Thus, while the apostles and evangelists were doing their work for the whole Church, the deacons and the body of presbyters became the instrument for the government of local societies, and for the regulation of its teaching, its worship, and its charities. The *χάρισμα διδασκαλίας* being of only transient utility, the more permanent and regular provision was necessary.

Nevertheless, the teaching function is clearly recognised as pertaining to this office. Especially after the rapid spread of the Gospel subsequent to the death of Stephen, when the apostles were no longer able to superintend the work in person, nor give direct instruction, the need of special and careful teaching by the elders was felt to be of chief importance. Doubtless the customs of the synagogues had direct influence in the appointment of the presbyters in the Christian societies. Just as there was no distinct line of demarkation between the ordinary members of the synagogue court, whose chief function was oversight and watchcare, and the learned members, wise men and scribes, who, in the time of Christ, had come to form a pretty well-defined class, but each did that for which his peculiar gifts or training best fitted him, so in Christian congregations, chiefly of Jewish origin, there was no sharp distinction between the teaching and governing function, but a large liberty was recognised, only that it be exercised in obedience to that wise law of spiritual economy inculcated alike by both the foremost apostles: "According as each hath received a gift, ministering it among yourselves, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God." "But to each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit to profit withal, . . . but all these worketh the one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one severally even as he will" (1 Pet. iv, 10, *seq.;* 1 Cor. xii, 7, *seq.*).

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[1] Lechler: *Op. cit.*, s. 93. This author says with regard to the seeming contradiction of this view in the fact of the fierce opposition of the Jews to the Christians, "The sundering of the band binding them to the theocracy was at first regarded as only possible, next as desirable, and finally as necessary." ss. 93, 94.

In the later Pauline writings, especially in the pastoral epistles and Ephesians, church officers and their duties are more fully treated than elsewhere in the New Testament. The language of the instructions suggests a more advanced stage of church organization than is implied in the writings of Peter or in the earlier epistles of Paul. The simple associations of the first believers, pervaded by a common spirit, and realizing the truest idea of fellowship, are, in these later writings, instructed as to the character and endowments of their office-bearers and the use of their gifts. The elders are here represented as overseers of the Church, and combine therewith the teaching function; but the distinction between a body of so-called "ruling" elders and of "teaching" elders is not clearly made; the same persons are represented as acting in this double capacity (Eph. iv, 11; 1 Tim. v, 17–19). Nevertheless, among the special qualifications for this office, as enumerated by Paul, is "aptness to teach" (1 Tim. iii, 2; iv, 13–16; 2 Tim. ii, 2, 24; Tit. i, 9, *seq.*); and it cannot be doubted that this function became increasingly important after the death of the apostles had deprived the Church of authoritative living teachers, and when the prediction of Paul respecting heretical doctrines had been sadly fulfilled (Acts xx, 29, 30).

Presbyters in Gentile churches.

The origin of the presbyters in those churches which were composed chiefly of Gentile converts is not so manifest. It has been suggested that it was spontaneous, and at first independent of Jewish influence. In the Græco-Roman world the two elements peculiar to the Jewish system of synagogical government, namely, a council or committee, and seniority, were widely recognised. "Every municipality of the empire was managed by its curia or senate. All associations, political or religious, with which the empire abounded had their committees of officers. It was, therefore, antecedently probable, even apart from Jewish influence, that when the Gentiles who had embraced Christianity began to be sufficiently numerous in a city to require some kind of organization that organization should take the prevailing form; that it should be not wholly, if at all, monarchical, nor wholly, though essentially, democratical, but that there should be a permanent executive consisting of a plurality of persons. . . . So strong was this idea (respect for seniority) that the terms which were relative to it were often used as terms of respect without reference to age. In the philosophical schools the professor was sometimes called ὁ πρεσβύτερος."[1]

It must not, however, be forgotten that, during the missionary activity of Paul and his associates in founding the churches which afterward were very largely composed of Gentile converts, the first believers, constituting the germ of these churches, were Jewish Christians, to whom the government of the synagogue was entirely familiar. When it is further considered how carefully Paul, in his extensive journeys, provides for the spiritual oversight of the churches, for the discipline, and for the general administration of their affairs; how he appoints elders in the churches of Pisidia and Lycaonia, in Ephesus, Thessalonica, Philippi, Rome, and Colossæ; how he declares to Titus that the chief reason of his being left in Crete was to "set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city" (Tit. i, 5), the conclusion is almost inevitable that the Jewish synagogue system must have had a very marked influence on the organization of the Gentile churches.

§ 3. *Essential Identity of Bishops and Presbyters.*

The essential identity of presbyters and bishops in the apostolic age is a matter of well-nigh absolute historic demonstration. "They appear always as a plurality or as a college in one and the same congregation, even in smaller cities, as Philippi. The same officers of the church of Ephesus are alternately called presbyters and bishops. Paul sends greetings to the bishops and deacons of Philippi, but omits the presbyters because they were included in the first term, as also the plural indicates. In the pastoral epistles, when Paul intends to give the qualifications for *all* church officers, he again mentions only two, bishops and deacons, but uses the term presbyters afterward for

Arguments.

Schaff's summary.

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[1] Hatch: *Op. cit.*, pp. 63, 64.

bishops. Peter urges the presbyters to 'tend the flock' of God, and to 'fulfill the office of bishops,' with disinterested devotion and without lording it over the charge allotted to them. The interchange of terms continued in use to the close of the first century, as is evident from the epistles of Clement of Rome (about A. D. 95), and still lingered toward the close of the second."[1] This is substantially the opinion of the most thorough students of the apostolic history.[2]

Why two terms?

The reason of the use of two terms for persons having the same essential functions has given rise to much discussion. With those who hold to the diversity of the offices the use of two terms is but natural and necessary. To those who regard these offices as identical, in the apostolic age, the reason for this double designation seems important to discover.

First theory.

Two general suggestions have been made: 1. The term *πρεσβύτερος*, presbyter, has been claimed to be of Jewish derivation, and to have been used at first only by Jewish-Christian congregations. In communities where a Christian church had sprung from the bosom of the local synagogue, and was, therefore, chiefly under the control of Jewish tradition and thought, the term presbyter, which was the name of the governing body of the synagogue, would be naturally transferred to officers of similar function in the Christian societies.[3] It is likewise true that the term 'bishop,' *ἐπίσκοπος*, is used to designate one of like official duty in the churches of almost exclusively Gentile origin. Nevertheless, the term presbyter was used by these same congregations, and at a somewhat later date it was applied to the members of that governing body over which the bishop presided.[4] 2. A second theory is

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[1] Schaff: *History of the Christian Church*, New York, 1884, vol. i, p. 493. He cites the following: Acts xx, 17 and 28; Phil. i, 1; 1 Tim. iii, 1–13; v, 17–19; Tit. i, 5–7; 1 Pet. v, 1, 2; Clem. Rom.: *Ad. Cor.*, cc. 42, 44.

[2] *v.* Among others, Neander: *Op. cit.*, pp. 92, 93. Rothe: *Anfänge der christlichen Kirche*, s. 176, *et al.* Lightfoot: *Op. cit.*, pp. 95–99. Baur: *Hist. First Three Centuries.* Stanley: *Op. cit.*, chap. x. Hatch: *Op. cit.*, Lects. iii, iv. Döllinger: *The First Age of the Church*, vol. ii, pp. 110, 111. Kraus: *Real-Encyclopædia der Christ. Alterthümer*, art. "Bischof." Weizsäcker: *Op. cit.*, ss. 637–641. W. says that they were not absolutely identical; all bishops were presbyters, but not every presbyter was a bishop. Lechler: *Op. cit.*, p. 577, *seq.* "The elders, *πρεσβύτεροι*, are not mentioned because in the earliest Christian period 'presbyter' and 'bishop' were identical."

[3] Weizsäcker: *Op. cit.*, s. 628, regards this transference of the leadership and government by presbyters from the Jewish church to the Christian at Jerusalem as by no means self-evident, "Keineswegs eine selfverständliche Sache;" but there is no doubt but that the Jewish Christian societies going out from Jerusalem, as well as the Jews of the Diaspora, had a presbyterial constitution. s. 629.

[4] Lightfoot: *Op. cit.*, 194.

Second theory.

that the bishop of the Christian Church was analogous in office and function to that of the president of the heathen fraternities or clubs. One chief duty of this officer was to administer the funds of the society, and to be a medium of communication between the members who might be widely separated. Christianity was established just at a time when poverty was widespread throughout the Roman world, and when government and society were in a condition of fearful strain. What the state could or would not do for its subjects must be done by themselves through association for mutual succor and relief. The fraternities were numerous and influential. Their professed objects were various; but into most of them there entered both a charitable and a religious element. To administer the funds of these organizations became a matter of primary importance, and the officer charged with this duty was termed an *episcopos.*[1]

Systematic charities.

The peculiar environment of the first Christian believers compelled like provision for the exercise of systematic charities. Most of the early disciples were of the poorer class; and many more, upon profession of the Christian faith, became outcasts from their families and homes. The strict morality of the Christian teaching and the severity of discipline compelled the abandonment of trades which before had been highly lucrative, and thus a measure of systematic aid must be furnished by the fraternity of believers. The widow, the orphan, and the stranger journeying in foreign parts must have issued to them certificates of membership, or letters of commendation,[2] on whose authority they were admitted to the sacred mysteries, and received assistance and encouragement. The importance of this administration cannot be overrated, and it was therefore entrusted to those best fitted by intelligence and unquestioned integrity to superintend the work. According to this view the functions of the early Christian bishop were similar to that of the *episcopos* of the contemporary clubs of the heathen world, in having chiefly to care for the funds and to administer the charities.[3]

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[1] *v.* Hatch: *Op. cit.*, Lect. ii. His argument from the epigraphical evidence is original and striking, if not entirely convincing. *Contra*, *v.* Gore: *The Church and the Ministry*, Second Edition, London, 1882. *v.* also Harnack: *Analekten*, in his translation of Hatch. Heinrici: *Erklärung der Korinthierbriefe*, i, Leipzig, 1879; ii, Berlin, 1887. Holtzmann: *Die Patoralbriefe*, Leipzig, 1880.

[2] The custom of commendation by letters, ἐπιστολαὶ συστατικαί, is referred to in Acts xviii, 27, and 2 Cor. iii, 1–5. The same practice, dictated alike by affection and by common prudence, also prevailed among the ancient secular fraternities and among the powerful guilds of the Middle Ages.

[3] Hatch: *Op. cit.*, Lect. ii.

§ 4. *General Conclusions.*

Duties not sharply defined.

While the distinction of offices and functions may be ascertained in a most general way, it is manifest that the character and duties of these, during the lifetime of the apostles, were not sharply defined. The peculiar functions of the deacons are at one time assumed by the presbyters, at another by the *ἐπίσκοποι*. The circumstances determine the behaviour of the different officers. In the apostolic church are found germs of every order of the ministry, and indications of every form of church government. From these were to come such forms as the peculiar providential environment might most fully develop. At first only those who were endowed with special charisms were entrusted with the direction and government of the Church.[1] The gift corresponding to this function was the *χάρισμα τῆς κυβερνήσεως* (1 Cor. xii, 28).

The charisms at first the preparation.

The elders were charged with teaching, the preservation of the purity of doctrine, the direction of the assemblies of the societies, the oversight of the general secular affairs of the churches, the care of souls, the warning and encouragement of individual members, etc. Nevertheless, Paul in his letter to the Corinthian church, in which ecclesiastical order and the functions of rulers are discussed at length, nowhere represents these as pertaining to an office, but recognises in them a class of duties which depend upon the possession of special gifts and charisms.[2] With the exception of his latest epistles to the Philippians, to Titus, and to Timothy, he never mentions deacons, presbyters, or bishops. Even when he enumerates the teachers given by God to the Church, according to their gradations and peculiarities, the names of deacons, presbyters, and bishops do not occur. In so important a church as Corinth there seems to have been no bishop,[3] and it may be reasonably questioned whether in any other than the latest epistles can be found any mention of the office in connection with the Gentile church.[4] In all of his earlier writings he speaks of gifts and not of offices. From the apostles to the humblest ministers the ruling thought is that of spiritual endowments, and not of official functions.[5] So manifest is this in the early apostolic Church that the function of teaching was not confined to the presbyters or bishops, but extended to the laity as well, and in cases of extreme necessity the latter could administer baptism and celebrate the eucharist.[1] Even in the writings of John the bishop is still a minister of the society and not a church official, and there is no evidence of a distinct ordination or confirmation to a distinctively episcopal office.

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[1] Baur: *Christenthum*, s. 241; Ritschl: *Op. cit.*, s. 362.

[2] Lightfoot: *Op. cit.*, p. 195.

[3] Weizsäcker: *Op. cit.*, s. 638. Bunsen: *Ignatius u. seine Zeit*, s. 103. Lightfoot: *Op. cit.*, p. 205.

[4] Lightfoot: *Op. cit.*, p. 198.

[5] Döllinger: *The First Age of the Church*, vol. ii, pp. 104, 105. Ritschl: *Op. cit.*, s. 347. Heinrici: *Kirchengemeinde Korinths u. die religiosen Genossenschaften der Griechen* in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theologie*, 1876, s. 478.

Aside from the statements found in the New Testament, the first epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians is about the only contemporary authority.[2] In this letter the distinction between bishops and presbyters is no more clear than in the canonical Scriptures, and these offices and their duties are generally noticed as synonymous.[3] No priestly authority or function is delegated to them. They are in the strictest sense ministers and stewards appointed to teach, to preach, and care for the discipline and charities of the local churches. No irresponsible or sovereign authority is attached to their office, but the body of believers is the real depositary of power.[4]

No distinction in Clement.

Nor is there a trace of the subordination of one bishop to another, any more than in the apostolic college a primacy, aside from personal character and influence, is found. While in the pastoral epistles (*v.* 1 Tim. v, 17, 19, 20) there seems to be a slight tendency to centralization, and the idea of a special office is somewhat more clearly developed, it may, nevertheless, be regarded as historically certain that prior to the destruction of Jerusalem the officers of the Church and their functions were not fully differentiated, but, on the contrary, a great diversity of practice and a plastic condition of church government were prevalent throughout the empire.

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[1] Hatch: *Op. cit.*, pp. 117–119. "In regard to baptism there is no positive evidence, but there is the argument *a fortiori* which arises from the fact that even in later times . . . baptism by an ordinary member of the church was held to be valid," etc.

[2] The chronology of the Διδαχή is not so satisfactorily determined as to make it a strictly original authority for the history of the apostolic church.

[3] *v.* cc. 42–44.

[4] Bannerman: *The Scripture Doctrine of the Church*, Part vi, chap. iv, seems too strongly to insist on a settled and fixed ecclesiastical system in the Corinthian church during the second period of apostolic Church history. Such condition of this church in a distinctively presbyterial form of government is demonstrable neither from the Pauline epistles nor from the letter of Clement of Rome.

CHAPTER III.

THE POST-APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM TO IRENÆUS.

§ 1. *Influence of the Death of the Apostles and of the Destruction of Jerusalem.*

Importance of the destruction of Jerusalem.

SUCH seems to have been the condition of the Church and of church government for the first forty years after the Ascension. The death of the apostles, and especially the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, were most momentous events in the history of Christianity.[1] They were scarcely less transforming to the Christian than to the Jewish church. If the Jewish polity was thoroughly destroyed and the hope of a temporal supremacy perished, the separation of Jewish-Christian from Gentile-Christian churches, which had before been so prominent, largely disappeared.

Scattered the apostles.

During their lifetime the apostles had been the jealous guardians of the purity of Christian doctrine and the defenders of Christian discipline. There had been a general acquiescence in this apostolic authority, and the extraordinary spiritual enlightenment conferred upon the body of believers had measurably saved them from the destructive influence of the heresies which afterward threatened not only the unity but the success of the Church. The destruction of the sacred city hastened the consummation of what had been felt by all parties to be a pressing need; namely, the union of the individual societies into a firm, compact organization in the Christian Church. This event emancipated the disciples from the burdens of the Jewish ceremonial; it revealed Christianity to the pagan world as an independent religion; it completely fused the hitherto inharmonious Jewish-Christian and Gentile-Christian elements;[2] it scattered believers still more widely throughout the Roman world.

Emancipated the Church from Jewish prejudices.

But when the original preachers and defenders of Christ's gospel had been removed, the heresies which were lying latent, or had been checked in their first beginnings by the watchful administration of the apostles, soon began to assert themselves more vigorously, and to draw away multitudes from the Church. The lack of apostolic guidance was now felt to be a most serious privation. The absence of an authoritative interpretation left each teacher free to attach to the Scriptures, and especially to the instructions of the apostles, the meaning which best accorded with his own peculiar dogmas. The instinct of self-preservation compelled a readjustment of ecclesiastical supervision and government. From the closing years of the first century new principles are recognised, and influences before hardly noticeable become prominent. While during the lifetime of the apostles there had been a ministry of Christ's own institution, in the second century the distinction between clergy and laity is more manifest; the priestly function, which before had pertained to the entire body of believers, becomes circumscribed;[1] the duties of the deacons and presbyters are more clearly defined; the existence and prerogatives of the bishops as a distinct order become more generally recognised. Admission to a sacred order is now gained by the solemn rite of consecration or ordination. There are now found in the Church *ordines majores* and *ordines minores*, each having a more clearly defined function.

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[1] For a striking popular statement of the effects and the probabilities see Renan: *Hibbert Lectures*, Boston, 1880, III Conference.

[2] Rothe: *Op. cit.*, ss. 340–343; Ewald: vii, 26.

Compelled a more compact organization.

Thus in the brief interval between the death of the apostles and the middle of the second century the idea of the Church had undergone important transformations, and the orders and duties of its officers had become subjects of clearer definition. The believers on Christ passed from the condition of individual congregations to that of an organized Church.

§ 2. *The Ignatian Episcopacy and its Effects.*

Functions of the bishop.

Ignatius is the earliest writer who develops this new notion of church order and discipline. He defends the essential unity of the Church, to maintain which obedience to the doctrines and authority of the bishops is necessary. Look to the bishop that God may also look on thee.[2] Plainly we should regard the bishop as we regard the Lord himself.[1] Be subject to the bishop and to one another, as Christ to the Father, in order that there may be unity according to God among you.[2] Without the bishop let no one attempt any thing in the Church. Let that sacrament be accounted valid which is under the direction of the bishop or one whom he has appointed. Without the bishop it is not permitted either to baptize or to celebrate the agape.[3] Where the bishop is, there is the congregation, as where Christ is, there is the catholic Church.[4] This strong characterization of the episcopacy is in most direct contrast with the spirit of the New Testament teaching. Yet it is likewise to be observed that the episcopacy of Ignatius is strictly congregational. The bishop has no authority outside of and beyond his individual congregation, in which alone he is the vicar of Christ, as well as an equal to every other bishop of every other congregation: no trace of subordination or primacy appears in these epistles.

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[1] The idea of the universal priesthood of believers did not wholly disappear. Indeed, it is rigorously asserted by Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.*, iv, 8, § 3). The Montanists were most strenuous in their advocacy of this doctrine, and Tertullian (*De Exhort. Cast.*, c. 7; *De Bapt.*, 17) affirms that it is the authority of the Church alone that has created the distinction between laity and clergy. Even the high-church Cyprian uses expressions which suggest that the body of believers is the true source of ecclesiastical authority (ep. 41, 8). The mode of the election of Athanasius, Ambrose, Augustine, and others in the fourth century illustrates the power of the laity.

[2] *Ad Polyc.*, cc. 5, 6.

Distinction in origin.

Nevertheless, Ignatius distinguishes the bishops from the presbyters, inasmuch as the former are the successors of Christ, while the latter, on the contrary, are the vicars of the apostles.[5] The institution of the bishops is, according to his view, not the work of the apostles, but a commission, *ἐντολή*, or grace, *χάρις*, of God, while the presbyters owe their origin to the decree or sanction, *νόμος*, of Jesus Christ.[6] Inasmuch as the episcopacy connects the individual churches with the Church universal, at whose head Christ stands, it thereby becomes the organ of church unity.[7] In nearly all these letters of Ignatius the threatening dangers to the Church from the current heresies are revealed. They contain warnings, exhortations to concord, and to a close affiliation with the bishops, the presbyters, and the deacons, since thus alone can the unity of the Church be best maintained.[8] Yet Ignatius plainly teaches that while the congregation should undertake nothing without the bishop, no more should the bishop without the will of God. The ordinances of the bishop are valid only so far as they are accordant with the divine will.[9] Nevertheless, from the very nature and dignity of the episcopate, it, before all other offices, lays claim to obedience on the part of the societies.[1]

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[1] *ad Ephes.*, c. 6.

[2] *ad Magnes.*, c. 13.

[3] *ad Smyrn.*, c. 8

[4] *Ep. ad Philad.*, c. 3, 7; *Smyrn.*, c. 8, 9, *et al.* *v.* also Baur: *Das Christenthum*, etc., 2te Ausg., Tübingen, 1860, ss. 277–279.

[5] *ad Smyrn.*, c. 8; *ad Ephes.*, c. 2; *ad Polyc.*, c. 6.

[6] *ad Magnes.*, c. 2.

[7] *ad Philad.*, c. 3; *ad Smyrn.*, c. 8.

[8] *ad Smyrn.*, c. 8.

[9] Compare especially *ad Smyrn.*, c. 8, and Rothe: *Op. cit.*, s. 445; Uhlhorn: *Ueber die Ignatianischen Briefe*, in *Ilgens Zeitschrift*, Bd. 21, s. 282. Ritschl: *Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, Bonn, 1857, s. 455; and best of all, Lightfoot: *The Apostolic Fathers:* Part ii, *St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp.*

§ 3. *The Clementine Homilies.*

The monarchical episcopacy.

As we pass from the Ignatian epistles to the pseudo-Clementine Homilies, which were probably written from fifteen to twenty years later, there is a yet stronger claim for the dignity and authority of the bishop's office. The episcopacy of these writings is of the high monarchical type. The bishop has power to bind and loose. He stands in the place of Christ;[2] the presbyters and deacons are subordinate to him.

Bishops the successors of the apostles.

Here, too, the episcopate is represented as the succession to the apostolate, and the bishops are the guardians and depositaries of the apostolic doctrine. As usual in Ebionitic writings,[3] James is the bishop of bishops,

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[1] The importance of the testimony of Ignatius is manifest from the protracted controversy respecting the genuineness and integrity of his writings. Scarcely less earnest than that over the genuineness and authority of the Gospel by John, the Ignatian question still remains an open one. An important literature has resulted from these scholarly researches. There are three versions of the writings of Ignatius, namely: 1. The longer Greek recension, consisting of seven epistles and eight additional ones. 2. The shorter Greek recension, referred to by Eusebius, consisting of seven epistles. 3. The Syriac version, discovered in a monastic library in the Libyan desert in 1839–1843, containing but three of the seven epistles of the shorter Greek recension, and these in very abbreviated form. Of the first it may be said that the added eight epistles are now regarded as forgeries. Respecting the second and third the scholars are divided. The Tübingen school reject the entire Ignatian literature as spurious; another class accept only what is common to the shorter Greek and to the Syriac recensions; while the tendency to-day is to hold to the genuineness of the shorter Greek recension and to regard the Syriac version as essentially an extract from the older Greek. The most satisfactory examinations and defence of the shorter Greek recension are Zahn: *Ignatius von Antiochien*, Gotha, 1873; also his *Ignatii et Polycarpi Epistulæ Martyria Fragmenta*, in the *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, Fasciculus ii, Lipsiæ, 1876; Uhlhorn: Article "Ignatius," in 2d ed. of Herzog's *Real-Encykl.;* and Lightfoot: *The Apostolic Fathers:* Part ii, *St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp*, London, 1885. Lightfoot formerly accepted the Syriac version, but in this later work regards the shorter Greek version as defensible. The importance of this controversy appears from the different grounds of the bishop's authority in the two later recensions. In the Syriac version his exercise of leadership and discipline is derived solely from his personal worthiness; according to the shorter Greek recension, by virtue of his office alone the bishop has the power to exercise priestly teaching and ruling functions. In the Greek recension the will of the bishop has unconditional validity, while in the Syriac his will must harmonize with the divine will in order to claim obedience.

[2] *Ep. ad Jacob.*, c. 14, hom. iii, 62.

[3] This expression is here used, notwithstanding the opposing views of able critics. Like much of the early Patristic literature, the *Clementines* have given rise to much

ὁ ἐπισκοπος τῶν ἐπισκόπων,[1] to whom even Peter is subordinate, and Jerusalem is the capital of Christendom. In the pseudo-Clementines is first met the expression, "the chair or seat of the bishop," *καθέδρα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου*, which denotes the high dignity of the bishop and his relation to the presbyters, so changed from the New Testament idea. To the bishop specially belongs the promulgation of doctrine, while to the presbyters is assigned the preaching of ethical truths.[2] The duty of Church discipline is so divided that the bishop and the presbyters exercise judicial functions, while the deacons are charged with the duty of careful scrutiny of the conduct of the members. The bishop exercises rule over the society and is arbiter of doctrine, while the presbyters are his assistants in the maintenance of moral conduct. The care for the poor is shared by the bishop and the deacons. In the opinion of the writer, the purpose of the institution of the episcopate was the restoration of the unity of the Church, and the reconciliation of the conflicting parties. This reconciliation was to be effected by the triumph of the Ebionite party, whose peculiar views of the episcopacy became at last predominant in the Christian Church.[3] The conception of the episcopacy common to the Ignatian epistles and pseudo-Clementines is that the bishop is the vicar of God and Christ. The same substantial unity existing between God and Christ is the relation which exists between the bishop and Christ; for as Christ is the hypostatic will of God, so should the bishop be the hypostatic will of Christ.[4]

Arbiter of doctrines.

§ 4. *The Shepherd of Hermas and Polycarp.*

The Shepherd of Hermas and the epistle of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, belong to a date intermediate between that of the Ignatian epistles and the pseudo-Clementines. These are important as illustrations of the principle that not only the episcopate but the entire polity of the Christian Church was a development out of the peculiar needs of the times. In the "Shepherd" mention is made of apostles, bishops, doctors, and deacons. While the term doctors is somewhat obscure in import, the

Distinction between lay and clerical.

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varied controversy and the results have not proved entirely satisfactory to any parties. The candid statement of one of the most scholarly of these investigators, after a criticism of the different opinions, seems entirely truthful. "Undoubtedly the questions of the *Clementines* need even yet a further discussion." *v.* Ulhorn: Article "Clementinen," in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*, Bd. iii, s. 286.

[1] *Ep. ad Jacob.*, suprascriptio.

[2] *Ep. ad Jacob.*, Hom. iii, 65.

[3] *v.* especially Baur: *Ursprung der Episcopats*, Tübingen, 1838, ss. 122, 148, *et al.*

[4] *v.* Baur: *Das Christenthum*, etc., s. 283.

bishops are no longer identical with the presbyters, and the lay function is distinct from the clerical.[1]

Polycarp's letter falls in just that period when a number of Philippian churches had preserved their autonomy, and hence the development of the monarchical episcopacy was yet incomplete. There are evidences of a vigorous organization, and the officers of the Church are recognised as clothed with authority to exercise their functions; for he strongly exhorts the believers to be obedient to the presbyters and deacons as to God and Christ, *ὡς δεῷ και Χριστῷ.*[2]

No catholic Church yet existing.

The bishop the unifying power.

From the manner in which the term presbyter is here used, it has been argued that Polycarp recognised the identity of bishops and presbyters.[3] By some this passage has been construed to teach "the supreme oversight of the presbyters in all matters of administration,"[4] while others have from it inferred the absence of bishops from the Philippian church.[5] Whatever may have been the facts, it seems certain that in the teaching respecting the exalted position which is assigned to the bishop there is not yet found the conception of a church office in that specific sense which later obtained. When, therefore, in the Ignatian epistles the expression is met, "where the bishop is found there is the congregation, even as where Christ is there is the catholic Church," there is manifestly wanting to the idea of the catholic Church an element which was supplied in the next century, namely, that of unified doctrine. In the absence of this factor there could properly be no officer of the catholic Church, and in the writings of the first half of the second century the bishop bears only the character of a ruler of the congregation. Nevertheless, by the extension of this office over all congregations, the episcopate becomes the instrument of the unification of the Church.

Church letters.

This was to be effected both by correspondence between the societies, and by conferences or synods of the bishops themselves. The first was only in imitation of the custom of the apostles, and was a most natural means of fostering the spirit of unity and of conserving a common doctrine. The catholicity of the Church was further promoted by giving certificates of Church membership or commendation, *γράμματα τετυπωμένα*, to those who were travelling into foreign parts, by means of which the bearer was admitted to the sacraments and privileges in other societies. They were also proofs, *γράμματα κοινωνικά*, of the agreement and fellowship of the bishop who gave, with him who received them.

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[1] *Pastor;* Vis. iii, 5, 6.

[2] *Epist. ad Phil.*, c. 5.

[3] *v.* especially Ritschl: *Op. cit.*, s. 402; Hase: *Kirchengeschichte*, s. 42.

[4] Hatch: *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

[5] Bunsen: *Ignatius*, s. 109.

Added to all this was the custom of each society to inform every other of all important affairs of its communion, and of each bishop to publish to every other bishop the fact of his election and consecration, that he might in turn receive the assurance of their approval and coöperation.

No priest recognised by the apostles.

It has already been seen that the apostolic Church recognised no priestly function or authority on the part of its ministers of any kind or grade. The New Testament teaching that the whole body of believers are priests unto God, and that one alone, Christ, is the Highpriest, making offering of himself for the sins of the world, is clear and unquestioned (1 Tim. ii, 5; Heb. iii, 1; v, 10; ix, 11, *et al.*). This continued until after the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem. That epoch-making event marks the introduction into the Christian Church of two new ideas which were familiar alike to Judaism and to the Gentile-Christian churches; namely, the idea of an offering or sacrifice, and the idea of a priesthood. These correlative notions were not foreign to the Gentile-Christian congregations. They had been converted from a religious system which was thoroughly acquainted with the thought and practice of sacrifice, and of a priesthood whose functions included the care of the offerings. The smoking or garlanded altar, the procession leading the victims, and the officiating priests, were most familiar sights in every province of the Roman Empire. True, this priestly function in the Church was not that strong and complete sacerdotalism which was victorious in the following century; but the references to the priestly office of the bishop are now more frequent. While not exclusive or absolute, it is evident that even the partial and limited recognition of the priestly office of the bishop may be regarded as among the most important facts in the history of Church government and worship in the second century. The effect was to limit the spiritual authority of the presbyter. While he might baptize, yet the complete endowment of faith rested with the bishop; the bringing of the eucharistic offering was only by episcopal sanction; the institution of the clergy by ordination, and the confirmation of the baptized, were the exclusive prerogatives of the bishops. They were entrusted with the oversight of the clergy; they were the shepherds of the flock, who were to teach the ignorant, lift up the fallen, and punish the incorrigible.

Rise of sacerdotalism.

Its effects.

The presbyters were the governing body or council; teaching was at first not their necessary or even usual function. The Clementine writings make a distinction between doctrine and morals—the bishop teaching the former, the presbyters enforcing the latter. The

The view of "The Teaching."

archaic document, *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων*, "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," which seems to be firmly placed in the first, or early part of the second century (95–130), speaks of a more simple condition of things. Yet the representations of the functions of Church officers are not in contradiction with those already described. The apostles and prophets are only itinerant preachers who are to tarry but a day or two in a place, to receive sustenance, but not money, except for general charities. The genuineness of the apostle's teaching function is to be judged by his conformity to his own doctrines.[1] The Church is instructed to appoint for itself [2] bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek and not avaricious, and sincere (*ἀληθεῖς*) and tried. Such are worthy of honour for their works' sake.

§ 5. *The Form of Government.*

A congregational episcopacy.

The ecclesiastical government which generally prevailed by the middle of the second century was that of the independent congregation, governed by a college of presbyters, whose president was the bishop, and whose servants or ministers were the deacons. Each congregation had, therefore, its separate bishop, its own governing body, its ministering servants, and its private members. At each gathering every element of this congregation was theoretically present,[3] and the whole body were the depositary of power and authoritative government. The presence of a bishop in each congregation explains how at first the teaching power of the presbyter was limited, and the celebration of the sacraments of baptism and of the eucharist was practically confined to the bishops, although the presbyter had from the first the right to baptize, and probably, also, the authority to celebrate the eucharist.[4]

The change of opinion respecting the endowments required in an office-bearer is important to mention. As before said, in the apostolic Church men held office and performed duties by virtue of certain spiritual gifts, or charisms. The body of believers honoured and obeyed them because of these gifts, which were believed to be bestowed by the Spirit for definite purposes. About the middle of the third century, however, the office is no longer tenable by virtue of these charisms alone, but rather the charism is a natural consequence of the induction into office. Ordination comes not in consequence of the spiritual gift, but the gift is imparted in the act of ordination. This radical change in the conception of ordination was a consequence of the prevalent idea of a priesthood.[1] The clergy has assumed the prerogative of mediation between God and man, and has become the channel of salvation through the dispensation of the sacraments.[2]

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[1] *v.* Chap. xi, "But not every one who speaketh in the spirit is a prophet, but only if he have the ways of the Lord. . . . And every prophet who teacheth the truth, if he do not that which he teacheth, is a false prophet."

[2] *v.* Chap. xv. The expression *χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους*, etc., is variously translated. If this writing is earlier than the middle of the second century, the term *χειροτονέω*, in agreement with its general meaning in the New Testament, in Josephus, and in the Ignatian epistles, should be translated "appoint." But if it is believed to belong to the third century, the word would naturally follow the changed meaning in the "Apostolic Canons" and in the "Apostolic Constitutions," and be translated "ordain by laying on of hands."

[3] *v.* Hatch: *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

[4] This certainly is the view maintained a little later by Tertullian in the Montanistic controversy.

The charism a result of the office.

Another important change noticed near the close of the second or the beginning of the third century is in the method of the election of bishops. Previously the bishop had been chosen by the people and approved by the presbyters;[3] now the neighbouring bishops, in connection with the presbytery, nominated the candidate and the people gave their assent; but even this degenerated into a mere right of protest against those who were regarded as improper candidates.[4] A like change is observed in the method of ordination. In the first century this was performed by the apostles or their representatives, associated with the presbyters of the congregation over which the bishop was to preside; but in the second century the episcopate, as the depositary of spiritual gifts, was summoned to the consecration of the individual bishops. The earlier participation of the presbyters in this ordination was gradually lost in all the churches except the Alexandrian.

The choice of bishops.

The diocesan episcopate was certainly a matter of development. The question of its origin has been much debated. It can with confidence be said that no other than a congregational episcopacy is met before the middle of the second century. A society embracing but a single city is the realm of the authority of the early bishop, and he was so thoroughly identified with this single congregation that his removal to another could be allowed only in rare and exceptional cases.

The episcopacy a development.

To the question, What was the relation of the bishops and their congregations or dioceses to each other? it may be answered: In the second century these possessed and maintained a general autonomy or independence. But this could not be absolute. This has already been noticed in the case of nomination and ordination. The severe pressure of foes from without, and the threats of heretical teachers from within, compelled a closer union of the various congregations for mutual protection against both these dangers. This resulted in a kind of synodical or confederated authority, by which the purity of doctrine and life might be guarded and the heretical and incorrigible be exscinded. While the essential autonomy of the congregations had not been infringed, the synodical authority was justified on the ground of defence against a common danger. In this college the Bishop of Rome had already, in the second century, assumed special prominence, so that it became a recognised principle that the individual bishops should be in harmony with the Bishop of Rome on all questions of doctrine and discipline. At the close of the century, Victor "was the first who advanced those claims to universal dominion which his successors in later ages have always consistently and often successfully maintained."[1]

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[1] Ritschl: *Op. cit.*, s. 394, *et al.*

[2] Gieseler: *Kirchengeschichte*, 4te Aufl., Bd. i, ss. 228–233. Hagenbach: *Dogmengeschichte*, 5te Aufl., s. 157.

[3] Even Cyprian recognises this right. "Plebs ipsa maximam habet potestam vel elegendi dignos sacerdotes. vel indignos recusandi."—Ep. 68. *v.* Rheinwald: *Die kirchliche Archæologie*, s. 31.

[4] Ep. 67, cc. 4, 5.

Relations of bishops to each other.

Bishop of Rome.

The changes which the presbyterate underwent during the first century are most interesting and important to notice. The gradual increase in the prerogatives of the bishops necessarily diminished the authority and dignity of the presbyterial body. Its former significance had been lost. Moreover, the deacons had claimed many privileges which before had belonged to the presbyters. Not until near the beginning of the third century were their prerogatives regained, when the deacons were placed in strict subordination to the presbyters. The distinction which was afterward so prominent is already beginning to assert itself. While presbyters, as well as bishops, administer the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper, they do it by a different authority. The bishop acts upon an original and independent authority; the presbyter upon authority derived from the sanction or permission of the bishop. So with preaching, reconciliation of penitents, confirmation of neophytes, consecration of churches, etc. The right to ordain seems to have been very rarely, if ever, conceded to the presbyters in the second century.[2]

Change in presbyterial power.

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[1] Lightfoot: *Op. cit.*, p. 224.

[2] Bingham: *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, bk. ii, chap. iii. The exceptions urged by others in the practice of the Alexandrian Church are understood by Bingham to refer to election, and not to ordination. This view, however, has been gravely questioned, and is by some considered untenable.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHURCH CONSTITUTION FROM IRENÆUS TO THE ACCESSION OF CONSTANTINE.

§ 1. *The Theory of Irenæus.*

THE circumstances of the Church toward the close of the second century were peculiar. Fearful persecutions had visited some of the provinces, and some of the most prominent leaders had sealed their faith by a martyr's death. Its internal state was no more assuring. The prediction of Paul that after his departure "shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock" (Acts xx, 29), had been fulfilled, and his exhortation to Timothy "to shun profane and vain babblings, for they will increase unto more ungodliness" (2 Tim. ii, 16), had already been shown to be urgently needed. Teachers had arisen who, by wrenching the Scriptures from their natural and appropriate meaning, had constructed systems no less fantastic and paradoxical than they were disturbing to Christian faith and corrupting to Christian morals. The system of allegorical interpretation which, through the school of Philo, was powerful at Alexandria, had become widespread through the influence of the Gnostic teachers. Whether this phenomenal manifestation is best accounted for from the syncretism of Jewish and Christian thought with Greek speculation,[1] or whether, like the orthodox societies themselves, the Gnostics, by consulting the Greek mysteries, sought a practical end,[2] the danger which they brought to the very life of Christianity was real and fearful. While each party recognised the fact that Christianity had originated with Christ and was promulgated by his apostles, and also that they had left certain authoritative teachings which must be heeded, nevertheless each laid claim to personal freedom in the interpretation of this teaching, and was ready to attach to the words of Christ and of his apostles the meaning which was most accordant with its own opinions. Thus was the Church of Christ no longer an organism, such as had been so vividly portrayed by Paul (1 Cor. xii, 12–27; Eph.

Peculiar conditions of the Church.

The Gnostic threats.

Divisions.

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[1] *v.* Joel: *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte*, *Excursus II*, *Die Gnosis*, Breslau, 1880.

[2] *v.* Weingarten: in Von Sybel's *Historiche Zeitschrift*, Bd. xlv, 1881.

iv, 25), knit together by faith in one common doctrine and compacted by a common life, but the teaching of Gnosticism plainly resolved Christian doctrine into a confused conglomeration of human opinions, and Church government and ordinances into matters of individual caprice. Hegesippus vividly pictures the condition of things. From these (the various Gnostic sects) sprang the false Christs and false prophets and false apostles who divided the unity of the Church by the introduction of corrupt doctrines against God and against his Christ.[1]

Testimony of Hegesippus.

Irenæus, also, is powerful in his portraitures, and unsparing in his denunciation of false teachers. His apprehension for the safety of the Church is conspicuous throughout his entire treatise.[2] All the energies of his vigorous nature seem enlisted in this effort to throttle the foes who were threatening the life of the Church, and to settle its doctrine upon firm foundations.

Irenæus's testimony.

What, then, is the principle which Irenæus recognised and maintained in the controversy with the Gnostic sects? and what influence did this exert upon the constitution of the Church? The answer to the first is easily found in the writings of Irenæus himself, and is so often reiterated that we cannot be in doubt respecting it. In the midst of the conflict of opinions arising from the freedom of individual interpretation of the Scriptures, he maintained that the supreme and only standard of Christian teaching was that which was given by the apostles to the churches in their day. This teaching of the different apostles was essentially harmonious, and was authoritative throughout the Christian world during their lifetime. "We have learned from none others the plan of our salvation than from those through whom the Gospel has come down to us, which they did at one time proclaim in public, and, at a later period, by the will of God, handed down to us in the Scriptures, to be 'the ground and pillar of our faith' (1 Tim. iii, 15). . . . For, after our Lord rose from the dead, they (the apostles) were invested with power from on high, when the Holy Spirit came down, were filled from above and had perfect knowledge; they departed to the ends of the earth preaching the glad tidings of good things from God to us, and proclaiming the peace of heaven to men, who indeed do all equally and individually possess the Gospel of God.[3] It is within the power of all, therefore, in every church, who may wish to see the truth, to contemplate clearly the tradition of the apostles mani-

The principle of Irenæus.

Harmony of apostolic teaching.

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[1] Eusebius: *Hist. Eccles.*, iv, 22.

[2] *Adversus Hæreses:* Last edition by Harvey, Cambridge, 1857, 2 vols.

[3] *Adversus Hæreses*, iii, 1, 1.

fested throughout the whole world."[1] But to whom did the apostles commit this only and authoritative doctrine, and by what means has it been handed down to Irenæus's time uncontaminated by error and in all its integrity, so that himself and his adversaries alike can rest in it as the word of Christ? To the bishops of the churches which were founded by the apostles; and by them it has been handed down in an unbroken line of succession to his day. He then appeals to Rome, the best known and most influential Church of the time, whose episcopal succession he traces with greatest care. He also mentions the well known church of Smyrna, which had had a succession of most illustrious men whose teachings had been heard by those with whom Irenæus and many of his contemporaries had conversed.[2]

The bishops the depositaries of apostolic teaching.

A regular succession.

This teaching is, then, the one unchanging rule of faith, *regula fidei*, preserved by an infallible tradition, through an unbroken succession of bishops from the apostles. Irenæus maintains that the episcopacy is the true depositary of the apostolic tradition, and that this tradition is the sure ground of doctrinal unity and authoritative teaching in the Catholic Church.[3] Hence we find that attempts were now made to construct lists of bishops in the various churches, especially in Rome, in order to establish this continuity.[4] To confirm this historic argument was added the statement that to guard the bishops against error they were endowed with a special gift. "Wherefore it is incumbent to obey the presbyters in the Church, . . . who, together with the succession of the episcopate, have received the certain gift of truth, *charisma veritatis*, according to the good pleasure of the Father."[5] "Where, therefore, the gifts, *charismata*, of the Lord have been placed, there it behooves us to learn the truth, from those who possess the succession of the Church which is from the apostles," etc.[6] Such, then, is the principle which he defended. With him both Hegesip-

Compilation of lists.

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[1] Id., iii, 3, 1.

[2] Id., iii, 3, 3, 4; iii, 4, 1; iii, 5, 1, *et al.*

[3] Id., iv, 26, 1, 2; v, 20, 2.

[4] These catalogues are divided into two general classes, characterized in a broad and general way as the Greek and the Latin. The first includes the lists which are found in the second century, largely those of Hegesippus and Irenæus; and in the fourth and following centuries, those of Eusebius and his successors. The second class embraces the lists of Augustine, Optatus of Mileve, of the *Catalogus Liberianus*, *Catalogus Filicianus*, the *Liber Pontificalis*, and the various early *Martyrologies*. These catalogues are not in agreement respecting the succession of the early Roman bishops, about which there is great uncertainty. Nor are the modern critics of these catalogues, as Duchene, Harnack, Waitz, Lipsius, and others, any more in accord on this very difficult problem.

[5] Id., iv, 26, 2.

[6] Id., iv, 26, 5.

pus and Tertullian are in substantial agreement.[1] The manifest effect of such a theory upon the constitution and government of the Church was to magnify the relative importance and authority of the bishops. They to whom were entrusted truths so invaluable, and upon whom were bestowed such extraordinary gifts, must be reckoned among elect ministers, whose persons were of superior sanctity and whose words were of the nature of divine messages. "The supremacy of the bishop and unity of doctrine were conceived as going hand in hand, . . . the bishop's seat was conceived as being what St. Augustine calls it, the 'cathedra unitatis;' and round the episcopal office revolved the whole vast system not only of Christian administration and Christian organization, but also of Christian doctrine."[2] The earlier opinion, that the Church, as such, had been the heir of the truth and doctrine of the apostles in so far as it retained the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, maintained its hold on many minds, and even Irenæus and Tertullian in their earlier writings are imbued with this thought. But in his later writings Tertullian teaches that the bishop holds his office by virtue of inheritance from the apostles, and both Calixtus and his opponent, Hippolytus, insist upon their succession from the apostles by virtue of which alone they have preserved Christianity in its original purity.[3]

Others in agreement.

§ 2. *The Influence of Cyprian.*

In the third century the constitution of the Church was further developed by the labors and writings of Cyprian, who may be regarded as the foremost exponent of the ecclesiastical and episcopal sentiment of his age. The principle of the unity of doctrine and of authoritative teaching is pushed still farther than by Irenæus, Hegesippus, and Tertullian. With Cyprian the unity of the Church is absolutely identified with that of the episcopate. The principle of the episcopacy is not only the apostolic succession, but much more the bestowment upon the bishops of the Holy Ghost; so that the unity of the Church is secured by a double means, namely, a direct and unbroken succession from the apostles and the communication to all bishops alike of a common spirit. Where this spirit is vouchsafed, there the unity of the Church must necessarily be secured, for in its presence diverse opinions and teachings must be impossible. "There

Unity of the Church identical.

With unity of episcopacy.

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[1] Tertullian: *de præscr. Haer.*, c. 21. Communicamus cum ecclesiis apostolicis, quod nulla doctrina diversa, hoc est testimonium veritatis.

[2] Hatch: *Op. cit.*, pp. 98, 99. Baur: *Christenthum*, etc., ss. 284, 285.

[3] *v.* Harnack: *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1894, Bd. i, ss. 295–97.

is one God, and Christ is one, and there is one Church, and one chair founded upon the rock by the word of the Lord. Another altar cannot be constituted, or a new priesthood made except the one altar and the one priesthood."[1] Each bishop must be of the same mind as every other bishop; in the episcopate no individual exists for himself, but is only a member of a wider organic whole. "And this unity we ought firmly to hold and assert, especially those of us who are bishops who preside in the Church, that we may also prove the episcopate itself to be one and undivided. . . . The episcopate is one, each part of which is held by each one for the whole."[2] But in the development of the idea of unity Cyprian passes beyond his predecessors in that he regards this unity as proceeding from one determinate point—the chair of St. Peter. While the other apostles were of like honor and authority with Peter himself, nevertheless to Peter Christ first gave power to institute and show forth this unity to the world.[3] The chair of St. Peter is the foremost Church whence priestly unity is derived,[4] and the same unifying power must be recognised as in every one who has occupied the same chair. Outside the one Church the sacraments are unavailing, although administered by the regular formula and in proper mode. "For as, in that baptism of the world, in which its ancient iniquity was purged away, he who was not in the ark of Noah could not be saved by water, so can he neither appear to be saved by baptism who has not been baptized in the Church which is established in the unity of the Lord according to the sacrament of the one ark."[5]

Which proceeds from the chair of St. Peter.

Power of tradition.

With the idea of apostolic succession is connected the rule of faith as a mark and proof of the Catholic Church. To the doctrine of an authoritative subjective knowledge, Gnosis, enjoined by a chosen few, Cyprian stoutly opposes the objective norm of faith. Tradition is now elevated to a place of absolute authority. The bishops are the guardians of Church unity. Although the term Catholic Church, ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, had been first used by Ignatius,[6] and is found in Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria, yet it was used in a sense quite different from that found in Cyprian. Not until his time can we properly speak of a Catholic Church; since now for the first time is seen the distinction between the acts of a minister of the congregation and the duties of an officer of the Church Catholic. The society or congregation is properly the logical antecedent, the necessary condition of an office therein. But, contrariwise, when the office and the officer are held to be the logical antecedent, and the congregation can only there be found where the office and the officer are already existent, then first can there strictly be said to be an office and an officer of the Church Universal. So that in the third century the bishop is no longer, as before, regarded as the representative of a specific congregation or society, but of the universal Church; this last term being inclusive of all the congregations, as the genus includes under it all its species. According to this view the congregation and its entire officiary would have ecclesiastical validity only through the bishop. Nevertheless, since there now exists a complete harmony of the mind and will of Christ with the collected body of bishops, every expression of the will of every bishop in this totality of the episcopate must harmonize with the divine will. Only thus can any bishop assume to exercise direction or authority in the Church of Christ. For the assumption of a prerogative so arrogant, a special charism is imparted in the rite of ordination. To the Montanistic view, that the Holy Spirit reveals added truth to each individual, was opposed the teaching that the Spirit and the Church are inseparably connected. The Church finds the fact of its existence and unfolding in the Spirit, and the Spirit finds the organ and means of his manifestation in the Church. To the vague and arbitrary claim that each man was specially enlightened, and was, therefore, prepared to teach new truth, was opposed the consensus of teaching of the one holy Catholic Church which had been saved from error by the Holy Spirit.[1]

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[1] Ep. 39, c. 5.

[2] *De unitate ecclesiæ*, c. 5.

[3] *De unit. eccles.*, c. 4; Ep. 73, c. 11. Unde unitatis originem instituit et ostendit.

[4] Ep. 54, c. 14. Cathedra Petri est ecclesia principalis unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est.

[5] Ep. 73, c. 11.

[6] *ad Smyrn.*, c. 8.

The bishop no longer local, but general.

By the gift of the Holy Spirit in ordination the mind and will of the bishop are brought into harmony with the mind and will of Christ, and he receives thereby authority not only to teach but to bind and loose;[2] thus becoming the source of all valid Church discipline and government. The bishops are the successors of the apostles, and, therefore, by virtue of a vicarious ordination, have the power to remit sins.[3] Every truly ecclesiastical act is of the nature of a divine law, since it is suggested and dictated by the Spirit vouchsafed to the bishop in the rite of ordination. "No bishop, no Church," is the real teaching of this father.[4]

By ordination is this effected.

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[1] Baur: *Das Christenthum*, etc., ss. 296, 297.

[2] *v.* Ritschl: *Op. cit.*, s. 582; Baur: *Op. cit.*, ss. 296–300.

[3] Ep. 74 (75), c. 16. With Cyprian schism and heresy are absolutely identical.

[4] *v.* Ep. 66, c. 8. Scire debes, episcopam in ecclesia et ecclesiam in episcopo. et si qui cum episcopo non sit, in ecclesia non esse.

The various bishops exercise but one office in common; notwithstanding the division into dioceses, they represent the unity and totality of the Church.[1]

§ 3. *The Sacerdotal Principle.*

Growth of sacerdotalism.

The sacerdotal character of the episcopacy, as we have before intimated, had been mildly asserted prior to the third century. Yet probably not even Irenæus can be claimed as teaching more than a moral priesthood, and this not limited to any single order in the Church. Nor can the frequent references of Tertullian[2] to a sacerdotal office be understood as pertaining to the clergy alone, much less to the bishops. Indeed, this able presbyter is positive in his assertions that a Church may exist without the presence of the clergy, and that in their absence laymen may baptize and celebrate the eucharist by virtue of their being members of Christ's universal Church, all of whose members have become "kings and priests unto the Lord."[3] Quite similar views are held by Origen. At most his sacerdotalism goes no further than in supposing that the priestly character and function of the clergy are not an original and necessary endowment of this order, but rather it is derived from the congregation, which, for the time being and for purposes of ecclesiastical order, has delegated to the bishops its own indefeasible right. The office-bearers of the Church represent in themselves the character and religious privileges of the entire body of believers; "the priesthood of the ministry is regarded as springing from the priesthood of the whole body."[4]

At first the priesthood of the clergy comes from the priesthood of the entire Church.

Cyprian's view.

But by Cyprian a new and most important phase of the sacerdotal question is developed. From his time the bishop is truly the priest, and the separation between clergy and laity is real and significant. All the duties and prerogatives that pertained to the Aaronic priesthood he devolves upon the Christian ministry, and all the threats of punishment and disaster uttered against the Jews for their disobedience to their priests Cyprian likewise makes to apply to all who are disobedient to the ministers of the Christian Church.[1] The effect of this triumph of the sacerdotal principle will appear when we come to treat of the sacraments, their nature and import.

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[1] *v. de unitate ecclesiæ*, c. 5. Episcopatus unus est cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.

[2] *De Exhort. Cast.*, c. 7; *de Baptismo*, c. 17; *de Præscr. Hæres.*, c. 41, *et al.*

[3] "The sacerdotal conception of the ministry is not found in Ignatius, in Clement of Rome, or Clement of Alexandria, in Justin, or in Irenæus, or in any other ecclesiastical writer prior to Tertullian." *v.* Fisher: *The Beginnings of Christianity*, p. 553.

[4] In this there was a very close parallelism to the priestly notion (compare Exod. xix, 6; Lev. xx, 26; Deut. xxxi, 19, with 1 Pet. ii, 5 and 9; Rev. i, 6; v, 10) as it was originally conceived in the Jewish Church. *v.* Bähr: *Symbolik d. mosäischen Cultus*, Bd. ii, ss. 11–22. "Was das Volk im weiten, grossen Kreise, das ist der Priesterstand im kleinern, engern, besonderern Kreise; in ihm concentrirt sich demnach die religiöse Würde des gesammten Volkes; alles was dieses zukommt ist ihm in höherem Grade und darum auch in vollerem Masse eigen." s. 13.

Was it of Jewish or pagan origin?

Whether this result was due to the influence of Jewish-Christian or of Gentile churches is still a matter of debate. Lightfoot decides for the latter: "Indeed, the hold of the Levitical priesthood on the mind of the pious Jew must have been materially weakened at the Christian era by the development of the synagogue organization on the one hand and by the ever-growing influence of the learned and literary classes, the scribes and rabbis, on the other. The points on which the Judaizers of the apostolic age insist are the rite of circumcision, the distinction of meats, the observance of the Sabbaths, and the like. The necessity of a priesthood was not, or at least is not, known to have been a part of their programme. . . . But, indeed, the overwhelming argument against ascribing the growth of sacerdotal views to Jewish influence lies in the fact that there is a singular absence of distinct sacerdotalism during the first century and a half, where alone on any showing Judaism was powerful enough to impress itself on the belief of the Church at large.

Lightfoot's opinion.

"It is therefore to Gentile feeling that this development must be ascribed. For the heathen, familiar with the auguries, lustrations, sacrifices, and depending on the intervention of some priest for all the manifold religious rites of the state, the club, and the family, the sacerdotal functions must have occupied a far larger space in the affairs of every-day life than for the Jew of the dispersion, who, of necessity, dispensed and had no scruple in dispensing with priestly ministrations from one year's end to the other. With this presumption drawn from probability the evidence of fact accords."[2]

We have before said (*v.* p. 343) that the destruction of Jerusalem was powerful in modifying the prevailing Jewish sacerdotal notion; yet Lightfoot's reasons are very important. It is probably true that neither branch of the early Church was unfavourable to this thought, after the warm religious feeling of the apostolic Church had somewhat subsided. One sure result of a spiritual declension is to diminish the feeling of individual worth and responsibility, to magnify forms, and delegate to others duties which were before regarded as personal.

Moreover, the reasons already given for a more thorough and compact ecclesiastical organization after the middle of the second century would apply with equal force to the question of the origin of sacerdotalism in the Christian Church. A centre of organization would soon carry with it peculiar prerogatives, and unity of doctrine and government would imply an authority to interpret and enforce this unity. This official class would naturally seek for all possible sanctions for the exercise of such extraordinary powers, and to regard these as divinely bestowed was entirely consonant with the historical development of Judaism and of the heathen religions.

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[1] Ep. 54, 64, 68.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 260.

In answering the question of the source of this principle, it is however, of first importance to study the opinions of the Christian fathers themselves. It might be expected that in the varied and extensive writings of men by whom the sacerdotal notion was first sanctioned and defended the references to a Gentile origin might be frequent. Thoroughly conversant with heathen customs and religious rites, as well as with profane literature and civil law, and converted to Christianity in mature life, Tertullian and Cyprian were the men best acquainted with the origin of the priestly notion, and with the source of the change which passed upon the ecclesiastical polity from the close of the second to the middle of the third century. Yet in the writings of neither of these eminent fathers is there an intimation that the sacerdotal principle was suggested by Gentile customs. On the contrary, they uniformly derive their notions of the character, and enforce the authority, of the clergy by examples from the Jewish Church and from the prerogatives of the Aaronic priesthood.[1] From these considerations it may be fairly inferred that in the Jewish economy, as well as in the religious customs with which the Gentile converts were entirely familiar, the sacerdotal principle in the Church of the third century found its origin and sanction.

§ 4. *The Apostolic Constitutions.*

Another class of writings illustrating the nature and development of the early Church government are the "Apostolic Constitutions."[2] The first six books, probably belonging to the latter half of the third century, are plainly Jewish-Christian in their spirit and teaching. A strong likeness to the pseudo-Clementine homilies is everywhere noticeable. The episcopate is very strongly emphasized. The bishop is the vicar of the unseen Lord Christ, and is to exercise leadership and watch-care until the Lord shall come again.[1]

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[1] *v.* for Cyprian, ep. 61, c. 4; ep. 67, c. 3; ep. 72, c. 8, *et al.*

[2] *v.* edition of P. A. Lagarde, Leipzig, 1862; also the critical discussions and estimates of Drey: *Neue Untersuchungen über die Constitut. u. Kanones d. Aposteln,* Tübingen, 1832; and Bickell: *Geschichte d. Kirchenrechts,* Giessen, 1843.

A divine state.

The Church is regarded as a divine state, in which the bishop exercises the highest functions of judge, prophet, and priest. His judicial power in civil matters is supreme.[2] By virtue of complete knowledge conferred by the Holy Spirit he becomes the infallible prophet and teacher; to him, as high-priest, exclusively belongs the right to arrange the services of divine worship,and to be the spiritual director of the flock.[3] With him rests the original authoritative rule of faith as given by the apostles. These writings give minutest directions respecting ordination. This must be conferred by three bishops at least; only in case of extreme need is the work of two regarded as canonical. The act of ordination does not, however, as in the opinion of Cyprian, confer upon the candidate special spiritual gifts.[4] The sacerdotal character of the episcopacy is even more pronounced than in the writings of Cyprian. In these writings the constitution of the Church and the character of its government are those of a thoroughly unified, closely compacted, and widely recognised organization, in which are found nearly all the germs of the powerful hierarchy whose influence was so controlling for nearly a thousand years.

Ordination, how effected.

Thus in the process of two and a half centuries the constitution of the Church underwent several important changes. The origin and cause of these are at times veiled in deep obscurity. The great paucity of evidence, both documentary and monumental, the doubt attaching to the genuineness and integrity of some of the writings which have survived, and the great difficulties of their interpretation give occasion for the honest maintenance of different theories. But a careful examination of the history justifies the conclusion that these changes were effected more by the peculiar influences incident to the propagation of a new religion than to either a directly divine institution or to a set purpose on the part of the Church leaders. The ecclesiastical organization which we find at the beginning of the fourth century is but a natural outcome of the peculiar forces which pressed upon the Church from within and from without. A compact unity of both doctrine and discipline for self-defence comported with the idea of an office and officer who should thoroughly embody that unity in himself, and who should be prepared for the high responsibility of maintaining this unity through direct inspiration of knowledge and purity by the Holy Spirit.

Affected by its environment.

Church government a development.

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[1] Const., ii, 20. [2] Id., ii, 11, 45-53. [3] Id., ii, 27, 33; iii, 10. [4] Id., viii, 4, 5.

CHAPTER V.

THE OFFICES AND OFFICERS OF THE POST-APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

§ 1. *Origin of Episcopacy.*

Its origin.

FROM this examination it will appear less surprising that different opinions have been entertained respecting the origin of the episcopacy. Three general theories have been urged with great ability by their respective advocates:

First theory.

1. Episcopacy is of apostolic origin. The apostles chose and ordained men to be their true and lawful successors as teachers and governors of the Christian Church. These men were clothed with like authority and endowed with like spiritual gifts as the apostles themselves in order to preserve intact the teachings and spirit of Christ, who instituted the apostolate. The advocates[1] of this theory urge the following considerations: 1.) The position of James, who stood at the head of the Church of Jerusalem. 2.) The office of the assistants and delegates of the apostles, as Timothy, Titus, Silas, Epaphroditus, Luke, etc., who in a measure represented the apostles in specific cases. 3.) The angels of the seven Asiatic churches, who, it is claimed, were of the rank of bishop. 4.) The testimony of Ignatius presupposes the episcopate as already in existence. 5.) The statement of Clement of Alexandria that John instituted bishops after his return from Patmos; also the accounts of Irenæus, Tertullian, Eusebius, and Jerome that the same apostle nominated and ordained Polycarp as bishop of Smyrna. 6.) The traditions of the churches of Antioch and Rome, which trace their line of bishops back to apostolic institution and keep the record of an unbroken succession. 7.) The almost universal and uncontested spread of the episcopate in the second century, which it is conceded by all cannot be satisfactorily explained without the presumption of at least the indirect sanction of the apostles.[2]

2. It originated in the so called household societies or congrega-

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[1] This is the view of the Greek Church, and is embraced by most of the Roman Catholics and the High Anglicans. It is also advocated by Bunsen, Rothe, Thiersch, and a few other Protestant scholars.

[2] Abridged from Schaff: *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 135–139. Rothe is the most able modern defender of this theory.

Second theory.

tions. The following considerations are urged by this school: 1.) It is well known that in the more important cities single families gathered in the house of a well known disciple, and thus were formed the so called family societies or churches (*ἐκκλησία κατ' οἰκον*). 2.) The foremost person among the disciples thus banded together was called to extend his patronage or protection to the society thus formed. This family patronage is mentioned in the Scriptures,[1] as well as in the letters of Ignatius.[2] It seems to have been quite generally recognised at Rome, and there are clear intimations of its prevalence at Corinth.[3] Afterward, when these family churches, over each of which such patron presided, were united into one congregation, a college of presbyters or patrons would thus be formed, to whose president was given the title of bishop, *ἐπίσκοπος*. In this manner the episcopate originated.[4]

Third theory.

3. A third theory has been well formulated as follows: "The episcopate was formed not out of the apostolic order by localization, but out of the presbyterial by elevation; and the title, which originally was common to all, came at length to be appropriated to the chief among them."[5] In other words, the episcopate, as a distinct office, was of post-apostolic origin, was not a distinctively divine institution, and therefore not an office necessary to the existence of the Christian Church. It was the result of peculiar circumstances, a development from the needs which the early Church felt for unification of government and doctrine, and for the more careful oversight and administration of its charities. The facts urged by the advocates of this theory are: 1.) The almost universally conceded identity of bishops and presbyters in the writings of the New Testament. 2.) This identity of terms continues to the close of the first century, and even into the second; at least there is no clearly conceived difference, and they seem to be used interchangeably or very loosely. 3.) From the first century down to the beginning of the third it was the custom of the influential Church of Alexandria to recognise twelve presbyters. From this number the body elected and consecrated a president, to whom they gave the title of bishop. They then elected one to take his place in the presbyterial body. It is also probable that to the

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[1] Rom. xvi, 14, 15; 1 Cor. xvi, 19.

[2] *Ad Ephes.*, c. 5, 6, 8, 13, 20; *ad Smyrn.*, c. 1, 2, 7, 8, *et al.*

[3] 1 Cor. i, 16; xvi, 15, 19.

[4] For the influence of these house or family societies upon the development of ecclesiastical architecture, *v.* bk. i, ch. vi. This is substantially the theory of Baur, Kist, Weingarten, Heinrici, Hase, and others. *v.* especially Baur: *Über den Ursprung des Episcopats*, ss. 85, 90, 107, *et al.*

[5] Lightfoot: *Op. cit.*, p. 196.

end of the second century the bishop of Alexandria was the only bishop in all Egypt.[1] 4.) Jerome distinctly affirms that the Church was originally governed by a body of presbyters, and that the bishop was elected at a later period to secure unity of doctrine and government. In other words, it was a prudential measure and not a divine institution.

§ 2. *The Presbyters, Deacons, Deaconesses, etc.*

Duties and prerogatives.

The effect of the efforts of Irenæus and Tertullian to secure a unified and authoritative doctrine, *regula fidei*, and of Cyprian, Calixtus, and Hegesippus to realize the idea of "a holy Catholic Church," through the supervision of bishops who should exercise their prerogatives by virtue of an unbroken succession from the apostles, necessarily conferred upon the episcopal office a dignity and an importance before unknown. The difference between them and the body of presbyters and the deacons became more distinct, and the duties and prerogatives of each were more sharply defined and carefully guarded. The division of the Church into clergy and laity became more positive than before. The clergy are now priests to serve at the altar, to minister for the people. But both clergy and laity are alike subject to the authority of the bishop. Cyprian had also the energy to enforce these provisions.

Limitation of rights of the laity.

The rights which all members of the Church had enjoyed in the first and early part of the second century were, under Irenæus and Cyprian, largely ignored, and in the times after Cyprian the constitution of the Church more and more disallowed the claims of the laity to a participation in government. These privileges of private members were curtailed to almost the same degree as the influence of the bishops increased.[2] The laity could be present at the assemblies of the church, and could approve any decision which had been reached by the presbyterial council. But this was only a matter of form, and their failure to approve was not of the nature of a veto, since the prevailing theory was that the presbyterial council was under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit, and hence that its conclusions were not to be set aside. The presbyters now perform their duties by virtue of being a constituent part of the presbytery. In this association with the bishop they are sometimes called co-presbyters. In one of Cyprian's letters[3] they are represented as united with the bishop in priestly honor. This has been cited by some to show his belief in the equality of bishops and presbyters. But this view does not comport with the general teaching and conduct of Cyprian, nor is it in accord with the spirit of the "Apostolic Constitutions." Rather must this and other somewhat similar expressions indicate the priestly character of the presbyters by virtue of their prerogative to bring the offering in the eucharist. This is made more clear from the advice given in case of lapsed or heretical presbyters who sought readmission into the Church. They were to be received as private members.[1] The presbyters were to officiate at the altar in the absence of the bishop, and they with the deacons were to care for the interests of the Church.[2]

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[1] The rapid growth of the diocesan principle is, however, seen in the fact that by the middle of the third century Egypt had more than a score of bishops.

[2] Otto Ritschl: *Cyprian von Carthago*, etc., Göttingen, 1885, ss. 211, 212.

[3] Ep. 61, 3. *Episcopo sacerdotale honore conjuncti.*

Functions of presbyters.

In case the Church was so widely scattered that its members could not assemble in one place, the presbyters were accustomed to celebrate the eucharist in the distant districts. The priestly power was not held by virtue of their office as presbyters, but because they were the agents and representatives of the bishops. The original functions of the presbyters as rulers were now enlarged, and what had at first been regarded with a degree of jealousy became at the close of the third century ordinary and unquestioned.[3] In Cyprian's day the presbyters had an advisory voice in the council. The preliminary examinations and the first bringing of causes before the council were left to their decision. In the third century a special class of presbyters, *presbyteri doctores*, is met, whose duties have given rise to considerable debate. It seems most probable, however, that they were merely teachers of the catechumens and of those who returned from the heretical sects, as at an earlier period they instructed those who passed from heathendom to Christianity.

Changes in the functions of deacons.

The office and duties of the deacons underwent like transformations. From ministers for the relief of the poor, and the companions and advisers of the bishop in the administration of public charities, by the growth of the sacerdotal notion they came to be regarded as subordinate to bishops and presbyters, sustaining in the Christian economy the same relation as did the Levites to the priests under the Mosaic.

No longer overseers of charities.

The rapid growth of the Church in numbers and the multiplication of its charities made direct oversight by the deacons impracticable. They could no longer personally inspect the individual cases of want and report them to the bishop. Moreover, the founding of asylums, orphanages, guesthouses, etc., each managed by its appropriate board, materially modified the original functions of the deacons, and reduced them for the most part to the position of subordinate ministers of public worship. Nevertheless, they were conceived as sustaining even closer relations to the bishops than the presbyters themselves. When, therefore, they were constituted a college under a president, known as the archdeacon, this officer became intimately associated with the bishop in the administration of affairs.[1]

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[1] Ep. 72, 2.

[2] Ep. 5, 2.

[3] Hatch: *Op. cit.*, pp. 77, 78; O. Ritschl: *Op. cit.*, s. 232.

In the time of Cyprian the deacons manifestly bore the consecrated elements to the confessors who were languishing in prisons, and also aided the bishop in the administration of baptism and of the eucharist. In fine, they seem now to have come to be ministrants to the other orders in the Church.[2] Thus they are permitted to read the Gospel lesson at the communion service;[3] they care for the furniture of the altar in those churches where the inferior officers were forbidden by the canons of the councils to come into the sanctuarium; they receive the offerings of the people and present them to the minister at the altar. They are allowed to baptize by the permission and authority of the bishop, but it is evident that this was differently regarded in different churches, some granting and others denying this function to the deacons.[4]

May baptize.

After the Church had accepted the sacerdotal idea of the ministry the right of the deacons to consecrate the eucharist was for the most part denied. Since the eucharist was of the nature of a sacrifice, none but a priest could lawfully offer it; and the priestly character of the deacons was not generally recognised.[5] By the authority of the bishop they were permitted to preach, and in some instances to read homilies or sermons which had been prepared by distinguished ministers. They were the especial servants of the bishops, often accompanying them as secretaries in their diocesan visits, and on extraordinary occasions became their representatives in the general councils, where, as deputies or proxies, they were permitted to vote on all questions there determined. The disciplinary function of these officers is referred to elsewhere. The age at which candidates were eligible to the office was usually twenty-five. This was afterward fixed by the decisions of councils and by the edicts of emperors. Their number greatly varied in different prov-

Could not celebrate the eucharist.

Special servants of the bishops.

When eligible.

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[1] Hatch: *Op. cit.*, pp. 53, 54.

[2] *v.* Ritschl: *Op. cit.*, s. 235.

[3] Constit. Apost., l. 2, c. 57.

[4] Tertullian, Jerome, and Cyprian clearly recognise this right; the Apostolic Constitutions and Epiphanius as clearly deny it.

[5] Constit. Apost., l. 8, c. 28.

inces of the empire, and in different periods of the history of the Church. In some instances there is a very strict adherence to the original number seven. In the influential Church of Rome this number long continued; in other important churches their number seems to have increased as the necessities of worship and administration required; in St. Sophia and three other churches of Constantinople Justinian allowed one hundred.

The number seven continued.

The archdeacon was president of the body or college of deacons. The method of his appointment is not always clear. Probably it was not uniform. He appears to have been nominated by the bishop and elected by his fellow deacons. While the language of some canons clearly makes it the duty of the bishop to appoint his own archdeacon, the manner of such appointment is not indicated. Since this officer was most intimately connected with the bishop, and was, next to him, the most important in the Church, it is not strange that the councils should jealously guard the selection. In all the distinctive functions of his office the bishop relied directly and immediately upon the archdeacon. Hence, in case of the death of a bishop the archdeacon, rather than one of the presbyters, was usually appointed his successor.[1]

The archdeacon.

How elected.

His importance.

There has been much controversy respecting the character, office, and functions of the deaconesses in the ancient Church. That an order of women whose duties somewhat corresponded to those of the deacons existed in the early Church is unquestioned. But as to the grounds of eligibility, the question of ordination, the scope of duties, etc., widely different opinions have obtained. It is probable that women of somewhat advanced years, widows who had borne children, were usually chosen; yet it is as certain that young unmarried women were sometimes appointed. Piety, discretion, and experience were in any case the indispensable prerequisites in candidates. During the first two centuries the Church more carefully heeded the advice of Paul that the deaconess should have been the wife of one husband,[2] also that the Church should admit to this office only those who had been thoroughly tested by previous trusts, having used hospitality to strangers, washed the saints' feet, relieved the afflicted, diligently followed every good work, etc. (1 Tim.

The deaconesses.

Qualifications.

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[1] *v.* Bingham: *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, bk. ii, chap. xxi.

[2] The teaching of Paul in this passage is not plain. Whether it is to be taken in its literal meaning, or whether he meant to exclude only those who, after divorce from the first husband, married a second time, is not clear. The latter interpretation best accords with the spirit of the New Testament teaching.

v, 10); but at a later period there was more laxity, and younger and inexperienced women were admitted. The question of their ordination has been much debated. They were inducted into their office by the imposition of hands; of this there is abundant proof. This would not necessarily imply the right to fulfill the sacred functions of the ministry. While some of the Montanists allowed women to be bishops and presbyters, their practice was strongly opposed as unscriptural, and Tertullian[1] condemns the allowing of women to baptize as contrary to the apostolic teaching. Yet it may well be doubted whether this was the earlier view of the Church, before the sacerdotal character of the ministry had come to be generally recognised.[2]

Their ordination.

Did not baptize.

The need of such helpers arose from the customs and usages of the ancient world, which forbade the intimate association of the sexes in public assemblies. They were to instruct the female catechumens, to assist in the baptism of women, to anoint with holy oil,[3] to minister to the confessors who were languishing in prison, to care for the women who were in sickness or distress, and sometimes were doorkeepers in the churches.[4]

Their duties.

§ 3. *Chorepiscopi, Metropolitans, or Primates, and Patriarchs.*

The centralization of power and the unification of the government under the Roman emperors exerted a very marked influence upon the administration of the Christian Church. The facts that Italy thereby lost its peculiar privileges, and that the freemen throughout the vast empire had equal rights as Roman citizens, were the necessary antecedents to the complete unification of church administration when Christianity was adopted as the state religion. To secure a vigorous government in Italy, Augustus had divided it into eleven regions; and Constantine extended this principle to the entire empire, by forming four pretorian prefectures; namely, of Gaul, of Italy, of Illyricum, and of the East. Each of these was divided into dioceses, and these again into provinces.

In the fourth century the Christian Church accepted these divisions of the empire as useful in its own government; and it is noteworthy that sometimes the ecclesiastical divisions long outlived the political, and became of extreme importance in tracing the civil history.[1] The patriarchates of the Church corresponded quite closely to the political prefectures, only departing from them territorially to the degree that they might group together peoples of like race and language. In the course of the fourth and fifth centuries the patriarchal system became quite clearly defined; giving the patriarchate of Rome, of Constantinople, of Antioch, of Alexandria, and, a little later, of Jerusalem—the last being taken from that of Antioch. The name patriarch was at first confined to the ecclesiastic having jurisdiction over one of these patriarchates; but at a later period this title was more loosely used, sometimes, as in the case of Rome, being extended to embrace all Italy, Gaul, Britain, and most of the Teutonic peoples, while in other cases it was applied to such as had under their supervision a simple see.

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[1] *De Baptismo*, c. 17.

[2] The Montanists were the Puritans of their age. Their protests against hurtful innovations of doctrine and government were vigorous and often just; hence their recognition of the rights of women to minister in sacred things must have been believed to be in accordance with apostolic usage.

[3] Const. Apost., l. 3, c. 15.

[4] Const. Apost., l. 2, c. 57.

Under the patriarchs were metropolitans, each of whom had jurisdiction in a diocese, whose capital city was also the ecclesiastical metropolis. These provinces were in turn divided into episcopal sees or districts, over which bishops had jurisdiction. The extent and importance of these dioceses and districts greatly fluctuated—in southern Europe and in the lands adjacent to the Mediterranean being small in area, while in northern Europe, and in the outlying lands where missionary labours had resulted in founding churches, a district often included an entire tribe or principality.

Thus the ecclesiastical divisions of the empire were suggested by, and corresponded quite closely to, the political. "As in every metropolis or chief city of each province there was a superior magistrate above the magistrates of every single city, so, likewise, in the same metropolis there was a bishop, whose power extended over the whole province, where he was called the metropolitan, or primate, as being the principal bishop of the province. . . . In like manner, as the state had a *vicarius* in every capital city of each civil diocese, so the Church in process of time came to have exarchs, or patriarchs, in many, if not in all, the capital cities of the empire."[2] This dependence of the ecclesiastical divisions upon the political is further shown from the fact that as the latter were changed the former experienced like change; and when the question of primacy between two churches in the same province or district arose, it was settled by ascertaining which the state regarded as the metropolis, and conforming the Church thereto. Thus, cities which at one period were no more than single sees afterward became seats of metropolitans and patriarchs, while a former metropolis sank to the condition of a mere see.[1] The relations and duties of these several ecclesiastical officers will now more clearly appear.

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[1] *v.* Freeman: *The Historical Geography of Europe*, second edition, London, 1882. chap. vii.

[2] *v.* Bingham: *Antiquities of the Church*, bk. ix, chap. i, p. 342.

Occasion of institution.

Presbyters or bishops?

Functions.

Sat in councils.

The existence of Christian societies in the villages and rural districts more or less remote from the city, which was the special diocese of the bishop, rendered it necessary that a special officer should be appointed for their immediate oversight. These were called *chorepiscopi*, τῆς χώρας ἐπίσκοποι,[2] or bishops of the country. They were the assistants of the bishops in administration. Whether they were simple presbyters or had received episcopal ordination has divided the opinion of archæologists. Probably both at times officiated in this capacity; either presbyters directly appointed, or bishops who had been rejected by their dioceses, or had been received again from the number of those who had belonged to a schismatic party.[3] They first appear toward the close of the third century in Asia Minor, and are first recognised by the Councils of Ancyra and Neo-Cæsarea in A. D. 314, and by the Council of Nice in A. D. 325. They continued in the Eastern Church until about the ninth century, and in the Latin Church until the tenth or eleventh century. They exercised, at times, most of the functions of the bishops themselves. We find some councils clothing them with authority to ordain all inferior officers in their churches, sometimes even without the permission of the city bishop; but in most instances consultation with the bishop of the city church was expected, and special leave obtained. They had authority to confirm; to give letters of dismission and commendation to the clergy who were about to remove to other parts; to conduct public divine service in the chief church in the presence of the bishop, or by his permission or request. They are found in the councils, casting their votes on all questions there decided,[1] and exercising every right pertaining to the episcopal members of the synods or councils.

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[1] Bingham gives the approximate *notitia* of the Church at the close of the fourth century. In the patriarchate of Antioch, corresponding closely with the civil *notitia*, were fifteen provinces, with the same number of metropolitans. In the patriarchate of Alexandria (diocese of Egypt) there were six metropolitans; in the exarchate of Ephesus, ten metropolitans; in the exarchate of Cæsarea, eleven; in the exarchate of Heraclea (afterward Constantinople), six; in the exarchate of Thessalonica, six; in the exarchate of Milan, seven; in the patriarchate of Rome, ten; in the exarchate of Sirmium, six; in the exarchate of Carthage, six; in the diocese of Spain, seven; in the diocese of Gaul, seventeen; in the diocese of Britain, five provinces, with capitals at York, London, and Caerleon. In his final index he gives a list of 185 provinces or metropolitan districts, and 1,560 episcopal sees. Yet it is probable that such lists are far from perfect.

[2] This seems the more probable derivation.

[3] Such instances are mentioned by Socrates: *Hist. Eccl.*, l. 4, c. 7; and were distinctly provided for by conciliary action. *v.* Canon 8 of the Council of Nice.

Primates.

The primate, or metropolitan,[2] sustained a like relation to the bishops of a province as did the bishop of a city to the chorepiscopi of his country churches. The time of the introduction of this office is not certain. Like most other ecclesiastical provisions it was probably created to meet a felt need in the government and oversight of the churches. While some find its beginning in the prerogatives exercised by Titus and Timothy in the early Church, others as strenuously deny its apostolic origin, and place its beginning as late as the third century. The Council of Nicæa clearly recognises the office as of long standing, and treated it as a venerable institution. Cyprian mentions[3] that the bishop of Carthage presided over all the other African bishops, and issued to them mandates. Whether this was indeed the exercise of metropolitan power, or simply has reference to the fact of presidency in the councils, is not very clear. Nevertheless, by the fourth century the metropolitan office is fully recognised, and is regulated in its functions and privileges by the canons of councils.

Time of origin uncertain.

How appointed.

They were elected and ordained by the bishops of their province. Their functions were different at different stages of the history of the Church. Their most important duties and prerogatives were to preside at the provincial councils; to provide for and ordain the bishop to a vacant see; to decide questions between the various bishops, or between individual bishops and their flocks; to assemble synods for the examination of doctrine and the enforcement of discipline; to publish to the churches of their provinces the conciliary decrees, or the edicts of the emperor, by which doctrine and discipline were to be inculcated; to issue letters of commendation to the bishops of their districts, since these were not permitted to journey abroad without such letters; to hear appeals of presbyters or deacons who had been deposed by the bishop of a diocese.[4]

Their duties.

The patriarchs were evidently a class of highest dignity and authority. During the fourth century the office became quite widely recognised, and was confirmed by the general councils of Constantinople A. D. 381, Ephesus A. D. 431, and Chalcedon A. D. 551. The patriarch sustained to the metropolitans relations similar to those which the latter held to the bishops of sees; hence he was ordained by his metropolitans, and in turn ordained them. He presided at diocesan councils, heard appeals of bishops from the decisions of the metropolitans, communicated to them the imperial edicts or conciliary decrees, censured the metropolitans in case of remissness, etc. Each patriarch was regarded as supreme in his own patriarchate until Rome and Constantinople rose to superior dignity and laid claim to superior authority.

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[1] The subscriptions of the Council of Nicæa clearly prove the presence of chorepiscopi from several provinces, also the subscriptions of the councils of Neocæsarea and Ephesus.

[2] The distinction between the metropolitan and archbishop is not easy to describe. That they were synonymous has been held by some high authorities, and denied by others. Sometimes they seem to be almost identical, at other periods of the history a plain distinction is made. *v.* Augusti: *Op. cit.*, bd. i, ss. 201, 202.

[3] Ep. 42, *ad Cornelian;* Ep. 40 and 45.

[4] *v.* Bingham: *Antiquities of the Church*, bk. ii, ch. xiv.

Patriarchs.

Arose gradually.

Duties.

§ 4. *The Sub-orders of the Clergy.*

The shifting conditions of the post-apostolic Church necessitated changes in its constitution and discipline. Whenever the needs were urgent, the Church exerted herself to satisfy them. The principles of Christian prudence and reasonable adjustment, rather than that of divine institution, here governed. As the functions of the chief officers varied according to providential indications, so the wants of the societies led to the institution of inferior offices which were believed to contribute to the convenience or effectiveness of church activities, discipline, or life. The theory that the *ordines minores*, especially the *lectores*, originated by a differentiation of the duties of the diaconate[1] cannot be regarded as resting on firm historical foundations. This prudential principle is seen in the fact that sub-officers are not met with until the third century, when the organization of the churches had become more complete, and then only in local societies whose circumstances are peculiar. It is doubtful whether they appear in the Greek Church before the fourth century. The most important of these inferior officers are:

Providential indications.

1. The sub-deacons,[2] whose duty it was to assist the deacons, especially in those important churches where the original number seven had been continued. The province of these sub-officers was jealously guarded, so that many of the duties of the deacons were not permitted to them. While ordained,[3] they

Sub-deacons.

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[1] *v.* Scherer: *Handbuch des Kirchenrechts*, Grätz, 1886, bd. i, s. 317. Contra, *v.* Harnack: *Über den Ursprung des Lectorates und der anderen niederen Weihen*, Giessen, 1886.

[2] It is believed that Athanasius is the first Greek writer who mentions them.

[3] They are supposed to be first distinctly referred to by Cyprian, Epist. 8, 20, 23, 29, etc.

were not clothed with authority to aid in administering the sacraments, nor in any case to preach, but their functions were largely manual, sometimes menial.

Acolyths.

2. The acolyths, *ἀκόλουθοι*, were at first confined to the Latin Church; no Greek writer earlier than Justinian makes mention of them. The meaning of the term would suggest that they were general servants, but the reception of a candlestick with a taper in it, and an empty pitcher in which to bring wine, on the occasion of their installation, point to the lighting of the churches and the care of the wine for the eucharist as their chief duties.

Their duties.

Exorcists.

3. The casting out of devils by prayer and by special gift of the Holy Spirit is mentioned in the apostolic age. Christ says the devils shall be subject to his apostles; yet a wider circle of *exorcists* is implied in the references which are met in the first and second centuries. As a distinct class of officers they first appear in the third century. From the Apostolic Constitutions [1] we should infer that their origin must have been of a later date; yet the more just opinion is that in the third century they were recognised as having a distinct function in the Church. This function was to offer special prayer over the demoniacs, who were kept for the most part in the church, to minister to their physical needs and to effect a restoration.

Duties.

Other inferior officers who appeared from the third century are the readers, *lectores*, who read the Scriptures from the reading desk, not the altar; the door-keepers, *ostiarii*, who had charge of the entrances, in order to permit no unworthy person to come into the place of worship; the singers, *psalmistæ*,[2] who cared for the singing of the Church and the training of the choirs for the antiphonal service; the catechists, who were to instruct the catechumens in the first principles of religion, thus fitting them for baptism. This instruction could not, however, be conducted in the public congregation.

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[1] l. viii, c. 26.

[2] It is doubtful whether these appear as a distinct class before the fourth century.

CHAPTER VI.

SYNODS AND COUNCILS, AND THEIR AUTHORITY.

The synod of Jerusalem.

After the analogy of civil leagues.

THE council at Jerusalem was the first assembly of the "apostles, elders, and brethren," to decide upon doctrines and polity which were to be accepted by the Christian societies. It is an instructive fact that in this first council are the apostles and elders *with the whole Church*, and that the decisions are sanctioned by the entire body . This is in perfect accord with the general spirit of the apostolic age. The entire body of believers were to be guided by the Holy Spirit into all truth, and they were the depositary of ecclesiastical power. Nevertheless, the meetings for consultation upon matters of general interest were in harmony with what was well understood, not only by the citizens of the Roman Empire, but by all the ancient world. The Achaian, Thessalian, Ætolian, Amphictyonic, and other councils and leagues are only familiar examples of the custom of the ancient cities and peoples to meet for consultation on interests common to all. We find almost precisely the same terms—provinces, dioceses, metropolitans, synods, councils, etc.—used to characterize these assemblies and their members.

Necessary to preserve the unity of the Church.

The assertion of the unity of the Holy Catholic Church necessarily carried with it unity of doctrine and government. Reference has already been made to the intimate relations which existed between the different bishops, and the means used to maintain these relations for purposes of preserving the unity of the Church.

Provincial synods.

Decline of lay influence.

Hence, after the middle of the second century the assembly of delegates from the societies of a province, for the determination and maintenance of the most important questions, is quite common. They appear in Asia Minor and Gaul. These gatherings, called provincial synods, became quite general in the beginning of the third century, and were generally held at stated times. With respect to these, as to other matters of Church government, there was a gradual decline of the influence and rights of the laity, and a growing power of the clergy. The laity, who were at first important factors of the synodical assemblies, were of little influence after the middle of the third century; and by the beginning of the fourth, the composition of the councils was restricted to the three orders of the clergy. Among these the influence of the presbyters declined more and more, and the authority of the bishops soon became almost exclusive and supreme.

Metropolitan synods.

A further attempt at preserving the unity of the Church is the extension of the council to include the ecclesiastical authorities of a diocese or a patriarchate. Usually these were convoked by the metropolitan or patriarch, and had reference to interests touching a wider district or territory.[1] In these councils the principle of representation seems to have been recognised to a considerable extent, since the third Council of Carthage, A. D. 398, by its canons provided for the presence of three bishops from every African province excepting Tripoli, which could send but one on account of the small number of its bishops.

The representative principle.

Œcumenical councils.

Of still greater significance were the œcumenical or general councils, which purposed to include in their numbers representatives from the widest possible areas of Christendom. An extraordinary exigency only could lead to the assembly of such body; a widespread agitation as, for example, that resulting from the Arian controversy, or some general interest, was the occasion of its meeting.

Who assembled the councils?

The authority to convoke the councils varied with the times and the character of the council itself. When it was of a district, the bishop assembled the elders, deacons, and people; when of a diocese or province, the metropolitan or patriarch; when œcumenical, it was usually by imperial edict, with the advice and approval of the chief bishops.[2] The bishops' or metropolitans' circular letters for summoning the council went under the name *synodicæ* or *tractoriæ;* those of the emperors, *sacræ.* The bishop presided in the district council, the metropolitan or patriarch in the provincial, while the general councils were under the nominal control of the emperor or his representative; but the presidents proper, προέδροι, were usually chosen from the most influential and venerable members.[3] The council delib-

Who presided?

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[1] *v.* Bickell: *Op. cit.*, 2te Lief., cap. 14.

[2] The delegates to an œcumenical council sometimes journeyed at the public expense. *v.* Eusebius: *De Vita Const.*, iii, 6, for an account of this in case of the Council of Nicæa.

[3] Eusebius, Sozomen, and Socrates agree in saying, that in the Council of Nicæa Hosius of Cordova, Alexander of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, Macarius of Jerusalem, and Vitus and Vincentius, the vicars of the Bishop of Rome, were the chief presidents.

erated and decided respecting matters of Church government, discipline, doctrine, and worship. At the same time it constituted a court before which the clergy or the laity could bring charges against the bishops or others. In the provincial councils such complaints were usually lodged with the archdeacon of the metropolitan church, who, in turn, brought them to the knowledge of the council.

Subjects considered.

The early method of balloting was by heads, the method of motions not having been introduced until late in the Middle Ages. The latter was regarded as justifiable only in extraordinary emergencies.

Method of voting.

Decrees of œcumenical councils were sometimes of the nature of laws, which the emperors enforced. Constantine regarded the decisions of the Council of Nice as obligatory on the subjects of the empire, and hence punished non-subscription by exile. Like action was taken by Theodosius the Great respecting the decrees of the Constantinopolitan council, by Theodosius II. respecting the decisions of the Council of Ephesus, and by Marcian regarding those of the Council of Chalcedon, in A. D. 451.

Enforcement of conciliary decisions.

In matters of discipline, it seems that the decisions of the councils were not unalterable. In respect to articles of faith, the principle holding seemed to be that it was not the prerogative of a council to enlarge or extend the boundaries of faith, but to confirm, establish, and make more clear by definition what had been the doctrine of the general Church. The decisions might be abrogated, even with regard to doctrines. Not until near the close of the period of which we treat did conciliary decisions assume an authority almost equal to Scripture. Augustine, Gregory the Great, and other champions of the Church, while not yielding the supreme authority of the Scriptures, nevertheless placed much stress upon the decrees of councils as expressive of the opinion of good men whom God had promised to "lead into all truth." So that in early times the provincial councils imposed their decisions upon those within their jurisdiction as of the highest prudential worth, and the general councils were believed to have formulated doctrine under such favorable circumstances that the decisions were looked upon as of great moral and religious value. Hence we find that the Church generally accepted the decisions of the first six œcumenical councils, and was at times inclined to regard them as of almost equal authority with the Scriptures themselves.

Was their decision binding?

Growing authority of conciliary decisions.

CHAPTER VII.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

§ 1. *Reasons and Degrees of Punishment.*

The Church was regarded as a body of believers on Jesus Christ, bound together by a fellowship most sacred, for the promotion of holiness and the perfection of character (1 Pet. ii, 9, 10). Its relations and duties were voluntarily assumed; its obligations were enforced by moral, not by physical, sanctions.

Design of Church discipline.

The object of Church discipline, exercised as it was only upon members of its own communion, was to preserve purity of doctrine and life.[1] The apostolic Church imposed but one condition of membership—faith in Jesus as the risen Lord, and baptism into the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Nevertheless, this Church had the clear sanction of an apostle for maintaining sound discipline (1 Cor. v; 2 Cor. ii; Col. ii, 5; Clement. Rom., *Ep.* i, *ad Cor.*, c. 44); and the apostolic fathers are explicit in the inculcation of ecclesiastical order. From the earliest years of Christianity two parties existed in the Church, whose views of discipline were oppugnant and wellnigh irreconcilable. One looked upon a fixed and definite ecclesiastical order as the necessary condition of the successful extension of Christianity; the other regarded these outward institutions as limitations of the free spirit of the Gospel, and emphasized the fact that the power of the invisible Church is her spiritual life, and not her formal organization. These two parties continued in the Church. They were in conflict through the first six centuries.[2]

Catechumenical training a later institution.

Catechumenical training, which was judged to be a necessary condition of the admission of Gentile converts, must be regarded as a provision of the Church after she had lost the glow of love felt by the first disciples, and had experienced the contaminating influences of association with a depraved heathenism. Such preparatory training was deemed a wisely prudential measure to guard the Church against the influx of the worldly and unsaved.

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[1] *v.* Bickell: *Geschichte des Kirchenrechtes*, 2te Lief., ss. 62–71.

[2] *v.* Neander: *Antignosticus*, ss. 340, 341.

But by as much more as the conditions of membership were more stringent, by so much more did the guardians of the Church feel the necessity of a rigorous discipline. The subscription to and observance of the one rule of faith, *regula fidei*, which was common to all the churches, was the sole test of orthodoxy. This one rule was expressed in the articles of faith, or the creeds, which the early Church had formulated. He who held these in an honest mind and pure heart was a worthy member of the Church; he who denied them, or whose life was not regulated by them, was heretical or unworthy. The latter were to be exscinded from the body of the Church in order to preserve its purity and peace.

The regula fidei.

The one standard.

It is not possible to determine the exact time when the right and prerogative of discipline came to be almost exclusively exercised by the bishops, nor can the precise behavior of the Church respecting the punishment of offenders during the first one hundred and fifty years be clearly determined. It is, however, certain that the deprivation of privileges in the Church had no reference to the rights of an offender as a subject of the state. Only at a later period, in cases where the holding and use of the property of the Church was in question, or in cases of pertinacious disturbers, was the authority of the civil law invoked.[1]

Church discipline incurred no loss of civil rights.

Church discipline proper had respect to several degrees of offence and punishment. The Church was, therefore, compelled to discriminate between the characters of violators of its laws. This led to the classification of sins as venial and mortal.[2] The penalty of the former consisted in either admonition and temporary suspension, or the lesser excommunication (ἀφορισμός). The latter consisted in withholding from those under the ban of the Church its special privileges, as partaking of the eucharist, etc. Such were not, however, excluded from the ordinary ministrations and public services.

Sins venial and mortal.

Admonition and lesser excommunication.

The greater excommunication was visited upon more heinous offenders, or those, generally, who were guilty of mortal sins. It consisted in a complete exscinding of members from the body of the Church, and, therefore, from all

The greater excommunication.

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[1] Reference is not here had to later civil enactments for the punishment of heresy and sedition. Conciliary action was taken against such presbyters, or bishops, as were disturbers of the peace by setting up new churches in opposition to the regular authorities. Later, the civil power was invoked to suppress such agitators. This does not, however, strictly pertain to Church discipline.

[2] *v.* Tertullian: *de pudicitia*, c. 19. *Peccata mortalia* and *Peccata venialia.* He reckons seven mortal sins: heresy and schism, idolatry, fraud, denial of Christ, blasphemy, homicide, and fornication.

its privileges and associations. When the anathema was uttered, the offender was regarded as one to be shunned by all the faithful, and absolutely deprived of all that was distinctive of the Christian Church, including the rites of Christian burial. This penalty was executed against both sexes, the rich and poor, the subject and the ruler,[1] alike; in this regard the Christian discipline was characteristically rigid. Notice of such greater excommunication was generally given to other churches, and they were expected to concur in the decision, on the theory of the unity of the Church, and, therefore, for the sake of the general good.[2] All were forbidden to receive such excommunicate persons; and, by frequent conciliary enactment, any bishop thus receiving and harboring the exscinded should himself be regarded as cut off from the Church.[3]

Notice given to other churches.

The general Church did not, however, regard the effect of even the greater excommunication as annulling the benefits of baptism; so that when the most heinous offenders sought readmission into the Church they were not required to be rebaptized. This was contrary to the method of the Donatists, who often received excommunicate persons into their fellowship by declaring them purified by a rebaptism, which this sect freely practised.

Did not annul the benefits of baptism.

No one was excommunicated without a hearing and a formal conviction; any hasty or unwarranted action of a bishop was liable to review before a provincial synod, to which the aggrieved party had the right of appeal. This was judged of such importance that canons to this effect were enacted by various councils.[4]

Right of appeal.

§ 2. *Penitential Discipline.*

While the persecutions of the Church were not continuous, and never absolutely universal, and while some emperors, as Gallienus, showed many favors to the Christians, going so far as to declare to the bishops that it was his will that they should be undisturbed in their ministrations, the ban, under which Christianity as a *religio illicita* rested, was not lifted. It was still a penal offence to be a Christian; and all the dangers and hardships which such legal disability implied constantly impended over the Church. It is not, therefore, strange that during the sharp visitations of persecution temptations to deny Christ and to offer to idols were most powerful. This strain was especially severe during the Decian persecutions, when multitudes fell away from the Church through the malignity and subtle devices of this emperor and his successors to Gallienus. The provisions of the early Church for the return of the lapsed gave rise to a complicated system of penitential discipline.

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[1] The well known example of the action of Ambrose toward Theodosius the Great, as related by Theodoret, is very instructive, not only as illustrating the firmness of a Christian bishop, but also the feelings of a great emperor respecting the fearfulness of the ban of the Church.

[2] *v.* Probst: *Kirchliche Disciplin in den drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderten*, Tübingen, 1873, s. 402.

[3] *v.* Canons 2, 4, and 5 of the Council of Antioch; Canon 2, of the second Council of Carthage; also Canon 13 of the *Canon. Apost.*

[4] *v.* Canon 5, Council of Nice; Canons 8 and 10 of the second Council of Carthage; Canon 6 of the Council of Antioch, *et al.*

The lapsed.

The rigorous discipline of the Novatians had refused readmission to those who were guilty of mortal sins. Only in the hour and article of death could they hope that the ban of the Church might be removed. Also Cyprian, in the earlier portion of his administration, had been inclined to use great severity in dealing with those who had lapsed from the faith (*lapsi*) during the Decian persecutions. But in Rome and elsewhere more lenient provisions were made for their return to the Church through a system of penance which must be heartily accepted and practised by the offender. The reason of this imposition was that the Church might be assured of the sincere penitence and reform of the lapsed who was seeking admission.

A further necessity for this was felt by the Church from the fact that many attempts to interfere with the regular discipline of the Church had been made. Especially those who had gained peculiar sanctity by suffering for the truth's sake abused their influence by granting certificates of peace or reconciliation without confession or the assurance of penitence. This caused great discontent on the part of such as had remained steadfast, and discipline was thus seriously threatened. To save the Church from disorder and to maintain her purity four orders of penitents were recognised as early, probably, as the middle of the third century. These were known among the Latins as *flentes*, or weepers; *audientes*, or hearers; *substrati*, or kneelers; and *consistentes*, or co-standers.[1] The first fell upon their faces, imploring the prayers of the Church in their behalf, and that they might be admitted to the first apartment of the church. Then properly their pen-

Four orders of penitents.

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[1] *v.* St. Basil: Can. 22, *et al.* The first year they are to weep before the gate of the church; the second year, to be admitted to hearing; the third year, to bending the knee, or repentance; the third year, to stand with the faithful at prayers, but not partake of the oblation. To the same effect are the teachings of Ambrose and other fathers.

ance began. When they were thus admitted to become hearers, permission was granted them to listen to the Scriptures and the sermon, but they were excluded from the more private and sacred portions of the service.[1] The length of time they were to continue in this order was made the subject of repeated conciliary action.[2] This depended upon the nature of the offence, and the character of the offender. The third order, *substrati*, or *genuflectentes*, were so named from the fact that they were permitted to fall on their knees, and remain as participants in the common prayers, and to hear the prayers offered for them by the congregation and the bishop. While the hearers were restricted to the narthex or vestibule of the church building, the third order were admitted to the interior, near the *ambo*, or reading-desk. The fourth order of penitents, the *consistentes*, or co-standers, were allowed "to stand with the faithful at the altar, and join in the common prayers, and see the oblation offered; but yet might neither make their own oblations, nor partake of the eucharist with them."[3]

Special penitential presbyter.

Decline of the penitential system.

At the beginning of the fourth century the Oriental churches appointed a special presbyter to regulate the conduct of penitential discipline (*presbyter pœnitentiarius*). But on account of the continuous restiveness felt by the private members, in their more public life, and through the interference of the state, this special office was abrogated near the close of the fourth century. Likewise, on the cessation of persecutions, the practice of orderly penitential discipline fell into disuse, and Church life became more free and unconstrained. Also in the West, under like general conditions and at about the same time, the system was so modified that only for more open and public crimes was public penance imposed, while for other offences a private confession to the clergy was judged sufficient.[4] From this came gross abuses in practice (auricular confession, indulgences, etc.) and dangerous innovations in Christian doctrine (work righteousness, etc.).

Ceremony of readmission.

The readmission to the Church, after the period of penance, was often accompanied with much imposing ceremonial. The absolution pronounced by the early Church was not, however, judicial. The prerogative of pardon belonged to God alone.

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[1] Note the proclamation of the deacon, "*Ne quis audientium, ne quis infidelium,*" etc. *Apost. Constit.*, l. 8, c. 5.

[2] *v.* Council of Nice, Can. 11, 12, and canons of various other councils.

[3] *v.* Bingham: *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, bk. xviii, chap. i.

[4] *v.* Guericke: *Lehrbuch d. ch. kirch. Archæologie*, Berlin, 1859, s. 109.

Five stages of absolution.

As there were stages of penitential discipline, so were there varieties or stages of absolution. Bingham[1] has arranged these as follows: "1.) The absolution or great indulgence of baptism. 2.) The absolution of the eucharist. 3.) The absolution of the word and doctrine. 4.) The absolution of imposition of hands and prayer. 5.) The absolution of reconcilement to the Church and her communion by a relaxation of her censures. The two first may be called sacramental absolution; the third, declaratory absolution; the fourth, precatory absolution; the fifth, judicial absolution; and all of them authoritative, so far as they are done by the ministerial authority and commission which Christ has given to his Church, to reconcile men to God by the exercise of such acts and means as conduce to that end in a subordinate and ministerial way, according to his appointment."

Care of the early Church.

Respecting pardon.

The early Church was careful in its treatment of the excommunicate. It never claimed the absolute prerogative of pardon, nor arrogated the power to exclude the offender from final salvation, nor to limit the forgiving mercy of God. The acts of the Church were purely ministerial, exercised to guard its purity of doctrine and life. The original system of penance had no respect to merit, but was purely penal, disciplinary, and reformatory.[2] Auricular confession, merit of good works, and indulgences were abuses which appeared during a subsequent period of the history of the Church.

§ 3. *Discipline of the Clergy.*

More stringent than lay discipline.

Penalties inflicted.

Deposed clergy rarely reinstated.

If the early Church was stringent in its discipline of the laity, its treatment of clerical offences was still more severe.[3] A distinction was made between the discipline of the clergy and that of the laity. A clergyman might be excommunicated from his office, with its honours and emoluments, and yet be permitted to enjoy the privileges of the Church conceded to the laity. In case of flagrant crimes the excision was, however, absolute. The penalties suffered by the clergy generally had respect to their means of support, their office, or to their persons, in case of corporal punishment; so that the deprivation of their incomes was for lesser offences, the degradation from office to the condition of laymen for more heinous crimes. In the latter case the deposed clergy were rarely reinstated; hence the indelible character of ordination could not have been the governing doctrine.[4] The infrequent infliction of corporal punishment was generally confined to the inferior clergy; but in criminal causes the superior clergy, after degradation from their office, were also liable to the same.[1]

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[1] *Op. cit.:* bk. xix, pp. 1085, *seq.*

[2] Probst: *Op. cit.*, s. 401.

[3] Probst: *Op. cit.*, s. 403.

[4] Probst: *Op. cit.*, ss. 407, 408.

Ancient discipline wholesome.

The ancient Church, through its conciliary canons, exercised a most vigilant oversight over its clergy, and defined with great clearness the offences which should be shunned, and the punishment to be inflicted upon wilful violators of the law. Usually these provisions were eminently wholesome and just.

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[1] Justin. Novel, 123, cap. 20. Corporal punishment seems to have been a later infliction.

BOOK THIRD

THE

SACRAMENTS AND WORSHIP OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

THE SACRAMENTS

AND

WORSHIP OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

INTRODUCTION.

The apostles recognised two sacraments as instituted by Christ; they celebrated these with joy, and imposed them as obligatory upon all who would be disciples of the new faith. The deeper significance of the Christian sacraments is manifest, although existing forms were employed for teaching their profounder truths. What under the former dispensation was a type, found in Christ and the sacraments which he instituted its true antitype; the prophecy of good things to come was herein fulfilled; the circumcision which was outward in the flesh was to yield to the true circumcision of the heart, in the spirit and not in the letter (Rom. ii, 28, 29). Christ, the true Passover, was to be sacrificed once for all for men, and henceforth the feast was to be kept not with the old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth (1 Cor. v, 7, 8).

The Eastern Church characterized all holy or incomprehensible truths or offices as mysteries, *μυστήρια*, and the Latins, in their translations of the Scriptures, generally used the term sacrament, *sacramentum*, as the appropriate synonym. Hence the Christian fathers of the second and third centuries confound the sacraments proper with all sacred rites connected with the institutions of the Church. At other times they designate each step or stage in the celebration of baptism, or the Lord's Supper, as a sacrament. Hence the anointing with oil in baptism, and the act of confirmation, are often called sacraments. Cyprian insists upon both sacraments, washing of water and the imposition of hands, as necessary to the complete sanctification of the believer;[1] and Optatus speaks in similar manner of washing, anointing, and confirmation as three sacraments. Probably, however, by this term they include no more than was implied in the Greek *μυστήριον*, mystery.[1]

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[1] *Ep. ad Steph.*

The Christian writers of the fourth century continue to attach to the term a very vague and indefinite meaning. The works of the great theologians, Ambrose, Hilary, and Leo, fail to define with clearness, to agree in the number of the sacraments, or to give the *rationale* of their operation; in Augustine is first met an attempt to thus define, and to explain. His definition would allow of the recognition of an indefinite number, since he did not limit the term to that which had the express sanction and command of Christ.

Thus the number of sacraments remained undetermined during the fifth and sixth centuries, but baptism and the Lord's Supper were by all parties considered the chief and indispensable. It was the almost universal opinion in both East and West that these were necessary to salvation, inasmuch as they were the appointed means of grace; nevertheless, the Church did not deny salvation to those who by extraordinary devotion, or by a martyr's death witnessed for Christ. In such cases the "baptism of blood" took the place of water baptism. The order of the succession of the sacraments was generally recognised. Baptism preceded the Lord's Supper, and was the necessary preparation for it.

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[1] The ante-Nicene fathers apply the term mystery to all which is in any way related to the Godhead, or to the revelation of the same. They include in this the doctrine of revelation, and even the subject of symbolism, which is considered mysterious and sacred. This appears especially in a number of passages of Tertullian and Irenæus. The following from Irenæus may illustrate their views: "But it is more suitable that we, directing our inquiries after this fashion, should exercise ourselves in the investigation of the mystery and administration of the living God, and should increase in the love of him who has done, and still does, so great things for us. . . . We should leave things of that nature to God, who created us, being most properly assured that the Scriptures are indeed perfect, since they were spoken by the Word of God and his Spirit; but we, inasmuch as we are inferior to, and later in existence than, the Word of God and his Spirit, are on that very account destitute of the knowledge of his mysteries. . . . If, therefore, even with respect to creation, there are some things which belong only to God, . . . what ground is there for complaint, if in regard to those things which we investigate in the Scriptures (which are throughout spiritual), we are able by the grace of God to explain some of them, while we must leave others in the hands of God," etc. *Advers. Hæres.*, ii, 28, 1–3.

CHAPTER I.

THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM.

§ 1. *The Origin and the Idea.*

John's baptism.

WE are met at the opening of the Gospels with John's baptism: "Then went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan, and were baptized of him in Jordan, confessing their sins" (Matt. iii, 5, 6). Whence did John derive the rite of baptism, and why was this practised in connection with the turning of the people from their sins?

The antecedents of John's baptism.

John's baptism roots itself in the Old Testament purifications and lustrations, with which all the Jews were familiar. This is expressed in the purification of the Levites (Num. viii, 7): "And thus shalt thou do unto them, to cleanse them: Sprinkle water of purifying upon them, and let them shave all their flesh, and let them wash their clothes, and so make themselves clean." Also by Ezekiel (xxxvi, 25): "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you." The same idea is elsewhere frequently expressed throughout the Old Testament:[1] a moral renewal accompanied by the symbolical outward application of water. It is not John's baptism which is a pattern for Christ's baptism, but rather John's baptism and Christ's baptism have their common root in the prophetical cleansing.

The nature of John's baptism.

Mark describes John's baptism as of "repentance for remission of sins." The entire population respond to the preaching of the Baptist, they are baptized in the river Jordan, and the condition for receiving this baptism is the confession and renunciation of their sins—"change of mind for the forgiveness of sins" (*βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*). John affirms that his baptism is but the prelude to a higher and mightier baptism—with "the Holy Ghost and with fire."

In the commission given to the disciples by Christ we have the foundation of Christian baptism: "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and

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[1] Isa. xliv, 3; Zech. xiii, 1.

Christ's baptism.

of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (Matt. xxviii, 19). John recognized the difference between his baptism and that of Christ (Matt. iii, 11; Mark i, 8; Luke iii, 16; John i, 33). John's disciples were evidently ignorant of the greater baptism, not so much as having heard "whether there be a Holy Ghost." John's baptism was with water unto repentance, Christ's baptism superadded "the Holy Ghost" and "fire." John's baptism was preparatory, temporary, and limited in its area; Christ's baptism was permanent and for all nations (*μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*). The command of Christ elevates his baptism into a sacrament.

The formula.

The acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah, the sent of God, was the sole article of belief uniting the first believers in a distinct community. Baptism was a sign and seal of this belief, and was, therefore, in the name of Jesus, thus ratifying the union of the believer with him as the Messiah.[1] Probably no other formula was at first used, since this name was believed to imply a complete divinity, and these words to comprehend all things necessary to citizenship in the kingdom which Christ was to establish. But the full formula contained in the commission of Christ was soon used, and afterward was regarded as essential in the administration of the rite.[2]

Necessary conditions.

Those who accepted Christian baptism were required to turn away from their sins and to accept Jesus Christ as the Messiah (Acts ii, 38). They then received through the Holy Spirit a renewal in spiritual life, a new birth unto righteousness (Titus iii, 5). Faith as a necessary prerequisite to baptism is involved.

§ 2. *Nature of the Evidence.*

Literary and monumental evidence.

In ascertaining what Christian archæology teaches concerning the administration of the rite of Christian baptism we must summon the literary and the monumental evidence. We must first examine the concrete instances of Christian baptism which are narrated in the New Testament.

Baptism of the three thousand at Pentecost.

The first case which meets us is that of the multitude who were baptized and received into the Church at the conclusion of Peter's great sermon on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii, 41). "Then they that gladly received his word were baptized: and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls." The entire context leads to the conclusion that the baptizing and reception of the baptized into the Church occurred on the same day. The language is very explicit: *Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀποδεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθησαν, καὶ προσετέθησαν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ψυχαὶ ὡσεὶ τρισχίλιαι.* The language here coincides with the practice in all the cases of baptism recorded in the New Testament, the baptism following forthwith on the confession of faith. Meyer well remarks: "The text does not affirm that the baptism of the three thousand occurred on the spot and simultaneously, but only that it took place during the course of that day."[1] The query as to the mode naturally arises here. Zöckler holds that the rite may have been administered by different apostles at different places, by different modes, during the entire day or subsequent days.[2] That it was deferred to "subsequent days" is not in harmony with the text, as above indicated. That the mode was varied and such as to be quickly administered by several apostles seems to be required by the text.

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[1] *v.* Neander: *Planting and Training*, etc., Ryland's trans., p. 27.

[2] *v.* Harnack: *Dogmengeschichte*, Bd. i. He claims that this baptismal confession was first recognised as an apostolic article of faith about A. D. 150, and that it originated in Rome, and not in the East.

Philip in Samaria.

Philip and the eunuch.

The account of Philip's preaching in Samaria states that "when they believed Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women" (Acts viii, 12). Here the confession of faith and the baptism seem to be immediately associated, and both men and women are baptized. The same immediateness is seen in the baptism of the eunuch: "And as they went on their way, they came unto a certain water: and the eunuch said, See, here is water (Ἰδοὺ ὕδωρ); what doth hinder me to be baptized? . . . And they went down both into the water, both Philip and the eunuch; and he baptized him" (Acts viii, 36, 38). No indication is here given as to the act of baptism save the going down into and coming out of the water, which is affirmed of both. The language used is equally applicable to immersion or affusion. The "water" here spoken of was, in all probability, a shallow stream or brooklet which, like the Wady-el-Hesy to-day, near Gaza, is almost dry in summer, but is a rivulet in the springtime. There is no indication as to the mode of the baptism.[3]

Baptism of Saul.

The baptism of Saul took place in the house of Judas at Damascus. It followed straightway upon his receiving the new light. "Immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales: and he received sight forthwith, and arose, and was baptized" (Acts ix, 18). In the house of Judas, as to-day in almost every house in Damascus, there was, no doubt, a fountain, but scarcely available for an immersion unless entirely different in construction from the fountains in common use.

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[1] *v.* H. A. W. Meyer: *in loco.*

[2] Zöckler: *Apostlegeschichte*, p. 164, Nördlingen, 1886.

[3] For the use of the preposition in this case *v.* Rhys R. Lloyd: *Baptism as Taught in the Scriptures*, Boston and New York, 1897.

Baptism of Cornelius.

The Roman centurion and those believing with him received the Holy Ghost and were immediately baptized in the name of the Lord. The baptism, to all appearance, took place in the house in which they were assembled, and in immediate connection with their confession of faith. "Then answered Peter, Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord" (Acts x, 46–48). Here we notice the union of "water" and of the "Spirit," the one symbolizing the other. We are led to infer that Peter himself did not administer the baptism.[1] The text seems to suggest that the water for the baptism may have been brought. As to the mode nothing is said.

Lydia and her household.

"And when she was baptized, and her household (*οἶκος*), she besought us" (Acts xvi, 15). The neighboring river afforded abundant water. Here we have the first mention of "household baptism." We are not told who were included in the household. A natural inference would include all members of the family, even the children. Aristotle, in his *Politics*, defines the household: "The first and last parts of a household are master and servant, husband and wife, father and children."[2] In the baptism of a household to exclude the children would be a great shock to the Jewish Christian especially. The Old Testament included children in its covenant. We have no evidence that the New Testament excluded them. On the contrary, the spirit of the Saviour's teaching is all the other way.

The jailer and his household.

The case of the Philippian jailer does not vary much from the preceding in its main features. The conviction, the conversion, the baptism follow in speedy succession: "And he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their stripes; and was baptized, he and all his, straightway" (Acts xvi, 33). The occurrence is at midnight. That they proceeded forth from the prison at midnight looking for water is exceedingly improbable. The baptism was in all probability in the court of the house, and was immediate. The water brought to wash the stripes might also serve for the baptism. Here we notice also the baptism of the household.

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[1] H. A. W. Meyer: *in loco.*

[2] *Politics*, i, 2, p. 1259. *Πρωτα δε καὶ ελάχιστα μερη οἰκίας δεσπότης και δοῦλος και πόσις καὶ ἄλοχος καὶ πατὴρ και τέχνα*, etc.

Analysis of the cases.

Examining these seven cases we find that they occurred under various circumstances: in Jerusalem; twenty miles from the Jordan; in the hilly, irrigated region of Samaria; in the wilderness, or dry open country; in private houses; by the riverside; at midnight, in the prison court. The baptism follows directly on confession of faith; it is not always administered by the apostles; households are baptized; the same term is used in each case, *βαπτίζω*. As to the mode nothing is said. That the term used stands always for one unvarying mode is not borne out by the nature of the term nor by other literary evidence. The word is a generic term with the general idea of cleansing.[1] The variety of circumstances excludes the probability that in the desert wady, as by the riverside, there was always the facility or the necessity for the complete submersion of the person. The general notion of purification must from the very beginning, as the monumental evidence indicates, have admitted of a large liberty in its application.

The Teaching of the Twelve.

After the writings of the New Testament the most important witness as to the sacrament of baptism is *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.* This invaluable document, which belongs to the first quarter of the second century,[2] supplies a long-missing link in the chain of evidence between the close of the apostolic age and Justin Martyr respecting the rites, polity, and life of the Church. It also furnishes valuable aid in understanding some obscure points in the writings of Clement, Polycarp, Barnabas, and Ignatius. This writing is believed to have originated in either Syria or Egypt, and to have been prepared as a sort of Church manual, as well as a catechism, for Jewish catechumens.[3] In connection with valuable teaching respecting Christian life it speaks of the appropriate preparation for baptism, and its mode of administration, as follows:

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[1] It is maintained by Rhys R. Lloyd, *Baptism as Taught in the Scriptures*, Boston and Chicago, 1897, that the ritualistic meaning of the word *βαπτίζειν* in the Old Testament is "to pour forth;" that in Jewish custom it indicates the purification of men by the application of water to them, and that this is the use of the term by John the Baptist, by Jesus, and by his apostles. *v.* also S. M. Merrill: *Christian Baptism*, New York, Eaton & Mains.

[2] Sabatier: *La Didaché*, Paris, 1885, places the composition after A. D. 50. Bryennios, Harnack, and others place it between A. D. 120 and A. D. 165. Lechler, Funk, Zahn, and others are inclined to regard it as a production of the first century. The English and American critics also generally place it in the first century. Schaff considers it probable that it is earlier than 100 A. D. Also Professor Harris, in *The Teaching of the Apostles*, Baltimore and London, 1887, holds that it is earlier than the writing of Jude, and older than the Barnabas epistle which quotes from it. This would throw it back between 70 A. D. and 96 A. D.

[3] Lechler holds that this is true only of the second part. Funk: *Doctrina Duodecem Apostolorum*, Tubingæ, 1887, "denies the Egyptian and maintains the Syrian or Palestinian origin."—*Schaff.*

Its baptismal teaching.

"Now concerning baptism, thus baptize ye: having first uttered all these things, baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in living water (*ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι*).[1] But if thou hast not running water, baptize into other water (*εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ*), and if thou canst not in cold, in warm. And if thou hast neither, pour out water upon the head thrice, into the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. And before the baptism let the baptizer fast and be baptized, and whatever others are able; but the baptized thou shalt command to fast for one or two days before."[2]

Conclusion.

This document, only a generation removed from the death of the apostles, if not written during the lifetime of some, plainly teaches a degree of liberty in the mode of the administration of baptism. The character of the writing, as a book for catechumens of Jewish origin, would certainly exclude the supposition that this alternative mode of baptism was of the nature of an innovation; besides, it is easy to believe that at the time of its writing there were still living in Syria or Egypt persons who were entirely familiar with the apostolic practice. Going back so close to the apostolic age, it must certainly reflect the practice of that period, and supports the conclusion that at no time was there in the early Church a uniform and stereotyped mode of baptism which alone was considered valid.

§ 3. *The Testimony of the Fathers.*

Opinions respecting its nature.

The Christian fathers of the second and following centuries incline more to the thought of a magical power of the water in baptism. Justin Martyr[3] calls it the water of life, *ὕδωρ ζωῆς*; Tertullian[4] conveys the thought that in the water of baptism the new birth takes place; Gregory of Nazianzen[1] speaks of it as "the garment of immortality, the laver of regeneration," etc. By some of the fathers the necessity of baptism to salvation is clearly taught; hence the characterization of the rite as *salus.*[2] Others[3] emphasize the enlightening effects of baptism; hence call it *φωτισμός*, *illuminatio*, *sacramentum illuminationis*, *lux mentis*, etc. These, together with other terms for baptism and its effects, as *χρῖσμα*, *unctio*, *σφραγίς*, *sigillum*, *indulgentia*, *absolutio*, *gratia*, *mors peccatorum*, etc., clearly indicate the high worth placed upon baptism by the Christian fathers, as well as their opinion of its magical effects.

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[1] Bryennios remarks that *ὕδωρ ζῶν* is not exclusively running water, but that which is brought fresh from rivers and springs, where in earliest times the Christians were wont to baptize.

[2] *Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος οὕτω βαπτίσατε· ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες, βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ. Ἐὰν δε ἀμφότερα μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρὶς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα Πατρός καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνηστευσάτω ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι δύνανται· κελεύσεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δύο.—Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, chap. vii. De Rossi, referring to this passage, says: "The performance of this rite by pouring was by no means exceptional. The catacomb representations agree with the oldest form in this matter." *v. Römische Quartalschrift*, 1888, Heft 1.

[3] *Dialog. c. Tryp.*

[4] *de Bapt.*, c. 1.

How characterized.

The post-Nicene fathers, no less than their predecessors, are positive in their opinions relative to the necessity of baptism to salvation, and to its power to regenerate the subject. Separate treatises upon its nature, efficacy, and necessity were prepared by Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, and Augustine. It occupies a prominent place in the theology of Augustine, who attempts to harmonize it with his peculiar views of original sin and the enslavement of the human will. With other prominent fathers, he plainly teaches the necessity of baptism to salvation; consequently, that all the unbaptized are lost, including young children.[4] He also regards baptism as a sacrament of regeneration, through which forgiveness of sin is attained, and as the channel for the communication of efficient and coöperating grace. Yet with most of these great theologians the exercise of faith is regarded as the necessary condition of the efficient operation of the sacrament. In opposition to Cyprian and some of the Eastern fathers, Augustine recognised the validity of heretical baptism.[5] It will be necessary to cite, by way of illustration, Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Cyprian, which carries us to the middle of the third century.

Justin Martyr (110–165 A. D.), in his first Apology, chap. lxi, says concerning those who are to be baptized: "They are brought to where there is water and are regenerated in the same manner in which we ourselves were regenerated. For in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the washing with water." "And this washing is called illumination (*φωτισμός*) because they who learn these things are illuminated in

Justin Martyr.

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[1] *Orat.* 40, *de Bap.*

[2] Augustine, Basil, Greg. Nazianzen, and others.

[3] Just. Mar.: *Apol.*, 2; Clem. Alex.: *Pædag.*, i, 6; Greg. Naz.: *Orat.* 40, *de Bap.*; Chrys.: *Hom.* 13, *in Heb.*

[4] *v. Ep.* 186, c. 27; and *de Nupt. et Concup.*, i, c. 28.

[5] *De Bap. contra Donat.*, b. vii.

their understandings. And in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Ghost, who through the prophets foretold all things about Jesus, he who is illuminated is washed."

Justin alludes to the imitation of baptism by demons, chap. lxii: "And the devils, indeed, having heard this washing published by the prophet, instigate those who enter their temples, and are about to approach them with libations and burnt offerings, also to sprinkle themselves; and they cause them also to wash themselves entirely, as they depart, before they enter into the shrines where their images are set." He also speaks of leading the person who is washed to the "laver."

Here we have the teaching concerning regeneration through baptism. The mode suggested is "washing" and "sprinkling." This is clearly shown in the quotation from chap. lxii, where the devils imitating baptism incite the people to "*also sprinkle* themselves" and "to wash themselves." This washing and sprinkling corresponds precisely with the monumental testimony, and the laver is indicated as in use in the Church at this time.

Clement of Alexandria.

Clement of Alexandria (A. D. 153–217), in the *Pædagogus*, chap. vi, speaks of being perfected by baptism, and illuminated. "Being baptized we are illuminated; illuminated we become sons," etc. "We are washed from our sins and are no longer entangled in evil. This is the one grace of illumination, that our characters are not the same as before our washing. And since knowledge springs up with illumination, shedding its beams around the mind, the moment we hear we who were untaught become disciples." This testimony from the middle of the second century says nothing about the mode, alluding only to the "washing" or bathing and the illumination, accompanied by the transformation of the life.

Tertullian.

In *The Chaplet*, or *De Corona*, Tertullian (145–220 A. D.) gives us in chap. iii a glimpse of the mode and the attendant ceremonies: "When we are going to enter the water, but a little before, in the presence of the congregation and under the hand of the president, we solemnly profess that we disown the devil and his pomp and his angels. Hereupon we are thrice immersed, making a somewhat ampler pledge than the Lord hath appointed in the gospel. Then, when we are taken up (as newborn children), we taste first of all a mixture of milk and honey, and from that day we refrain from the daily bath for a whole week."

We notice here a trine immersion, a public disowning of the devil and his pomp and his angels, the tasting of milk and honey, and the refraining from the daily bath for a week. For these practices Tertullian distinctly affirms that he has no Scripture warrant, but that it is a ceremonial amplification of what is commanded. It is to his extended treatise *De Baptismo* that we must look for further information. This treatise was written as a polemic against certain who were endeavoring to do away with baptism. It is therefore elaborate and goes much into detail. It is necessary for our purpose to give but few selections.

Speaking as to the simplicity of the rite, he says, chap. ii: "Without pomp, without any considerable novelty of preparation, finally without expense, a man is dipped in water, and amid the utterance of some few words is sprinkled, and then rises again, not much (or not at all) the cleaner; the consequent attainment of eternity is incredible."

Here we have the "dipping" and the "sprinkling" again associated, as in the testimony of Justin.

"Is it not wonderful, too" (in chap. ii), "that death should be washed away by bathing?"

In chap. iv he writes: "It makes no difference whether a man be washed in a sea or a pool, a stream or a font, a lake or a trough; nor is there any distinction between those whom John baptized in the Jordan and those whom Peter baptized in the Tiber, unless withal the eunuch whom Philip baptized in the midst of his journeys, with chance water, derived (therefrom) more or less of salvation."

In chap. vii he speaks of unction: "After this when we have issued from the font we are thoroughly anointed with a blessed unction." Chap. viii: "In the next place the hand is laid on us, invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit through benediction." In chap. xii we read: "Without baptism salvation is attainable by none." He holds in chap. xvi, as strangely contradictory to the former statement, that the baptism with water is not absolutely essential to salvation. Speaking of the baptism of blood, he says: "We have, indeed, likewise a second font (itself withal one with the former), of blood, to wit: concerning which the Lord said, 'I have to be baptized with a baptism,' when he had been baptized already. . . . This is the baptism which stands in lieu of the fontal bathing when that has not been received, and restores it when lost." So that to be sprinkled or bathed with the blood of martyrdom was counted as a baptism. He further distinguishes three baptisms: *fluminis, flaminis, sanguinis;* water, fire, blood.

As to the ministrants we find, in chap. xvii: "Of giving it, the chief priest (who is the bishop) has the right. In the next place the presbyters and deacons, yet not without the bishop's authority on account of the honor of the Church, which being preserved peace is preserved. Besides these even laymen have the right, for what is equally received can be equally given."

Concerning the delay of baptism and the baptism of infants we find, in chap. xviii, the following interesting paragraph: "And so, according to the circumstances and dispositions, and even age, of each individual, the delay of baptism is preferable, principally, however, in the case of little children; for why is it necessary, if baptism itself is not so necessary, that the sponsors should be thrust into danger who both themselves by reason of mortality may fail to fulfill their promises, and may be disappointed by the development of an evil disposition? [in those for whom they stood.] The Lord does indeed say, 'Forbid them not to come unto me.' Let them come, then, while they are learning whither to come. Let them become Christians when they have been able to know Christ. Why does the innocent period of life hasten to the remission of sins?"

Tertullian here virtually concedes that some Christians have had their children baptized and that sponsors had stood for them. He acknowledges that the command of the Saviour is a warrant for receiving children, but vitiates it by his words, "Let them come when they are growing up" (or have grown up). The natural inference is that the baptism of infants must have obtained at this period, about the middle of the second century.

Cyprian.

The last citations are from Cyprian (A. D. 200–258). Omitting much which he holds in common with the preceding fathers, the selections here given bear especially on infant baptism and clinic baptism. Epistle lviii is written to Fidus, on the baptism of infants. Cyprian, with sixty-six of his fellow-bishops, writes this letter to Fidus and those who thought that an infant must not be baptized before the eighth day after its birth. He holds that as soon as it is born it may properly be baptized: "But in respect of the case of the infants, which you say ought not to be baptized within the second or third day after their birth, and that the law of ancient circumcision should be regarded, so that you think that one who is just born should not be baptized and sanctified in the eighth day, we all thought very differently in our council.[1] . . . But again, if even to the greatest sinners . . . remission of sins is granted (and nobody is hindered from baptism and from grace) how much rather ought we to shrink from hindering an infant, who, being lately born, has not sinned."

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[1] Council of Carthage, 252 A. D.

In Epistle lxxv we notice Cyprian's views as to clinic baptism: "You have asked what I thought of those who obtain God's grace in sickness and weakness, whether they are to be accounted legitimate Christians for that they are not washed but sprinkled with the saving water. In this point my diffidence and modesty prejudge none so as to prevent any from feeling what he thinks right and from doing what he feels to be right."

In this letter Cyprian in a broad way affirms that affusion is right and scriptural; that "in the sacrament of salvation, when necessity compels and God bestows his mercy, the divine methods confer the whole benefit on believers; nor ought it to trouble anyone that sick people seem to be sprinkled or affused." To sustain his position he quotes various passages from the Old Testament concerning the purification by means of the sprinkling of water, and concludes: "Whence it appears that the sprinkling also of water prevails *equally* with the washing of salvation; and that when this is done in the Church, where the faith both of receiver and giver is sound, all things hold, and may be consummated and perfected by the majesty of the Lord and by the truth of faith."

§ 4. *Monumental Evidence.*

The testimony of the monuments consists of the frescos, inscriptions, and sculptures of the early centuries of the Christian Church.

Fresco from Santa Lucina.

Baptism of Christ.

Among the very earliest frescos is that found on the wall in the crypt of Santa Lucina, in the catacomb of San Calisto, Rome (Fig. 126). The lower central fresco has, almost without exception, been regarded as a representation of the close of the baptism of Christ as described in Matt. iii, 16. A nude male figure is stepping from the water, which reaches above the knees. A man clad in a tunic is standing on the shore and extending his hand in helpfulness toward the one who has received baptism. Above is the dove, bearing in its beak what seems to be an olive branch, symbolizing the Holy Ghost, who attests the act. There is no suggestion of an immersion, but rather of aspersion by the ministrant, who stands upon the shore.[1] Other interpretations of this scene, as that it is the rescue of Peter from the waves,[2] or the saving of the hunted, persecuted saints from the waters of affliction,[3] seem to

Other interpretations not tenable.

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[1] *v.* de Rossi: *Rom. Sotter.*, t. i, lib. 3, c. 3. Schulze: *Die Katakomben*, ss. 313, 314. Roller: *Les Catacombes de Rome*, Tom. i, Fig. 1 and pl. xviii, pp. 102, 103. Kraus: *Real-Encyklopædie*, Freiburg, 1886, art. "Taufe."

[2] Martigny: *Dict.*, art. "Pierre." See also discussion by De Waal in *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1896, No. 4: Pictures of the baptism of Christ before the time of Constantine.

[3] Garrucci: *Storia*, etc., i, Teorica, 203.

harmonize only a portion of the elements of the fresco. The interpretation as the baptism has generally been accepted by the best archæologists.

It is held by some that here is but the completion of the act of immersion, and that in an age when there was no baptismal controversy there was no need of a full presentation of the apostolic rite. But this assumes just what is in question, that there was one

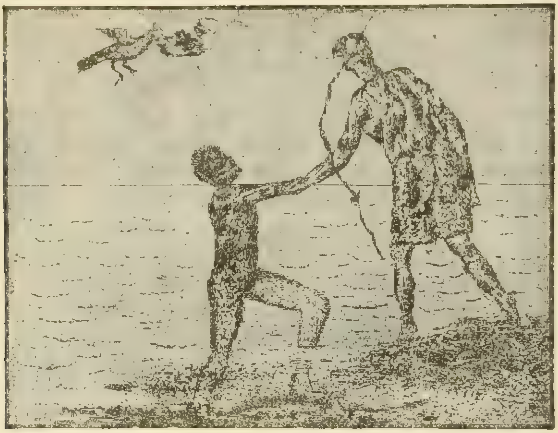

Fig. 126.—Fresco from Santa Lucina, Rome. Baptism of Christ.

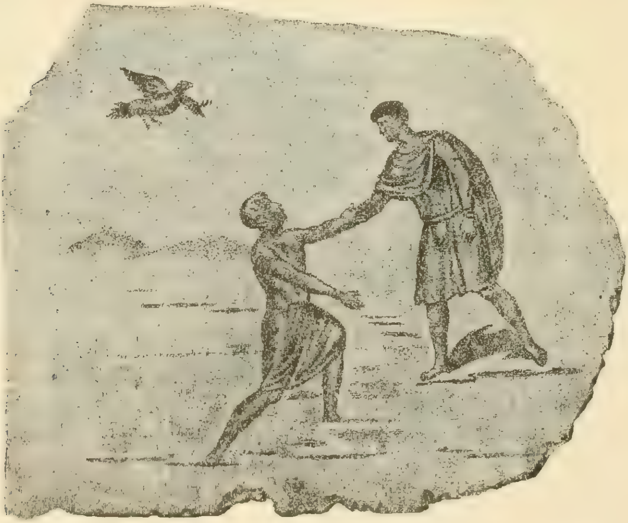

Fig. 127.—A baptism of Christ. From the crypt of Santa Lucina, Rome.

manner of baptizing; whereas there were other modes of baptism so commonly accepted as to give no occasion for controversy, and hence we are to interpret the pictorial representations in the light of the variety of mode as to what they tell.

Fig. 127 is the representation of a fresco from another cubiculum of the crypt of Santa Lucina.[1] It is the same age as Fig. 126, and the subject is evidently the same. The attitude of the figures in the two frescos is very similar. The symbolic dove has here the same significance as in the other. The figure leaving the water is partially draped, while in Fig. 126 it is nude. The ministrant is represented with the added pallium, instead of the simple tunic, as in Fig. 126. The subject of the fresco can hardly be questioned.[2] The scene can only by an unwarrantable stretch of the imagination be regarded as the last stage of an immersion. The simpler and more obvious act is that of an aspersion, since there is no suggestion whatever that the ministrant has before been standing in the water.

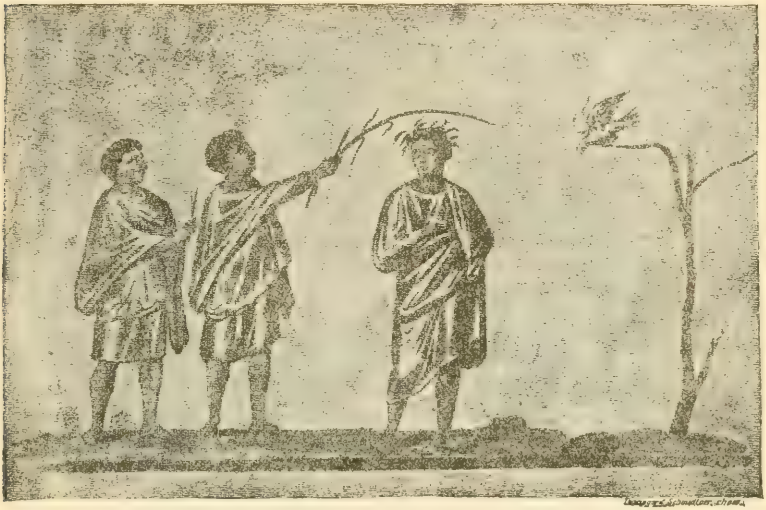
Fig. 128.—Supposed baptism. Fresco from San Pretestato, Rome.

The interpretation.

Fig. 128 is the representation of a fresco from the cemetery of San Pretestato, Rome. This is believed by the highest authorities to belong to the second century. The three figures have been interpreted differently. Those who

Supposed baptism from San Pretestato.

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[1] The construction, history, chronology, and frescos of this crypt have been studied with great thoroughness by the brothers de Rossi, and admirably described.

[2] *v.* Roller: *Op. cit.*, Tom. i, pp. 95, *seq.*, pl. xvii.

see in it a baptism of Christ regard the sprays around the head of the right hand figure as representing the water used in sprinkling, John and the other figure as representative of the people standing on the bank of the river. The presence of the dove seems also to suggest a baptismal scene.[1] Garrucci also regards the green band around the head of the Saviour as analogous to that in Fig. 126. De Rossi and others look upon the picture as representing the crowning of Christ with thorns.[2] Against this view Garrucci strongly urges the fact of the general absence of representations of Christ's sufferings and passion in early Christian art, as well as the presence in the fresco of the water and the dove. The subject of this early fresco is regarded as questionable; its evidential value is not, therefore, of the first order.

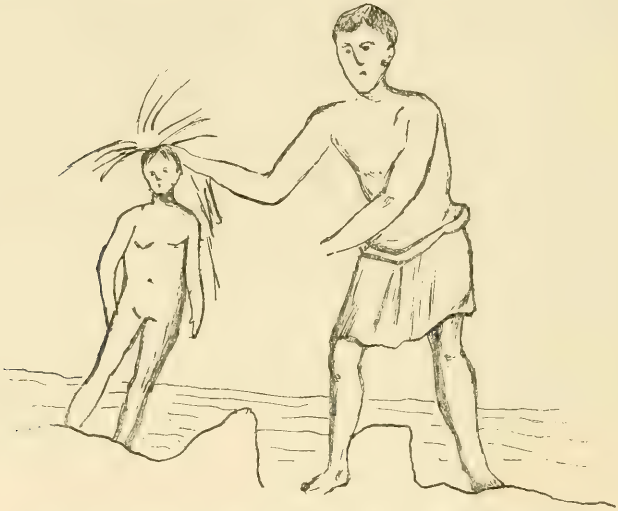

Fig. 129.—A baptism. From San Calisto, Rome. After Strzygowski.

Competent authorities have referred the fresco, Fig. 129, to the latter part of the second, or early part of the third, century. It is part of the decorations in one of the "chambers of the sacraments" in the catacomb of San Calisto. A boy, standing in water reaching a little more than half way to the knees, is receiving baptism from a man who is standing upon the shore. The water is broken into spray, indicating a pouring or sprinkling. It

Baptism from San Calisto.

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[1] *v.* Perret: t. i, pl. lxxx. Garrucci: *Op. cit.*, i, p. 368; ii, 46; *Op. cit.*, t. i, pp. 101, *seq.*, pl. xviii.

[2] *v. Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1872. Also Strzygowski: *Ikonographie der Taufe Christi*, München, 1885, Taf. i, nn. 4, 5.

has been seriously attempted to show that these sprays are rays of fire, and that here is indicated, not an aspersion, but the baptism of fire.[1] It is only necessary to examine the original fresco, and also the colored plate as given by de Rossi,[2] which reproduces the color of the original, where the sprays springing from the boy's head are colored blue, to indicate water.

Another from the same.

Fig. 130 is from a fresco found in another of the chambers of the same catacomb, and is plainly contemporary with Fig. 129. The position of the figures is quite similar. In Fig. 130 the boy stands in water hardly more than ankle deep, while the ministrant, clad in the toga and bearing in his hand a roll, the usual sign of authoritative teaching, stands upon the shore and places his hand upon the head of the candidate in the act of baptism.

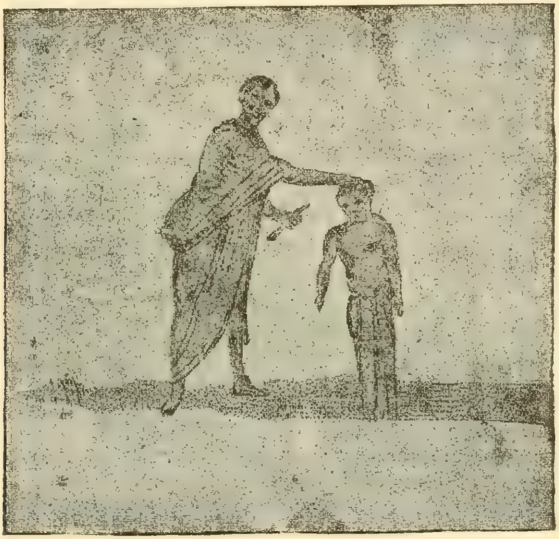

Fig. 130.—A baptism. From San Calisto, Rome.

These all pre-Constantine in origin.

Respecting the age of Figs. 126, 127, 128, 129, and 130 there is scarcely any diversity of opinion among competent authorities. All are certainly of pre-Constantine origin, Figs. 126, 127, 129, and 130 reaching back, in all probability, to the second century. As to the interpretation of Nos. 126, 127, 129, and 130, very general agreement is found among the best archæologists. They are baptismal scenes.

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[1] Armitage: *History of the Baptists.* A recent suggestion that these sprays are the addition of a later century in the interest of baptism by aspersion is not supported by the latest catacomb researches. *v.* Wilpert.

[2] *Roma Sotteranea*, Atlas i, Tav. xiv.

In the post-Constantine period more frequent representations of the baptismal rite are preserved, and they are wrought out in much greater detail.

One of the most interesting of these is given in Fig. 130ª. It is a fragment from Aquileia, and is assigned to the fourth century :[1] (inn)OCENTI SP(irit)O QVEM ELEGIT DOM(inu)S PAVSAT IN PACE FIDELIS X KAL(endas) SEPTEMBR. "*To the innocent Spirit whom the Lord hath taken. He dies in peace, faithful* (*baptized*), *the tenth Kalends of September.*" The form *spirito* is unknown to classical Latin. The repetition of SEPT is due to careless workmanship. PAVSAT is not found on the Roman monuments. FIDELIS indicates that the deceased had been baptized. Ambrose tells us: "*Prima est fides. Idea et Romæ fideles dicuntur qui baptizati sunt.*"[2] This may also be noticed in the Lapidarian Gallery of the Lateran Museum, column ix, n. 39 : "*Inscriptions of catechumens, neophytes and fideles.*" The scene represented is that of a baptism. The subject stands in a shallow font, while water pours from above. The dove appears from the heavens, indicating the presence of the Holy Spirit. On the right stands a saint, clad in pallium, with his right hand pointing to the subject.

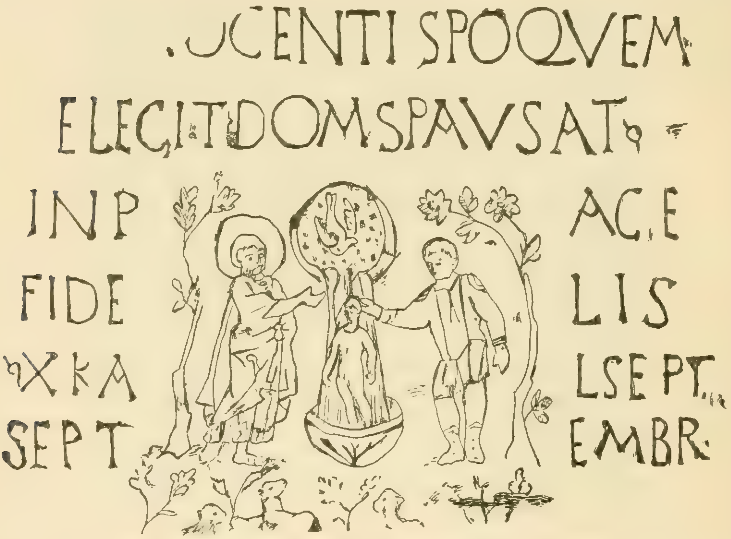

Fig. 130ª.—Baptismal scene and inscription from Aquileia.

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[1] From squeeze taken by Dr. Nikolaus Müller, 1892. *v.* also Wilpert: *Ephemeris Salonitana*, 1894. Gregorutti: *Le antice lapidi di Aquileia.*

[2] *De Sacram.*

On the left stands the ministrant, resembling the Good Shepherd in Fig. 125^{d}. His hand rests upon the subject's head, in benediction, in unction, or in the act of aspersion. The subject, as indicated by the inscription, is a young person (*innocenti spirito*). The scene is in a garden. Three sheep in the foliage below look upward. The suggestion is that the departed has been welcomed to the number of the fold of the Good Shepherd in paradise.

On sarcophagus of Junius Bassus.

The erection of distinct baptisteries gave occasion for their ornamentation with frescos and mosaics, some of which were elaborate and beautiful. Also the rite is found depicted on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (*v.* Plate II) in symbolic form (*v.* Plate II^{a}), where the baptismal waters are represented as flowing from the uplifted-foot of one lamb upon the head of another, while rays stream down from the peak of the symbolic dove.[1]

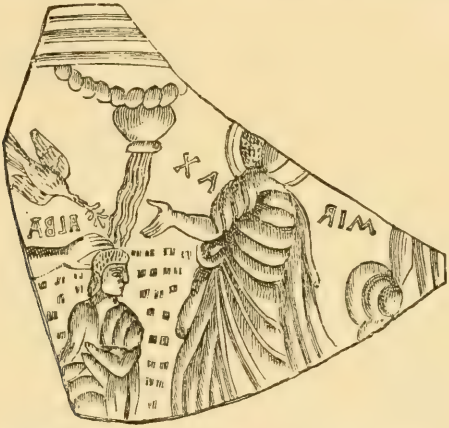

Fig. 131.—Fragment of a glass cup, Rome. A baptism.

Baptism by aspersion on glass cup.

A fragment of a glass cup, found on the Esquiline, Rome, in 1876, also contains the representation of a baptism.[2] It probably belongs to the beginning of the fifth century. Fig. 131 is two thirds the size of the original. The scene is an interesting one. A young girl, Alba (possibly Albana), is the central figure. She is clad in the white robe usually worn on the day of baptism. The priest, Mirax, whose head is encircled by the simple nimbus, extends the hand in the

Explanation.

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[1] *v.* Plate II^{a}, in the spandrel between "Daniel in the den of lions" and "Christ's triumphal entry."

[2] *v.* de Rossi: *Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1876, Fasc. i, T. i. Garrucci: *Storia*, etc., T. cccclxiv.

manner of address, while the hand of a person not represented on the fragment, probably the sponsor, is laid upon the head of the candidate. The chief significance of the scene for our purpose is in the water flowing from an inverted urn, and the descent of the dove, bearing in its beak the olive branch. The representation of baptism by aspersion is evident.

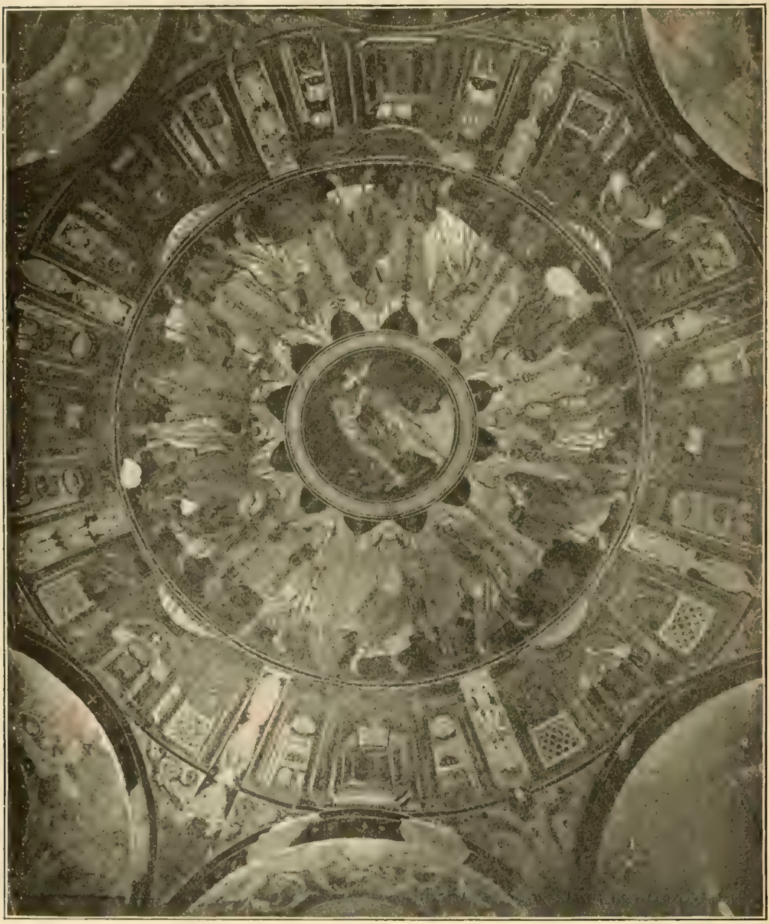

Fig. 132.—Baptism of Christ. San Giovanni in Fonte, Ravenna.

Several mosaics and frescos of a somewhat later date represent the baptism of Christ in an almost purely realistic manner, and generally the manifest mode is aspersion. One of the best preserved and most interesting is found in San Giovanni in Fonte, Ravenna

(Fig. 132).[1] The mosaics were originally executed A. D. 449–452. While they have probably suffered restoration in certain parts, there is no evidence that the original design has been departed from. The baptismal scene is found in the crown of the dome. The twelve apostles radiate from the central scene, each bearing in his hand a crown. Christ stands in the Jordan, whose waters reach to about the middle of the body, while John, standing on the land, and holding in his left hand a jewelled cross, is pouring water upon the head of Christ from a shell held in the Baptist's right hand. The symbolic dove, descending directly upon the head of Jesus, completes the baptismal representation. The Jordan, IORD, symbolized by a river-god bearing a reed, introduces into the scene a heathen element.

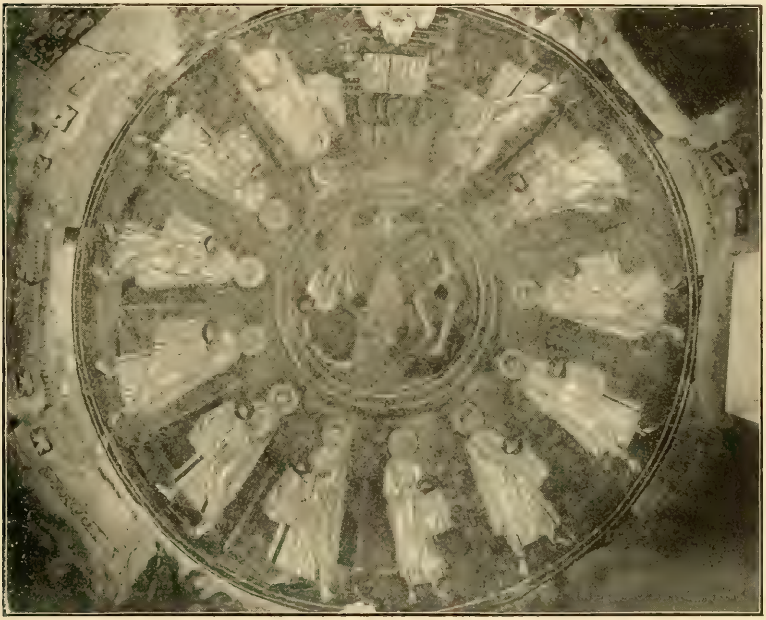

Fig. 133.—Baptism of Christ. Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Ravenna.

Another mosaic.

A very similar mosaic representation, from about the middle of the sixth century, is preserved in Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Ravenna (Fig. 133). The associated apostles bearing crowns appear as in Fig. 132. The appearance of Christ is more youthful, the river-god symbolizing the Jordan is more striking, and the rough garment of camel's hair worn by the Baptist is clearly shown.

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[1] Quast: *Die alt-christlichen Bauswerke von Ravenna*, Berlin, 1842, ss. 4, 5, and Taf. i. Richter: *Mosaiken von Ravenna*, Wien, 1878. Garrucci: *Op. cit.*, Tom. iv, tav. ccxxvi and ccxxvii, pp. 34–36.

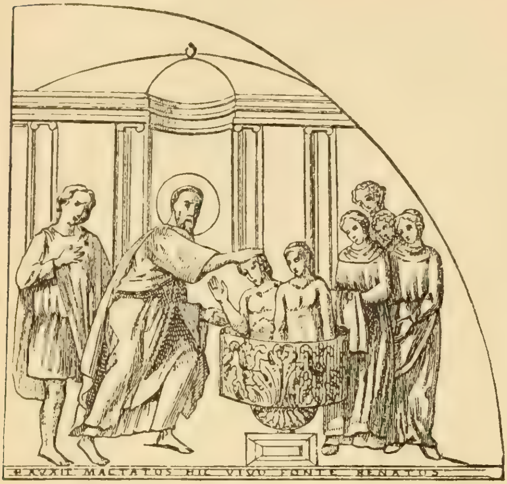
MACTATUS HIC VIVO FONTE RENATUS

Fig. 134.—A baptism. From a fresco in Santa Pudenziana, Rome.

Fig. 134 is a representation from a picture found in Santa Pudenziana, Rome. In this scene the complete act of bapism is plainly depicted. The font, too small for immersion, contains two nude figures, upon the head of one of whom the ministrant lays the hand. Behind him is the sponsor, while on the other side of the font are attendants bearing appropriate garments for covering the candidates at the close of the ceremony. The suggestion here is certainly that of sprinkling or pouring.

From San Ponziano.

The fresco, Fig. 135, is from the cemetery of San Ponziano, Rome; it is from the eighth or ninth century.[1] Here the baptismal scene is repeated as to mode, and very similar in spirit to the mosaics of the fifth and sixth centuries, already described. Christ here stands in water reaching about to the waist. The Baptist, clad in his rough garment of camel's hair, places the right hand on the head of

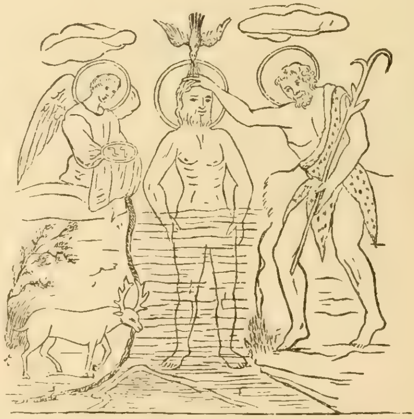

Fig. 135.—A baptism of Christ. From a fresco in San Ponziano, Rome.

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[1] We have given two representations of baptisms which lie outside the period to which our examinations have been more specially confined in order to show the persistence of the art representations of this rite as aspersion or sprinkling.

Baptism by aspersion.

Jesus in the performance of the rite, while the ratifying of the act by the Holy Spirit is here, as usual, symbolized by the descending dove. On the opposite bank, in the background, an angel, descending from the clouds, bears a basin and the clothing for the Saviour, while in the foreground the hart seeks the refreshing waters.

Other representations of baptism, extending from the fourth to the tenth centuries, found upon a great variety of objects and in various relations, substantially agree with those already given.[1]

§ 5. *Subjects for Baptism.*

First subjects adults.

The first converts whose names and the circumstances of whose baptism are recorded in the New Testament were of adult age. It is nowhere positively affirmed in the New Testament that children or infants were baptized during the apostolic age. The mention of the baptizing of households, as in the case of Lydia's and the jailer's, leads to the presumption that children were included. They were certainly included in the conception of a household, as noticed above. Moreover, the relation of circumcision to Christian baptism, the universality of the benefits of Christ's kingdom, the recognition of young children as objects of his special favor, the comprehensiveness of the apostolic commission, and various other considerations, afford reasonable presumption that the children of Christian believers were regarded by the apostolic Church as fit subjects for baptism.

Presumptions.

The testimony of the apostolic fathers, while not openly indorsing infant baptism, goes to show that it was practised.

Justin.

Justin Martyr[2] says: "There are among the Christians of this day many of both sexes, sixty and seventy years old, who have been made disciples from their infancy." Here nothing is said of baptism, but the very notion of "making disciples" included baptism. Irenæus does not positively affirm the practice of infant baptism in his day. In common with the Christian writers of the second century he connects the necessity of baptism with the taint of human nature. He argues the universal guilt of sin and the need of a universal Saviour. Christ is the Saviour who came to save all who are regenerated by God. But this regeneration ordinarily comes through baptism. He thus implies that baptism was administered to infants.[3]

Irenæus.

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[1] For a complete representation and description of these *v.* Strzygowski: *Ikonographie der Taufe Christi*, München, 1885.

[2] *Apol.*, i, 15.

[3] *Adver. Hæres.*, lib. ii, c. 22; ii, cc. 22, 39. *v.* Powers: "Irenæus and Infant Baptism," in the *Am. Pres. and Theol. Review*, 1857, pp. 239–267. *v.* Wall: *Hist. of Infant Baptism*, Oxford, 1872, vol. i, pp. 44, *seq.*

So also with Tertullian. While no positive assertion is made by the African presbyter that the Church practised infant baptism the entire force of his argument presupposes such practice.[1] For, if he labours to show that the rite should be postponed to adult age, it is evident that the custom of the baptism of young children was prevalent. Moreover, in his opposition he does not cite apostolic custom against infant baptism, which is almost inconceivable if the apostolic Church had been averse to it. The position of Cyprian and his fellow-bishops of the council, in the epistle to Fidus, already quoted, is unequivocally in favor of the baptism of infants.[2]

Tertullian's position.

Cyprian's views.

Thus, while no positive statement relative to infant baptism is met in the Scriptures, or in the writings of any fathers earlier than Irenæus and Tertullian, by the end of the second century mention is made of the baptism of children, and in the third, of infants; but in the fourth the practice of infant baptism is not general, since eminent fathers of the Church, whose parents were Christians, did not receive baptism till adult age. That during the third century the children of Christian parents were frequently baptized is established by much unquestioned testimony. Origen is especially clear in his statement of the prevailing practice, and insists that the Church inherited it from the apostles themselves.[3] From the middle of the third century the custom of the Church is attested by the unequivocal testimony of competent witnesses; it is made the subject of conciliary action,[4] and is defended by most orthodox writers against the contrary teachings of some heretical sects. While the opinions of the Christian teachers of the third and fourth centuries varied with regard to the expediency of baptizing infants in case of no impending danger, they were in accord on the question of its rightfulness and lawfulness when threatened

Not general in the fourth century.

Origen's testimony.

Infant baptism common in the third century.

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[1] *de Bapt.*, c. 18. *v.* Höfling: *Das Sacrament der Taufe*, Erlangen, 1846, Bd. i, ss. 104, *seq.*

[2] "The introduction of the practice of pædobaptism into the Church is hidden in obscurity. If it owes its origin to the indispensableness of the same to salvation, this is an argument that the superstitious view of baptism had become greatly strengthened. At the time of Irenæus (ii, 22, 4) and Tertullian (*de Bapt.*, 18) it was already widely practised, being defended from the command of Christ (Matt. xix, 14). We have no witness for this practice from an earlier date. Tertullian opposed it on the ground that a conscious faith was the necessary condition of receiving the rite, but more especially because of its tremendous import. . . . In the course of the third century the custom was prevalent to baptize the children of Christian families." Harnack: *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1894.

[3] *v.* in *Luc.*, Hom. 14, t. 2; and in *Rom.*, l. 5, c. 6, v. 9.

[4] Cyprian: *Ep.* 59 and 64.

with death. Gregory Nazianzen thought it advisable, if in good health, to defer the baptism of children until they were about three years old; he was, however, positive in maintaining the right and duty of the baptism of infants in case of danger of death.[1] The inscriptions which contain distinct dogmatic teaching have been shown to be few, yet a number have been preserved which confirm the recorded testimony as to the relation of children to baptism and church membership. These are nearly all within the fourth century, and they go to show the practice of the Church at this period. Children of tender age are spoken of as having been baptized, and as faithful members of Christ's Church. They are described as "*fidelis*," or "πιστός," the term used to distinguish a baptized person.[2]

Postponed to the third year.

That infant baptism was opposed at any time in the early centuries arose largely from the mistaken notion that baptism washed away all sins, and that sins committed after baptism were specially difficult of cleansing; hence the frequent deferring of baptism until a late period in life or just before death.

The practice of infant baptism was usually limited to the case of children born of Christian parents; nevertheless the early Church was generally liberal in the treatment of children when one parent was a Christian, or when they had been born while the parents were under ban of excommunication, or when the religious status of the parents was not known. In all these cases the children were held to be fit subjects for baptism.[3] From the fourth century the propriety of the baptism of infants was unquestioned.[4]

Liberal practice of early Church.

§ 6. *Catechumenical Training of Adults for Baptism and Admission into the Church.*

During the warmth of zeal in the apostolic Church professed believers in Jesus and his resurrection were almost immediately admitted to baptism. This is evident from the New Testament baptisms already examined. It seems to have been the method of John the Baptist in his ministry; nevertheless, even his baptism was conditioned on repentance and reformation of life. So also in the later history of the Church, during the attempts to Christianize the pagan peoples, whole tribes

Baptism immediate on profession of faith.

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[1] *v.* Orat. 40, *de Baptismo.*

[2] Tertullian: *de Corona*, ii. Augustine: Sermo 49. Kraus: *R. Ency. der Ch. Alt.* Le Blant: *L'Epigraphie Chrétiene en Gaule*, Paris, 1890, p. 87.

[3] *v.* Bingham: *Op. cit.*, bk. x, ch. ii, secs. 15–19; xi, ch. iv, sec. 5

[4] "Baptism of infants is allowed no less by present custom than by the ancient canons" (of the Coptic Church). *v.* Butler: *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 262. For inscriptions on infant baptism *v.* Appendix.

were sometimes baptized almost immediately, at their own request or that of their chiefs.[1] But from the second century the general practice of the Church was essentially modified, especially in the case of converts from heathenism. In order to preserve the purity of the Church and save it from scandal, it was believed necessary to use greater caution in receiving members, and by a course of careful preliminary training to become assured of their sincerity, and of their acceptance of the Christian doctrine; thus men were appointed to the special duty of preparing candidates for baptism. The nature and duration of the instruction varied with circumstances, from a few days to two or three years. It is believed that this had chief reference to persons of Gentile origin.

Special training necessary in the case of Gentile converts.

The gradual admission of the candidate to the Church services, his instruction in the exoteric doctrines of Christianity, and his advancement through successive stages of discipline, were regarded as preparatory to his initiation into the mysteries of the society.[2] Baptism was this initiatory rite; and to reveal its process and effects to those who were still in catechumenical training was deep impiety.

§ 7. *The Ministrants.*

The right to baptize not confined to the apostles.

It is certain that the words of Christ's last commission were more especially addressed to the eleven apostles. But that the rite of baptism was performed by others than the twelve and Paul is plain from the example of Philip, one of the first deacons (Acts viii, 12, 38). Nevertheless, during the second century, when the episcopal authority had come to be widely recognised, baptism was regarded as an especial function of the bishop. The presbyters and deacons performed the rite, but with express permission of the bishop. The duty pertained to the episcopal office, and could be discharged by the bishop and by those only to whom his right was delegated. This was the theory prevalent in the orthodox churches, both East and West, during the first six centuries. However, in cases of extreme necessity, not only presbyters and deacons, but also laymen, and even heretics,[3] performed the rite, and such baptism was regarded as valid by most

A function of the bishop.

In cases of extreme necessity others could administer the rite.

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[1] *v.* Socrates: *Eccles. Hist.*, bk. vii, c. xxx, where the baptism of the Burgundians is described as taking place on the eighth day, after a fast and instruction of seven days. This was early in the fifth century.

[2] It is easy to trace parallelisms between the practice of the Christian Church and that of the contemporary social, political, and religious clubs.

[3] The validity of baptism, when performed by heretics or schismatics, was stoutly opposed by Cyprian in his conflict with Novatian. In case of heretics and schismatics

ecclesiastical authorities. It was so recognised on account of the prevalent view that baptism was necessary to admission to the Church and to salvation. The service of an irregular administrator was justified only on the ground of extreme exigency, as in the case of impending death or the compelled absence of the bishop.[1]

§ 8. *The Mode of Baptism.*

John's baptism and Christ's from the same root.

In the instances of baptism recorded in the New Testament no mode is indicated. With the practice of ceremonial cleansing the people were familiar. It is in this custom that John's baptism finds its warrant. Christ's baptism must also rest upon the same custom. In this purification both immersion and affusion were practiced. It has been argued that Christian baptism took the form usually practised in the Jewish proselyte baptism. Schürer argues for the existence of the rite among the Jews in the time of Christ.[2] Winer, on the other hand, reaches the opposite conclusion.[3] The tendency of recent scholarship is to place the practice of proselyte baptism at a later date.[4] It cannot therefore be urged as a pattern for Christian baptism.

Opinion of Delitzsch.

"The baptism of John and proselyte baptism," says Delitzsch, "stand only in direct relation to one another in so far as one and the same idea underlies both kinds of baptism, as well as the legal lustrations in general: the idea of the passage from a condition of moral uncleanness to a condition of purity from sin and guilt. . . . There is no reason to assume that the baptism of John or Christian baptism originated in proselyte baptism, or even that it derived its form from it. It was, moreover, unlike the economy of God to build upon a Pharisaic usage, and not rather upon an ancient symbol already sanctified by the giving of the law on Sinai. John himself assigns the choice of this symbolic rite to divine appointment (John i, 33). Johannic and Christian baptism have, however, in conformity with the nature of the new covenant as a fulfillment of the law and the prophets (Matt. v, 17), over and above their connection with the law and the Levitical lustrations in general as prescribed in it, also another point of connection in prophecy: in the prediction of a future purification and

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as ministrants he denied that there was any real baptism, since no one outside the Holy Catholic Church had the character requisite to make the baptism effective to the washing away of sins, even though their professed faith and all the formulas used were in exact harmony with those of the Church. This arose from his extreme theory of the unity of the Church. *v. Ep. ad Magnum.* *v.* also Tertullian: *de Bapt.*, ch. xvii.

[1] For authorities *v.* bk. ii, chap. iv, where the growth of the episcopate is traced.

[2] *Geschichte der Jüdischen Volks im Zeitalter Christi*, ii, 571, *seq.*

[3] Herzog: *Real Ency.*, xii, 298, 299.

[4] Herzog und Plitt: *Ency.*, 3d ed.

sanctification through water and the Spirit (Isa. xliv, 3; Ezek. xxxvi, 25; xxxvii, 23, *seq.;* Zech. xiii, 1)."

The apostles employed the mode in use at the time. That mode goes back to the Jewish lustrations. In these ceremonies both immersion and aspersion were practised.

When we come to notice the testimony of the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* we find the two modes in use. "But if thou hast not running water, baptize in other water; and if thou canst not in cold, then in warm. But if thou hast neither, pour water upon the head thrice, into the name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit."

The mode known to Tertullian is trine immersion, yet at the same time he speaks of an affusion as a part of the baptismal ceremony, and when he alludes to the devils imitating Christian baptism it is by sprinkling and washing.

Clinic baptism.

That baptism by sprinkling or aspersion was practised in case of the sick and the infirm is generally conceded. This seems to be a further indication of a degree of freedom in the mode. This *clinical* baptism was not regarded with favor by a large portion of the Church; in some instances its validity was seriously questioned. Yet the high-church Cyprian, by whom the preservation of the unity of the Church and of apostolic traditions was regarded of utmost importance, clearly decided in a test case for the validity of clinic baptism: "I think the divine benefits can in no respect be mutilated and weakened; nor can any thing less occur in that case, where, with full and entire faith both of the giver and receiver, is accepted what is drawn from the divine gifts. For in the sacraments of salvation the contagion of sins is not in such wise washed away, as the filth of the skin and of the body is washed away in the carnal and ordinary," etc. . . . "In the sacraments of salvation, when necessity compels, and God bestows his mercy, the divine methods confer the whole benefit on believers; nor ought it to trouble any one that sick people seem to be sprinkled or affused, when they obtain the Lord's grace," etc. . . . "Whence it appears that the sprinkling also of water prevails equally with the washing of salvation," etc.[1]

Cyprian's opinion.

Clinic baptism not encouraged.

From the question of Magnus, as well as from the answer of Cyprian, it is plain that clinic baptism was not generally regarded with favor by the Church of the first three centuries. Nevertheless, the opposition to it did not appear to come so much from a disbelief in the efficacy of the mode itself as from the doubt entertained with respect to the soundness of the faith of the recipient, since the delay of baptism till the time of infirmity or of threatened death seemed to imply a contempt for the ordinance and a neglect of the duties which its acceptance imposed. For Cyprian clearly affirms that the mode is of little importance, provided the faith of the recipient and of the ministrant is genuine. This, and not the simple mode, is the reason why the person receiving clinical baptism was generally ineligible to the clerical office. The suspicion of dishonesty and the disqualification could be removed only by an unwonted proof of zeal and devotion. Thus a variety of mode is found back in the second and third centuries.

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[1] *Ep.* 75 (79), *ad Magnum*, cc. 12, 13–17.

The mode not objectionable.

When we come to the monumental evidence there is not found in any instance an example of immersion. From the frescos of the second century throughout the entire cycle of early Christian art the evidence is in favor of affusion. In Figs. 126, 127, 129, some have maintained that a completed immersion is represented; that as the artist could not represent the entire process he chose to portray one moment in the act. But why always the same moment?[1] De Rossi is of the opinion that the performance of the rite by pouring was by no means exceptional in the early Church, and that the catacombs agree with the oldest form in this matter, as given in the *Didache*.[2] He also maintains that the normal baptism was performed in the early Church by a mode which united immersion and affusion in a single rite, making them separate parts of a repeated ritual.[3] Roller, on the other hand, is inclined to the opinion that the usages could not be identical everywhere, and that the Roman Church had a less complete form than the trine immersion of the African Church.[4]

Monumental evidence indicates variety of mode.

De Rossi.

Roller.

The monuments certainly teach us that the candidate was baptized standing in the water, and the affusion was a supplement to the water below.[5] The custom of the oriental bath comes in here to give a sidelight. In the Homeric and Roman baths the vessel "seems not to have contained water itself, but to have been used for the bathers to sit in while water was poured over them."[6] In his *Charicles* Becker writes of the Grecian public baths as follows: "In the vase paintings we never meet with any basin or tub wherein bathers might stand or sit. There is always a round or oval basin, resting on one foot, beside which the bathers stand, quite naked, to wash themselves." The *bathing* was accomplished by the application of water to the person. In some of these Greek pictures the water descends upon the bathers in a shower; in others, persons are present who pour warm or cold water upon the bather.

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[1] Strzygowski.

[2] *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1888.

[3] de Rossi: *Bullettino*, iv, 4, 19 and 20.

[4] Roller: *Cat. de Rome*, vol. i, p. 131.

[5] Warfield, "Archæology of Baptism," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1896.

[6] Becker's *Gallus*.

Conclusion.

The conclusion to which the evidence leads us is that a large liberty has prevailed from the beginning as to the mode of administering the rite of Christian baptism. The root idea is found in the cleansing prescribed by the Jewish ceremonial purification, the application of water as a symbol of moral renewal. No stereotyped forms are given in the New Testament. Fundamental ideas are given, but the details are left to be adjusted to varying conditions. In this conclusion the latest Christian scholarship concurs.[1] Hence baptism by aspersion is made alternative with trine immersion in the earliest extant Irish baptismal office.[2] While the Greek Church adhered to trine immersion with great tenacity, and to-day practises this mode in all its chief churches, the Coptic and Armenian Churches have recognised the validity of trine aspersion from the earliest period of their history.[3] The Syriac Churches of the seventh century also admitted the propriety of infant baptism and the validity of aspersion.[4]

No stereotyped forms.

Permitted by the Celtic Church.

Also by Coptic and other Churches.

§ 9. *Times and Places of Baptism.*

Apostolic custom.

In the apostolic Church the time and place of baptism were matters of indifference. In accordance with the general methods of missionary propagandism, the circumstances and the proprieties of the various occasions determined. As elsewhere stated, the time seems to have been almost immediately on the profession of faith in Jesus as the Messias. This liberty continued into the second century,[1] and was, indeed, never wholly lost.[2]

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[1] *v.* McGiffert: *The Apostolic Age*, p. 542. New York, 1897. J. F. Hurst: "That immersion was practised in the early Church is generally conceded by exegetes and Church historians, but not to the exclusion of other modes." *History of the Christian Church*, vol. i, p. 14. New York, 1897. See also Schaff, Sheldon, and others.

[2] Warren: *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881, p. 65.

[3] *v.* Butler: *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 264, 265.

[4] *v.* Kayser: *Die Canones Jacob von Edessa*, Leipzig, 1887, Question and Answer 31. *v. Presbyterian Review*, January, 1888, pp. 150, 151. The English and American Baptist Churches, according to Dr. William H. Whitsitt, article "Baptists" in Johnson's *Universal Cyclopædia*, 1896, did not generally practise immersion previous to 1641. It is this date which he assigns for the introduction of immersion. He shows that in 1639 Roger Williams obtained rebaptism, together with eleven others, and that "the ceremony was most likely performed by sprinkling." Immersion was introduced two years later. A certain Mr. Lucar is said to have been the founder of immersion in America.

Reasons of delay.

The opinion entertained by many early Christian fathers relative to the magical power of the water in baptism, as well as the doctrine that baptism purged away the sins of the past, but did not avail for future offences, caused many to delay their baptism as long as possible. In case of great offenders this was sometimes done upon the advice of the Church. But this delay was often the occasion of administering severe rebukes to those who were influenced by selfish considerations to continue in sin, or neglected the ordinance through carelessness or indifference.

Favourite times for baptism.

There was no fixed and unalterable time for performing the rite. In cases of peril neither place, time, mode, nor ministrant was absolutely prescribed; the general belief that baptism was essential to salvation allowed nothing to prevent its administration. Nevertheless, the Church was accustomed to appoint stated times when baptism would be administered to those who had been prepared by careful preliminary instruction. The times considered most appropriate and sacred were Easter, Pentecost, and Epiphany. From the second century these were observed as fit seasons by the Eastern and Western as well as the Coptic churches.[3] At a later period, when the martyrs became objects of peculiar veneration, and the anniversaries of their martyrdom were observed with special care, these were favourite times for the administration of baptism.

A reasonable liberty.

Nevertheless, these seasons were not absolutely obligatory, since Tertullian says, "Every day is the Lord's day; every hour and every time is appropriate for baptism, if men are fit and prepared for it. All places, too, are equally available."[4]

Sometimes administered in private houses.

In accordance with this principle of freedom baptism was sometimes administered in private houses, and doubtless, in times of persecution, the chapels in the catacombs of Rome were likewise used for this purpose. The monumental evidence of this practice is entirely conclusive. The private oratory, discovered in the vicinity of the baths of Diocletian,[1] whose walls were decorated with the symbols of baptism, was probably used to baptize the members of the household. Likewise there are several instances of chapels and fonts in the catacombs.

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[1] *v. The Teaching of the Twelve*, chap. vii.

[2] Baptism in a private house was first inhibited by conciliary action in the sixth century. *v.* Hefele: *Conciliengeschichte*, Bd. ii, s. 698.

[3] Numerous passages in the writings of Tertullian, Gregory Nazianzen, Jerome, Chrysostom, etc., as well as the "Constitutions" and conciliary canons, attest this practice. Tertullian: *de Coron. Milit.*, c. 3, says that the whole fifty days between Easter and Pentecost were kept as a continuous festival, during which baptisms were moré frequent. *v.* Butler: *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, Oxford, 1884. "From the remotest antiquity to the present day the season most commended for baptism is the feast of Epiphany." Vol. ii, pp. 262, 263.

[4] *de Bapt.*, c. 4.

Baptisteries.

After the recognition of Christianity by the state, baptism, like other Church sacraments, was celebrated with greater pomp and ceremony. Separate buildings (baptisteries) were erected, in which conveniences were provided for the observance of a more carefully prescribed ritual. They constitute an interesting class of architectural forms which have survived from the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, and furnish valuable suggestions relative to the state of art during this period (*v.* pp. 222–224). Their arrangement, the position and relation of the font, the frescos and mosaics, give hints respecting the rite of baptism, and the importance attaching to the accompanying ceremonies. These baptisteries, *οἴκοι τοῦ βαπτιστήριον*, were sometimes of considerable dimensions, to accommodate the thousands seeking baptism on the great feast days in the cathedral churches of the large towns, and were occasionally used as the places of assembly of the councils. They belong to the regular central style of architecture, having their outline circular or polygonal.

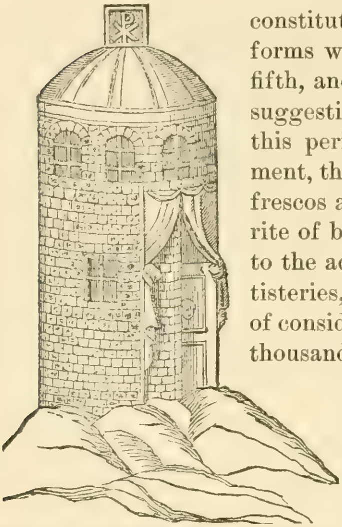

Fig. 136.—A baptistery. From a sarcophagus, Rome.

Examples of baptisteries.

Fig. 136 is from the representation of a baptistery sculptured on a sarcophagus at Rome.[2] It is circular in outline, covered with a flat dome, surmounted by the favourite Constantinian monogram, ☧.

Fig. 137 is the groundplan and connected arcade of a baptistery at Deïr-Seta in Central Syria, described by de Vogüé.[3] It is hexagonal, the central dome resting upon six columns which surround the font itself. This was the usual form of the baptisteries in the Orient.

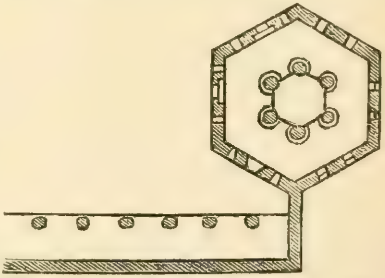

Fig. 137.—Groundplan of a baptistery at Deïr-Seta, Central Syria.

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[1] *v. Bullettino di Arch. crist.*, 1876.

[2] Garrucci: *Storia*, etc., t. cccxxiii.

[3] de Vogüé: *Syrie Centrale*, pl. cxvii.

San Giovanni in Laterano.

Fig. 138 is a vertical section of the noted baptistery of St. John in Lateran, Rome. Only the central portion, which is covered by the dome, is here given, in order to show the position of the font and to illustrate the rich and suggestive mosaic decoration which is frequently found in this class of buildings. The central mosaic of the first zone represents a baptismal scene, in which the same mode of administration is suggested as in the monuments which have already been described (*v.* pp. 444–446).

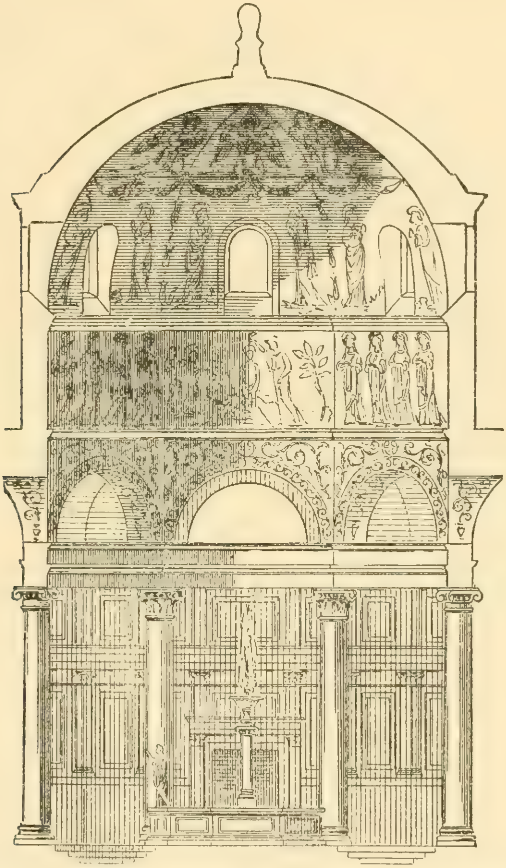

Fig. 138.—Vertical section of the central portion of the baptistery of San Giovanni in Lateran, Rome.

Fig. 139 is a vertical section of the baptistery of Albegna,[1] Italy.

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[1] *v.* Dehio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, taf. 3, Figs. 5, 6.

It is probably of the seventh or eighth century. It gives the arrangement of the steps leading to the font, and of the chapels which are contained in the space covered by the lean-to roof. This and Fig. 138 are octagonal in ground-plan. Both will illustrate the manner in which adjacent parts were added to the original baptistery, until an imposing structure, convenient for purposes of assembly and worship, was the result.

Baptistery of Albegna.

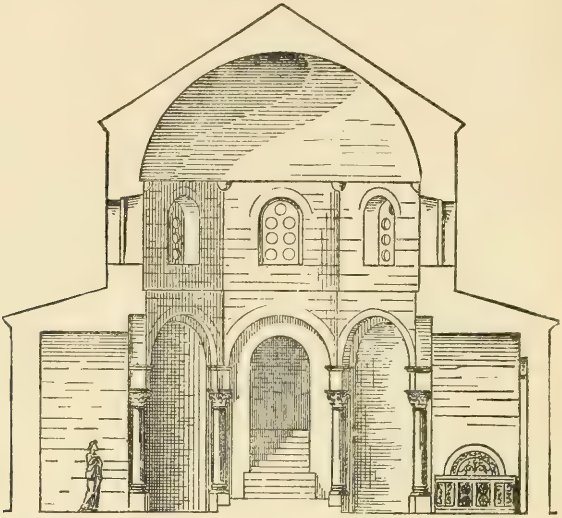

Fig. 139.—Vertical section of the baptistery in Albegna, Italy.

§ 10. *Immediate Preliminaries to Baptism.*

Profession of faith required.

Prior to the administration of the rite the candidates were required to renounce the devil and all his works, to profess faith in a prescribed creed, and to promise to live in obedience to Christ and his precepts. The form and content of the creed varied from the simple profession of faith in Jesus as the risen Messiah, to the more lengthy and imposing creeds formulated from time to time by the Church.[1] The promise of obedience to the Church was often made three times. In the turning toward the west, as the place of darkness, when solemn renunciation of Satan was made, in the turning to the east, as the source of light, when promise of obedience was enjoined, and in the triple renunciation, promise, and confession of faith, there

Renunciation of the devil and his works.

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[1] *v. Const. Apostol.*, l. vii, c. 41.

is noticed a system of significant symbolism, which was early introduced into ecclesiastical art (*v.* book i, chap. iii).

Sponsors.

As early as the latter part of the second century sponsorship was recognised as an important, if not a necessary, accompaniment of baptism. Its origin is not known. It probably arose out of the circumstances of peculiar peril to which the Church was exposed, whereby the children would be left in orphanage, or adults be liable to lapse into paganism. In either case the sponsors were regarded as sureties: in case of children for their care and religious training, in case of adults for their sound conversion and genuine Christian character at the time of their presentation for baptism.[1] The caution used by the early Church in the choice of sponsors clearly reveals the nature of this relation; it was that of a guarantor of the moral life of those about to be baptized. Hence, when parents were permitted to be sponsors for their children it was not because of this natural relationship, but rather that they might afford guarantees for their moral and spiritual character. In nearly all the earlier expositions of the philosophy of sponsorship there is a positive denial that regeneration of the child is effected by the faith of either the sponsor or the ministrant.[2] Nevertheless, it was held by Augustine that the faith of the sponsors may inure to the advantage of the child, by stimulating to greater fidelity in education and watchcare;[3] "the promises of the sponsors were understood to be made not in their own name, but in the name of the baptized, and that the latter became subsequently responsible."

Philosophy of sponsorship.

The faith of the sponsor not availing.

§ 11. *Accompanying Ceremonies.*

Trine baptism.

Early baptism, in post-apostolic times, was probably by trine immersion, pouring, or sprinkling of the nude figure. The *Teaching of the Twelve* contains the oldest distinct precept as to trine baptism: "But if thou hast neither, pour water upon the head thrice, into the name of the Father, and the Son, and Holy Spirit."[4] By the close of the second century this was the common practice. "We dip not once, but three times, at the naming of every person of the Trinity."[5] With this statement of Tertullian the teachings of Basil and Jerome are in exact accord. So also Ambrose is minute in his description of the rite. "Thou wast asked, Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? And thou repliedst, I believe, and

Tertullian's testimony.

Ambrose's account.

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[1] *Const. Apost.*, l. viii, c. 32.

[2] Augustine: *Ep. ad Bonif.*, 98.

[3] *v. de Baptismo*; *c. Donatist.* iv, 31; *de Lib. Arbitr.*, iii, 23.

[4] *v.* chap. vii.

[5] Tertullian: *cont. Prax.*, c. 26.

wast dipped, that is, buried. A second demand was made, Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ our Lord, and in his cross? Thou answeredst again, I believe, and wast dipped. Thereupon thou wast buried with Christ. For he that is buried with Christ rises again with Christ. A third time thou wast asked, Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost? And thy answer was, I believe. Then thou wast dipped a third time, that thy triple confession might absolve thee from the various offences of thy former life."[1]

Various explanations of the practice.

Different reasons for this practice are found in the writings of the Christian fathers. Gregory of Nyssa and others, both in the Greek and Latin Church, say that it represents Christ's three days' burial, and his resurrection on the third day. Others explain it as symbolic of our faith in the Trinity, into whose name we are baptized. Augustine[2] unites these reasons, in that by trine immersion the Trinity is symbolized, as well as the Lord's burial, and resurrection on the third day.

Influence of the Arians on the practice.

Most of the Christian fathers from Tertullian taught that this method of baptism was instituted by the apostles. The "Apostolic Canons" regard it as of imperative obligation, and order the deposition of any bishop or presbyter who shall administer the rite in any other way.[3] The Arians in Spain continued this practice. To protest against this heretical sect the orthodox party was led to abandon trine immersion; and the fourth Council of Toledo (A. D. 633) decreed[4] that a single immersion should be regarded as valid baptism. It was led to this decision by the advice of Gregory the Great, who held that both ways were "just and unblamable in themselves; nevertheless, to avoid a seeming approval of the Arian heresy, it may be advisable to drop trine, and practise single immersion."[5]

Unction.

As further accompaniments of baptism must be noted unction, which was performed by oil consecrated by the bishop, the imposition of hands, and the sign of the cross. The anointing of the body of the baptized person after leaving the water, called the unction of chrism, was of early institution. It is mentioned by Tertullian as usual in his day. At a later period the practice of anointing the body before baptism was introduced,[6] and forms of consecration of the oil were prescribed. Various interpretations of the significance of these two unctions are met in the writings of the fathers. In the Constitutions is found the injunction: "Thou shalt first of all anoint him with the holy oil, and then baptize him with water, and afterward sign him with the ointment; that the anointing with the oil may be the participation of the Holy Spirit, and the water may be the symbol of death, and the signing with ointment may be the seal of the compact made with God,"[1] etc.

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[1] *De Sacram.*, lib. 2, c. 7, as quoted by Bingham: *Antiquities*, etc., bk. xi, chap. xi.

[2] *De Consecrat.*, Dist. 4, c. 78.

[3] *v.* Canons 49, 50.

[4] Can. 5.

[5] Lib. i, *Ep.* 41.

[6] *v.* Ambrose: *De Sacramentis*, l. i, c. 2. *Constit. Apost.*, l. 7, c. 42.

Imposition of hands.

The imposition of hands was to symbolize the reception of the Holy Ghost. It was used in confirmation, which generally was an accompaniment of baptism, and completed the admission of the candidate to the Church and to a participation in the holy eucharist.

Sign of the cross.

The sign of the cross was used by the early Christians in the most common affairs of life. It was the symbol of conquering power, by which Satan and all the angels of darkness were driven out and finally subdued; its rich and varied symbolism in connection with the rite of baptism is the theme of many noble passages in early Christian literature.[2]

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[1] *Const. Apost.*, lib. 7, c. 22, quoted by Bingham: *Op. cit.*, bk. xi, chap. ix, sec. 3.

[2] *v.* pp. 83–89.

CHAPTER II.

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

§ 1. *Idea and Mode of Celebration.*

The meal symbolic.

A memorial.

The original eucharistic meal was symbolic. The broken bread and the consecrated cup were also prophetic of the work which Christ was to accomplish for his disciples and for the world. The real sacrifice, of which this sacrament was to be a remembrance, was yet to be accomplished; hence the supper was so far prophetic. The bread was to symbolize the broken body, and the cup the blood, which was the pledge of the covenant between God and man. Every disciple who, in after time, should worthily celebrate this supper, in obedience to the words used by Christ in its institution, was to break this bread and drink this wine in order to recall the memory of the Founder, the Great Sacrifice for the world, until he should come again.

Celebrated daily.

The thought familiar to all.

Testimony of early frescos.

It is probable that the celebration of the Lord's Supper by the first disciples occurred daily in private houses,[1] in connection with the agape, or lovefeast. It was of a somewhat festive character, as may be inferred from the excesses which Paul reproves in the Corinthian church,[2] and was associated with an ordinary meal, at whose close the bread and wine were distributed to those present, as a memorial of Christ's similar distribution to the disciples. The association of a meal with religious rites had been most familiar with the Jews during all their history, and was widely recognised by the heathen world, both in conducting their common festivites around an altar with sacrifices, and in the funeral feasts held annually in the *cellæ* in memory of the deceased members of the family or club.[3] Nearly all the early frescos confirm this view of the social character of the Supper. A table, around which are couches on which sit or recline the participants, is the ordinary method of representing the celebration of the Lord's Supper (see

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[1] Acts ii. 46. The reference of καθ' ἡμέραν is uncertain; it may include "the breaking of bread" as well as the daily visits to the temple.

[2] 1 Cor. xi, 20.

[3] *v.* Renan: *Les Apôtres*, pp. 351–354.

Figs. 13, 14). From the accounts in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts ii, 42, 46), as well as from Paul's letter to the Corinthian church (1 Cor. xi, 20, 21), it is safely inferred that the disciples contributed each a share of the food necessary for the meal; the community of love and fellowship being herein shown, as at first in the gifts to a common fund for the relief of the poor saints at Jerusalem. To this unifying power of the eucharist Paul evidently refers (1 Cor. x, 16, 17). From the account given of the practices of the Corinthian church (1 Cor. xi, 17–34), it is plain that private members appropriated to themselves the bread and wine which were designed for the common benefit, and did not wait for the distribution of the elements at the hands of a church officer. From the whole history, as given by Paul, we look in vain for any evidence that a priestly consecration and distribution of the bread and wine were regarded as necessary to the validity of the sacrament. Neither in Christ's original institution of the supper, nor in this fullest account by Paul, when, if at all, such authority would have been asserted, nor elsewhere in the New Testament, is found any evidence that the Lord's Supper was to be consecrated only by a chosen or appointed class. "Consequently the limitation of its administration to the officers of the church cannot claim undoubted apostolic authority."[1] This was in accordance with other features of the Church while in its plastic period. That the distinctive functions of the officers of the apostolic period had not yet been fully differentiated is thus manifest in connection with the administration of both the great sacraments instituted by Christ.

A communal meal.

Its administration not confined to a class.

Moreover, this lack of an official character was in perfect harmony with the idea of a universal priesthood, which was prevalent in the early years of the history of the Church. Each householder was the highpriest of his own family, competent to do all things necessary to their spiritual upbuilding, including the celebration of the sacred meal in memory of his Lord. But, in accordance with the unifying principle already referred to, it is probable that this sacrament was usually observed in a congregation of believers. It seems that during the early apostolic period the method of keeping the Supper recalled the last meeting of Christ with his disciples. It was accompanied by prayer (Matt. xxvi, 27; Mark xiv, 22, 23; Luke xxii, 17) and singing of hymns (Matt. xxvi, 30), and was connected with a social meal, the agape, to indicate that its purpose was the expression of brotherly love. The offering of thanks and

In harmony with the idea of the universal priesthood.

How celebrated.

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[1] *v.* Beet: *Commentary on* 1 *Cor., in loco.*

praise (*εὐχαρίστια, εὐλογία*, 1 Cor. xi, 24; 1 Cor. x, 16) was probably followed with the holy kiss (*φίλημα ἅγιον*, Rom. xvi, 16; 1 Cor. xvi, 20).

The agape discontinued.

The two parts of worship.

Simplicity of its early observance.

The "Teaching."

Under Trajan the strict edicts against secret societies compelled the separation of the agape from the Lord's Supper. The former, being adjudged by the emperor to pertain to the secret clubs, *ἑταιρείαι*, which had awakened the suspicion of the government by being held in the evening, was discontinued, and the Lord's Supper was connected with the public worship. The necessity for observing this sacrament in connection with the open and more public services, and the institution of the catechumenate and other forms of training and discipline, gradually led to the division of worship into the *missa catechumenorum* and the *missa fidelium*. From the circumstance that unbaptized persons, and such as were under church discipline, as well as all others not in full communion with the Church, were excluded from the assembly before the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the idea of a mystery (*μυστήριον*) soon attached to this rite, and gave rise to the so called *disciplina arcani*. This was, however, of later institution; probably not earlier than the time of Tertullian. In the earliest notices of the Lord's Supper a simple and almost literal imitation of the meal as instituted by Christ is prevalent. In the "Teaching of the Twelve" the instructions for celebrating the eucharist are as simple and archaic as those respecting baptism. There is a marked absence of involved ritual and mystery; it is truly a eucharistic meal. "Now concerning the eucharist, thus give thanks; first concerning the cup: We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David thy servant, which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee be the glory forever. And concerning the broken *bread:* We thank thee, our Father, for the life and the knowledge which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee be the glory forever. Just as this broken *bread* was scattered over the hills and having been gathered together became one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever. But let no one eat or drink of your eucharist, except those baptized into the Lord's name; for in regard to this the Lord hath said: Give not that which is holy to the dogs."[1]

After the feast (*μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι*), thanksgiving shall be offered for "the knowledge and faith and immortality" made known through Jesus, and "for spiritual food and drink and eternal life through thy servant." Also supplication for the Church, that it may be saved from evil and made perfect in love.[1]

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[1] *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Αποστόλων*, chap. ix.

In Justin Martyr's account of the Lord's Supper is noticed an almost like simplicity as in the "Teaching." There is hardly a trace of a secret discipline, since this father, in his first Apology, is frank in his account of both the Christian sacraments.[2] Nevertheless, a change from the apostolic custom is noticed in the fact that special celebrants or officers are now recognised. "There is brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water."[3] The deacons distribute the consecrated elements, and to those who are absent they carry away a portion; none but the believers or the baptized are admitted to the meal—"to feast on the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh."[4]

Justin Martyr's account.

In Tertullian's account there is scarcely more formality. His object in giving the statement is to refute the vile calumnies made against the Christians, that in their private dwellings they were guilty of practices more shameless than attached to the heathen mysteries. The central thought of the feast is love. "The Greeks call it *ἀγάπη*, that is, love." "As it is an act of religious service it permits no vileness or immorality." "As the feast commenced with prayer, so with prayer it is closed. We go from it . . . to have as much care of our modesty and chastity as if we had been at a school of virtue rather than a banquet."[5]

Tertullian's account.

The order of the service of the Lord's Supper in ante-Nicene times was nearly as follows: First, after the prayers, the kiss of peace was given between man and man, and woman and woman—this having apostolic sanction.[6] Second, the two parts of the service proper, namely, the *oblation*, which was the presentation of the offerings for the feast, and for the poor and the clergy; and the *communion*, or the partaking of the consecrated elements. Both parts of the service were accompanied with prayer and praise. It is not easy to determine whether the service was in regular ritualistic form, or was extemporaneous. Probably with a perfect freedom the uttered prayers became fixed through repetition, and a regular liturgy was here, as elsewhere, the result of influences exerted through many decades of history. At first the

Order of celebration.

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[1] *Ibid.:* chap. x.

[2] *Apol.* i, cc. 61, 65.

[3] *Apol.* i, c. 65.

[4] *Apol.* i, c. 66.

[5] *Apol*, c. 39.

[6] Rom. xvi, 16; 2 Cor. xiii, 12; 1 Thess. v, 26. The kiss of peace was continued into the post-Nicene period, and was sanctioned by conciliary action. *v. Conc. Laodic.*, can. 19.

bread was the common bread of the various countries, though in later centuries the Latin church insisted on unleavened bread. The wine was mingled with water, and the communicants, standing, received both elements in the hands from the officiating deacons. Portions of the sanctified bread were sometimes borne to their homes by the members, where the family communion was repeated in one kind. This practice was especially frequent in the North African church in Cyprian's day, where the practice of infant communion with wine alone was in vogue. The custom of the apostolic Church, for all communicants to make oblations of bread and wine and other things to supply the elements of the holy eucharist, and gifts to the poor, was continued through all the early history of Christianity, and, in a modified form, until the twelfth century. The writings of the fathers, from Justin Martyr to Augustine, recognise this oblation as made by the entire company of believers. They upbraid those who from neglect or penuriousness fail to bring their appropriate contributions to the general fund, and carefully distinguish as to the character of the gifts which will be accepted. Offerings made by extortioners, usurers, corrupt persons, or obtained by fraudulent means, were rejected; and Ambrose used the threat that the offerings of Valentinian would not be accepted by the Church, to induce his refusal of the prayer of Symmachus to restore the heathen altars.[1]

Infant communion.

The oblation by the whole Church.

What offerings excluded.

In accordance with a law of development in church government and discipline, the ceremonies connected with the consecration of the elements became more and more formal and involved, as they were further removed from the plastic condition of the apostolic age. From the simple prayer of thanksgiving and consecration, used by Christ and by the Church of the first and second centuries, extended and carefully prescribed liturgical forms appear, the work of great churchmen, or the result of conciliary discussion and decision. Such forms of the consecration of the eucharist are met in the Apostolic Constitutions of the fourth century,[2] and in the principal liturgies of the Eastern and Western churches. It is believed that no regularly prescribed liturgies were used in the ante-Nicene period. The earlier recognition of a *disciplina arcani* partially accounts for this; for when Christianity became the religion of the state, and the celebration of the eucharist was made a public act, a great number of written liturgies were prepared, both in the orthodox and heretical churches. While greatly differing in minor particulars, these great liturgies are based

Liturgical forms gradually developed.

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[1] *v.* Ep. 30, *ad Valent.*

[2] Const. Apost., lib. viii, c 13.

upon the earlier and simpler order of consecration and communion. Nevertheless they were often of great length, and were accompanied with many impressive ceremonies, especially frequent musical recitations by the choirs and responses by the people. As a rule, the Oriental churches accepted the most extensive and involved liturgies in the celebration of the eucharist, while the Western centered on a single feature of the divine manifestation—Christ's redeeming work.[1]

Character of the liturgies.

As with respect to the constitution of the Church and the functions of church officers, so also with respect to the eucharist, the apostolic Church had no clearly defined doctrine as to the mode of its operation. The first Christians received the bread and wine with thanksgiving and gladness of heart, without inquiring into the manner of Christ's presence in the elements. There is no evidence whatever that it was regarded as a sin-offering or sacrifice.[2] The only sacrifice recognised is that of the person of the believer with all his powers (Rom. xii, 1; Phil. ii, 15–17, *et al.*). The most that can be stated is that those who had worthily participated in the Supper were thus brought into conscious union with their Lord, as in other religions the worshipper was conceived to be brought near the divinity through the medium of an offering by the priest.

No early theory of the mode of its operation.

No recognition of a sin-offering.

The "Teaching of the Apostles" speaks of a sacrifice: "But on the Lord's day do ye assemble and break bread, and give thanks, after confessing your transgressions, in order that your sacrifice, *ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν*, may be pure. But every one that hath controversy with his friend, let him not come together with you, until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice, *ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν*, may not be profaned."[3] Yet it is manifest that the term sacrifice is here used in a very different sense from that of a levitical or priestly oblation, since the offering here made is by the entire community of disciples, thus preserving the thought of the universal priesthood of believers. In arguing against the Docetists, Ignatius calls the eucharist "the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which

In what sense "sacrifice" was understood.

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[1] This is in harmony with the theory of worship in these churches. The Greek includes the entire circle of the divine manifestation, from the creation to the final triumph of the glorified Church. The Latin, on the contrary, proposes a narrower sphere in its theory of worship, to which its liturgy strictly corresponds. It is the manifestation of the history of redemption, as this culminates in the passion and atoning death of Jesus Christ. Its liturgy must be correspondingly abbreviated.

[2] Höfling: *Die Lehre der ältesten Kirche vom Opfer im Leben und Cultus der Christen*, Erlangen, 1851, ss. 45, *seq.*

[3] *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Αποστόλων*, chap. xiv.

suffered for our sins, and which the Father, of his goodness, raised up again;"[1] and again he speaks of the Church "breaking one and the same bread, which is the medicine of immortality, and the antidote to prevent us from dying, but that we should live forever in Jesus Christ."[2] Such language appears to express a belief in the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, yet is not absolutely determining. A very similar view would be inferred from the language of Justin Martyr[3] and Irenæus.[4] The latter, however, elsewhere implies that the bread and wine are the archetypes of the body and blood of Christ. This is also the view which is met in the Apostolic Constitutions[5] and in many of the Greek fathers of the first four centuries.

The bread and wine are archetypes.

The African church seemed to fluctuate between the symbolical interpretation of the words of the institution of the Supper and the idea of the real presence in the elements. The strong development of the priestly character of the clergy by Cyprian led him to view the eucharist as a sacrifice.

The view of the African Church.

The Alexandrian church were generally inclined to regard the bread and wine as symbols of the body and blood of Christ, and the feast as spiritual in its nature and office.

The Alexandrian view.

The idea of a sacrifice is expressed in the language of nearly all the ante-Nicene fathers, but it is more a commemoration of the one sacrifice for sin made by the offering of Christ, "once for all," upon the cross, with the added thought of thanksgiving for the plan of redemption. As late as the twelfth century this thought was perpetuated by the custom of the presentation of the eucharistic elements by the entire congregation, the universal priesthood of believers being thus exhibited.

The commemoration of a sacrifice.

The notion of a thank offering is prominent in most of the writers of the first and second centuries; but in the third century the later doctrine of a sin offering is found, especially in the writings of Cyprian, whose theory of the priesthood of the ministry logically demanded an offering for the sins of the people. His language is remarkable, and expresses the extreme view of the age relative to a genuine offering of sacrifice made by the priest. "For if Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, is himself the chief priest of God the Father, and has first offered himself a sacrifice to the Father, and has commanded this to be done in commemoration of himself, certainly that priest truly discharges the office of

Cyprian's sacrificial view.

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[1] *Ad Smyrn.*, c. 7.
[2] *Ad Ephes.*, c. 20.
[3] *Apol.*, c. 66.
[4] *Advers. Hær.*, iv, c. 18, *seq.*
[5] Const. Apost., v, c. 14; vi, c. 30; vii, c. 35.

Christ who imitates that which Christ did; and he then offers a true and full sacrifice in the Church to God the Father, when he proceeds to offer it according to what he sees Christ himself to have offered."[1]

The three views of the Lord's Supper, the mystical, the symbolic, and the extreme materialistic, traces of each of which are found in the first three centuries, were perpetuated in the post-Nicene church. Among some of the prominent Greek writers there is a tendency to rhetorical declamation in describing the benefits of the eucharist, and to the recognition of some mysterious change which the elements undergo in the act of consecration, by virtue of which the believer truly partakes of the body and blood of Christ. It is difficult to find those exact definitions which enable us to classify these writers as advocates of a mere spiritual participation in Christ's nature, or of the doctrine of the real presence in the bread and wine, or of a veritable change of substance in the elements. The same writer fluctuates in his expressions, at one time seemingly representing the elements as changed into the veritable body and blood of Christ,[2] and at another as symbols of his body and blood. Other fathers, as Gregory of Nyssa and Chrysostom in the East, and Hilary and Ambrose among the Latins, are quite pronounced in regard to a complete change of the elements in the act of consecration, and, therefore, incline to the later view of the Latin Church. Nevertheless, in these same writers are found expressions which, if studied in their isolation, would lead us to rank them among the advocates of the mere symbolic relation of the elements to the body and blood of Christ, and of a purely spiritual communion with him. With all of them it is a deep mystery. In the symbolic school may be reckoned Basil, Eusebius, Gregory Nazianzen, and Augustine; although these, too, at times use expressions which favour another theory.

Opinions various.

Classifications difficult.

The symbolic school.

What is true of the teachings of the great church fathers is likewise true of the language of the ancient liturgies. Some represent a veritable change in the elements as occurring in the act of consecration, while others recognise only the spiritual presence of Christ in the supper. The Greek liturgies are generally more clear in the representation of the real

The liturgies not uniform in teaching.

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[1] Ep. 62 (63), *ad Cœcil.*, c. 14.

[2] *v.* especially Cyril of Jerusalem as cited by Neander: *Christliche Dogmengeschichte*, Berlin, 1857, Bd. i, ss. 425, 426. "Regard not, therefore, the bread and the wine as elements simply, for, according to the declaration of the Lord, they are the body and blood of Christ."

presence of Christ with the elements. Generally throughout the eucharistic portions of the liturgies there is the recognition of an awful, yet glorious, mystery.[1]

Obligations to commune.

From the ancient canons it is evident that full members of the Church, or those who had passed through their catechumenical discipline and had been baptized, and who were free from ecclesiastical censure, were under obligation to partake of the eucharist. Some of the canons are very explicit, going so far as to declare that such as refuse to partake of the eucharist ought to be excluded from the Church;[2] and with this opinion harmonized the teachings of the Apostolic Constitutions, and of some of the most eminent Christian fathers.[3] Nor did a plea of unworthiness excuse from this solemn duty. The reservation of some of the elements for the use of such as were not prepared or willing to commune, called *eulogia*, *εὐλογία*, was unknown to the Church of the first four centuries, and probably was not recognised before the eighth or ninth century. Nor was the mediæval and modern practice of private mass, where the priest alone receives the elements, known to the early Church.

Eulogia.

No private mass.

Since the Church from the beginning of the third century accounted infants as proper subjects of baptism, and regarded this as the proper initiatory rite into the Church — ratifying the membership by the holy unction and confirmation—she consistently admitted infants to the Lord's Supper. Of this there is abundant proof as early as the third century. Cyprian is very clear in his recognition of the propriety of infant communion,[4] and he mentions it in such terms as to give the impression of

Infant communion.

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[1] This subject is discussed at great length, with abundant references to original authorities, by Kahnis: *Die Lehre vom heiligen Abendmahl.*, Leipzig, 1851. Rückert: *Das Abendmahl, sein Wesen, und seine Geschichte in der alten Kirche*, Leipzig, 1856. Freeman: *Principles of Divine Service*, London, 1855–1862. Harrison: *An Answer to Dr. Pusey's Challenge respecting the Doctrine of the Real Presence*, London, 1871. Ebrard: *Das Dogma vom heiligen Abendmahl und seine Geschichte*, Frankfort, 1845. "No other hypothesis is backed up by such a subtle philosophy; no other can so shelter itself from both reason and ridicule in the sanctuary which has been provided for it. . . . His (the believer in transubstantiation) Christ in the sacrament is removed from the region of sense to the region of the unthinkable and non-existent. The Roman Catholic's sacramental Christ is the God of Spinoza." *v.* Cunningham: *The Growth of the Church*, pp. 242, 243.

[2] *Conc. Antioch.*, can. 2, quoted by Bingham, vol. ii, p. 791. Augusti: *Handbuch d. Christ. Archæologie*, Bd. ii, ss. 637, 638.

[3] For declarations of such as were entitled to commune and their duty *v.* Const. Apostol., lib. viii; for the obligation, among others, *v.* Chrysostom: Hom. iii, *ad Ephes.*

[4] *de Lapsis*, c. 25.

Elements sent to sick and prisoners.

its commonness. In the Apostolic Constitutions,[1] where the order in which persons are to receive the communion is treated, children are mentioned; and Augustine in many passages of his writings recognises its practice and propriety. It was also customary for the early Church to send the elements to absent members, to bishops and officers of other churches, to the sick and infirm, and to captives languishing in prison.

Where celebrated.

Order of communion.

The Lord's Supper was early celebrated in private houses; but in later and more settled periods it was usually celebrated in the church. The people received into their hands of both kinds, sometimes kneeling, sometimes standing, but rarely, if ever, sitting.[2] The Constitutions prescribe an order in which persons shall commune: "First, let the bishop receive, then the presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, and ascetics; among the women the deaconesses, virgins, and widows, after that the children, then all the people in order."[3] In Justin Martyr's description[4] of the rite, the president consecrates, and the deacons distribute both elements to the communicants; but in the more formal order of government it is seen that the deacon is forbidden to officiate if a presbyter be present.

Bread mingled with wine.

The practice of communing in one kind, except in case of urgent necessity, was unknown to the ancient Church; of this the proof is too abundant to need specification. It was sometimes the case that the bread was mingled with the wine, and thus both elements were given at the same time. Hence the use of eucharistic spoons in the Greek church, and also in the Coptic church of to-day.

Frequency of celebration.

Celebrated on feast days.

The frequency of celebrating the supper varied in different ages of the Church. The apostolic Church at first had daily assemblies for observing the sacred meal, but afterward, apparently, met "on the first day of the week" for its celebration.[5] The testimony of Tertullian, Cyprian, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Ambrose, and others is to the same custom in their day. But besides the Lord's day the eucharist was celebrated on all great feasts and festivals, and in some churches there was a return to its daily observance. But after the sixth century the celebration became less frequent, until in some churches communion was insisted on but once a year.

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[1] l. viii, c. 13.

[2] This was a much later practice, originating in peculiar circumstances.

[3] l. viii, c. 13, as quoted by Bingham, bk. xv, chap. iv.

[4] *Apol.* i, c. 65.

[5] *v.* Pliny: *Epistolæ*, lib. x, ep. 97, in his celebrated letter to Trajan on the lives and customs of the Christians of the Province of Bithynia. Also Justin Martyr: *Apol.* i, 67.

No elevation of the host.

The eucharist magnified by the fathers.

There is no evidence in the writings or monuments of the first six centuries of the elevation of the host or of its adoration. The entire accompaniments of the eucharist were calculated to impress the mind of the communicant with the solemnity of the act, as well as with the high privilege of the sacrament. The discourses of the great preachers, as the Gregories, Basil, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, Hilary, etc., abound in most eloquent passages, inculcating the necessity of a preparation of spirit in order to communicate worthily, and showing the immense benefits which Christ intended to confer upon the Church by the institution of the Supper.

§ 2. *The Altar and its Furniture.*

Names and forms.

As the central act of public worship was the eucharistic supper, so the central point in the house of assembly was the table of the Lord, or the altar.[1] Paul calls it *τράπεζα κυρίου*. It received different designations at different periods and in different countries. As the idea of a sacrificial offering became more and more prominent, the terms *ara*, *altare*, *θυσιαστήριον*, etc., were applied to the place of consecrating the elements in the eucharist. The forms of the altar varied from the simple table (*τράπεζα*, *mensa*) to the more elaborate altars in wood, stone, and precious metals. Even in Tertullian's day the *ara* is frequently mentioned, and seems to have been of wood. Generally the term is qualified by some word indicating to whom the altar is chiefly dedicated, or whose relics lie beneath it. There are sufficient reasons for believing that for the first two and a half centuries the table, or altar, was often portable, and that in times of public agitation or persecution it was carried from place to place as prudence might dictate.

Position of the altar.

Covering relics of martyrs, etc.

After commodious basilicas were erected and were under the protection of government, the regular place of the altar was at the middle of the chord of the apse (*v.* Fig. 82). It is believed that in the fourth century the altar began to assume the form of a tomb, from the practice of placing beneath it the relics of martyrs or saints. The change of the altar from wood to stone can be better accounted for in this way than by deriving the suggestion from the *arcosolia* of the catacombs, which some affirm were used for altars during times of persecution, and from excessive veneration of the martyred dead. Several of these tomblike altars, from the fifth century, still survive in Rome, Ravenna, and elsewhere; the one discovered in the Basilica San Alessandro, seven miles from Rome, on the *Via Nomentana,* and that of SS. Nazzaro e Celso in Ravenna are good examples. From these well-preserved altars of the fifth century, as well as from mosaic representations found in several churches of the East and West, a good idea of their form, material, and accessories may be gained. Fig. 140 represents a table or altar from about the fifth century, restored partially from divers fragments. It is sketched as a large table of marble, supported by pillars upon which is sculptured a branch of the vine with its fruit. One frieze contains sculptured doves, which turn towards the monogram of Christ; the other (not shown) has a like number of lambs turning towards the mystic Lamb in the centre. It is nearly six feet long and about three and a half wide. It gives a good idea of the altar in the form of the mensa.[1] The altar was often placed upon a platform raised two or three steps high, beneath which was a space, called *confessio,* where was the grave of the saint, afterward the depository of the sarcophagus containing the sacred remains. From literary notices, as well as from mosaics yet preserved, it is plain that from the fourth or fifth century the altar was covered by a canopy, *ciborium,* supported by columns, between which stretched rods bearing the veils, or curtains, which hid the sacred elements from the vulgar gaze. The ciboria were often of great costliness, wrought out in elaborate patterns, and formed a most striking part of the furniture of the sanctuary (*βῆμα, sanctuarium*). The custom of multiplying altars along the sides of the church is of later origin.

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[1] Dr. Nikolaus Müller: "Altar," in Herzog u. Plitt, *Real Ency.*, vol. i. 1897.

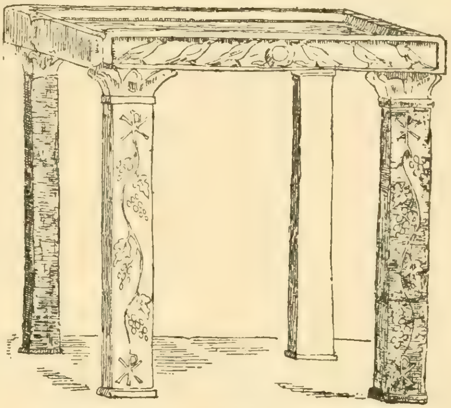

Fig. 140.—An altar (*mensa*) of the fifth century.

Elevated above the general level.

The ciborium.

The chalice (calix) was at first but one of the ordinary drinking vessels used at the social feasts. By degrees, as the public worship became more regular and orderly, as the congregations had their stated places of assembly, and the societies cared for the furniture of the churches, the chalice for the wine and the paten for the consecrated bread were doubtless of regular pattern, and often of appropriate decoration. To what extent the forms met upon sarcophagi, on slabs of marble, or in mosaics, are representations of the chalice and paten it is difficult to say. From their age and their connection with inscriptions, a few may, without violence to any laws of sound interpretation, be regarded as forms of sacramental vessels. Such evidence must, however, be received with caution, since some of these forms are plainly for purposes of ornament. The number of chalices and patens still surviving from the first six centuries is very small. Probably the earliest are those found at Gourdon, in France, now preserved in the Royal Library of Paris. They are of gold, ornamented with scales of garnet, and beautifully chased. From the fact that they were found in connection with gold coins of the time of Justin I., they are believed to be as early as the sixth century. From the descriptions of Paul Silentarius we can safely infer that the vessels which decorated the altars in St. Sophia must have been of wonderful richness and beauty. Numerous notices of other Christian writers of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries clearly indicate that the altar furniture was carefully studied and was often of most costly material.

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[1] *v.* Roller: *Catacombes de Rome,* tom. ii, p. 90, pl. lxiii.

The chalice and paten.

Earliest examples.

Rich altar furniture.

Likewise the accounts of the pillage of churches in the times of persecution, or during popular uprisings, clearly prove that the churches were in possession of many valuable rolls of the sacred Scriptures, as well as manuscript liturgies and hymns. Eusebius assures us that he has seen with his own eyes the sacred Scriptures committed to the flames upon the market-places, and the houses of worship thrown down from their foundations;[1] and Optatus speaks of the Donatists burning the altars of their rivals, and destroying the beautiful altar vessels of gold, or melting them down and selling them as profane.[2] After the recognition of Christianity as the religion of the empire, the imperial gifts, not only of churches, but of richest furniture, were frequent, and added immensely to the impressiveness of the public

Eusebius's testimony.

Imperial gifts.

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[1] *Hist. Eccles.*, l. viii, c. 2. *v.* Lactantius's account (*de Mort. Persee*, c. 12) of the burning of the splendid church at Nicomedia with the volumes of the sacred Scriptures.

[2] The edict of Diocletian contemplated the destruction of the sacred vessels and books as well as the churches. The guardians of the churches frequently refused to produce the books or reveal their place of concealment.

worship.[1] The growing splendour of church decoration and furniture is sometimes rebuked by the bishops as robbery of widows and orphans,[2] and is contrasted with the simplicity of the first and second centuries, when the warm glow of brotherly love was prevalent, and when the body of the Lord could be borne in a basket of wicker work, and his blood in a vessel of glass.[3]

Protest against the luxury.

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[1] Justinian's intolerant zeal, in building ninety-six churches for the yielding Greeks of Asia Minor, and supplying them with linen vestments, Bibles, liturgies, and vases of gold and silver, may be quoted as an example.

[2] Chrysostom: *Hom.* 50 *in Matt.*

[3] Hieron.: Ep. 125.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

§ 1. *The Apostolic Age.*

The worship of the apostolic Church was simple, and without liturgical character. True, Christ left a form of prayer which, by its spirit and comprehensiveness, was to remain a model for the Church in all the future. So also in the New Testament, from time to time, recur formulas which were probably the germs of the stately liturgies so widely accepted during the following centuries. Doubtless in this, as in other respects, the influence of the Jewish temple and synagogue service was powerful and lasting. Prior to the destruction of Jerusalem it is evident that the distinction between Christian and Jew was not sharply made, and many of the Jewish converts continued to attend upon a worship which had become venerable from age, and impressive by its stately ceremonial. Moreover, the doxology and the psalmody of the Old Testament Scriptures were accepted and incorporated into the worship of the new religion, and they were found to be consonant with that spirit of universalism which characterized the teachings of Christ and of his first apostles.[1] In accordance with the precepts and example of its Master, the early Church was accustomed to offer prayer for all men, even for enemies, and in this respect it was distinguished sharply from the practice of Judaism on the one hand, and the spirit of heathenism on the other. The bigoted exclusiveness of some Jewish sects, and the narrower limitations occasioned by nationality, birth, etc., recognised by the heathen world, could not harmonize with the truth which had been communicated to Peter through a special divine manifestation (Acts x, 34, 35).

Suggestions of a liturgy.

Jewish influences.

Spirit of the early Church.

Contrasted with Judaism and heathenism.

Associated with the prayers, often mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles and elsewhere, is found the recommendation to "speak in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord" (Eph. v, 19); "teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs (ψαλμοῖς, ὕμνοις, ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς), singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord" (Col. iii, 17). Another part of the worship consisted in the reading and expounding of the Scriptures (Acts i, 15, *seq.;* ii, 14 ; iv, 33, *et al.*). Doubtless in this there was a close imitation of the form of the Jewish worship, for it is inconceivable that men who had all their lives been accustomed to the free and stimulating services of the synagogue should suddenly sunder themselves from these associations, and devise an entirely new order of worship.

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[1] Augusti: *Handbuch der ch. Archæologie*, Bd. ii, s. 7.

Forms of worship in apostolic Church.

The first Jewish converts, accustomed as they had been to hear the law read and expounded by some priest or reader, and to listen to the impressive utterances of the Prophets and of the Psalms in their frequent gatherings, cherished more fully the grand and solemn lessons of their sacred writings as they now saw their fulfillment and culmination in the Messias whose kingdom they were labouring to establish. Doubtless the prevalent custom among the Jews, to invite any well-informed man to explain the Scripture lesson, was entirely consonant with the feelings of the early disciples, when the right to teach was not of official sanction, but of spiritual endowments, or of a special charism, *χάρισμα διδασκαλικόν*. The custom of Paul on his missionary tours also illustrates the easy and natural connection of the early converts with their former religion, as it was celebrated in the synagogues of the dispersion. His method was to attach himself to the Jewish synagogue, and, in a spirit of generous universalism, use the existing forms to convey the higher lesson of salvation through Jesus Christ.

Jewish converts loved the synagogue service.

Paul's method of evangelization.

The question of the composition of the churches founded by Paul still remains an open one, especially whether the Jewish or the heathen element at first preponderated. Doubtless in nearly every case there was a mixture of converts from both. Inasmuch as the theism of the Jews was the substantial foundation on which the Christian system must be reared, their forms had, presumably, large influence in all the churches established by Paul and his co-workers during their wide missionary journeyings, and the simple synagogue worship probably had very considerable effect upon most of these churches for a century after the death of the apostles.[1] If these are to be regarded as, in a

Composition of the churches founded by Paul.

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[1] With respect to the composition of the Church at Rome, Baur and Schwegler, as well as Thiersch and others not of the Tübingen school, have sought to prove the preponderance of Jewish influence. But many others, as Neander, Schaff, Lange, have controverted this claim.

measure, colonies of the mother church at Antioch,[1] then must the preponderating influence of the heathen element be presumed. Moreover, the opposition which Paul often encountered from the Jews, compelling him to leave the synagogue, and establish an independent society (Acts xiii, 45, *seq.;* xviii, 5–7 ; xix, 8, *seq.*), would suggest a larger number of Gentile converts in the churches of Antioch of Pisidia, of Corinth, and of Ephesus, just as the history would lead us to suppose that in the church at Berea the majority of converts were sincere Jews, who had diligently searched their Scriptures to discover the fulfillment of the promise of the Messiah. While the records of the first century after the destruction of Jerusalem respecting the forms of Christian worship are exceedingly meager, it cannot be doubted that the character of the services of the churches would be somewhat affected as the majority of the members were of Jewish or Gentile origin ; in the former case perpetuating the forms of the synagogue, and in the latter modified by the peculiar thought of the heathen converts.

Preponderance of heathen converts in some.

Of Jewish in others.

Character of the public worship affected by the character of the church.

A more distinctive service might be supposed to be developed in the latter societies, since the liberty of the Gospel would experience little hinderance from former customs, and be untrammeled by a venerable ritual. Yet we are checked from making too hasty inferences, since the letters of Paul to the churches which are most distinctively of Gentile converts abound in references to the Old Testament Scriptures, and some of the elements of the worship to which reference is therein made clearly point to a Jewish origin. Nevertheless, there is evidence that in some of the churches the letters of the apostles were read in the assemblies, and constituted a part of their service for edification and instruction (1 Thess. v, 27 ; Col. iv, 16). By degrees these letters, with other New Testament documents, came to be regarded as of equal and even superior importance to the Old Testament, and their authoritative character was recognised earlier by the churches of Gentile than by those of Jewish character.[2]

The services in churches of heathen origin developed more distinctive forms.

Paul's letters earlier read in Gentile churches.

When all the circumstances are considered, we cannot speak of a contradiction between the spirit and worship of Jewish and Gentile societies, but rather of a variety in unity. The unity consisted partly in their communion with God in Christ, on the basis of the doctrine of the apostles, which was by both considered the reason and end of divine wor-

Yet no real contradiction.

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[1] *v.* Lechler: *Op. cit.*, s. 110.

[2] *v.* Lechler: *Op. cit.*, s. 120.

ship; partly in the fraternal association of believers with one another, which was stimulated and promoted by their religious services. Furthermore, both parties had their smaller and more exclusive society gatherings, as well as their more public assemblies to which the non-Christian public had access. The difference between the Jewish-Christian and Gentile-Christian churches in its real essence consisted in the fact that with those societies which were formed out of the converted in heathen countries, their worship by virtue of their entire isolation from the Jewish temple and synagogue service, was more freely and independently developed by the pure spirit of the Gospel, while in Palestine the connection with the Old Testament ritual was more persistent and protracted. In fine, the worship of the Gentile-Christian churches shares in the liberty, independence, and novelty of Christianity, but in such manner that this independence of the New neither excludes a leaning toward the forms of the Old Testament worship, nor does its freedom ignore a law of orderly arrangement which is developed from within.[1]

Greater independence among the heathen converts.

§ 2. *Worship in the Time of the Apostolic Fathers.*

It is quite remarkable that the apostolic fathers give us very few hints relative to the nature and order of public worship. Scarcely a paragraph is met in Clement, Polycarp, Hermas, or Barnabas. The archaic document, "The Teaching of the Twelve," if it can be firmly placed near the end of the first or at the beginning of the second century, becomes valuable as giving statements relative to the manner of celebrating the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper (*v.* book iii, chaps. 1, 2), as well as the character of the assemblies upon the Lord's day. We are impressed by the simplicity of the service, and by its almost absolute lack of ritualistic forms. The command to meet together is coupled with a description of the spirit which should be cherished by the participants, being largely a repetition of the injunction of Christ[2] (Matt. v, 23, 24). Frequent assembly is earnestly enjoined —"But ye shall come together often, and seek the things which befit your souls; for the whole time of your faith thus far will not profit you, if you do not become perfect in the last time."[3]

The "Teaching."

The references to public worship in the Ignatian writings are

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[1] Lechler: *Op. cit.*, ss. 120, 121.

[2] *Διδαχή των Αποστόλων*, chap. xiv, "But on the Lord's day do ye assemble and break bread, and give thanks," etc.

[3] *Id.*, chap. xvi.

Notices in Ignatius.

very few, and furnish little aid in constructing the form of public service in the first quarter of the second century. The duty of frequent meetings is inculcated: "Take heed, then, often to come together to give thanks to God, and show forth his praise. For when ye assemble frequently in the same place, the powers of Satan are destroyed, and the destruction at which he aims is prevented by the unity of your faith." [1] He agrees with the "Teaching" respecting the propriety and custom of observing the first day of the week, rather than the Jewish Sabbath; "no longer observing the Sabbath, but living in the observance of the Lord's day, on which also our life has sprung up again by him and by his death," [2] etc.

Heathen testimony.

The few heathen notices of the worship of the Christians in the first half of the second century are important in themselves, and instructive respecting the simplicity of services which continued in the Church after the death of the apostles. The testimony is also important as coming from enemies. In his well known letter to Trajan, about A. D. 102, Pliny describes the simplicity of the worship, and bears witness to the high moral character of the Christian fellowship. "They are accustomed to assemble before dawn on a certain day, and sing responsively a hymn to Christ as God," [3] etc. The celebration of the sacred meal, and the pledge to abstain from all wickedness while absent from each other, are likewise attested. Lucian, the universal scoffer, saw in Christianity only one of the numberless follies of his time. His mocking spirit, while contemning all religions, sobers into candor by acknowledging the benevolence of the Christians, and he testifies to the power of their belief in immortality to keep them steadfast, and cause them to abound in all helpfulness and kindness.[4] He likewise speaks of their worship of Christ, of the reading of their sacred writings, and the celebration of the sacred meal.

§ 3. *Public Worship in the Second and Third Centuries.*

JustinMartyr's account.

It is not till the middle of the second century that we meet with a somewhat formal and complete description of Christian public worship. Justin Martyr, in his first Apology to the emperor, senate, etc., says: "On the day called Sunday (*ἡ τοῦ Ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ*) all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray, and as we before said, when our prayers are ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability, and the people assent, saying, *Amen;* and there is distribution to each, and a participation in that over which thanks have been given, and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons. And they who are well to do, and willing, give what each thinks fit; and what is collected is deposited with the president, who succors the orphans and the widows, and those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and, in a word, takes care of all who are in need. But Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly, because it is the first day on which God, having wrought a change in the darkness and matter, made the world; and Jesus Christ on the same day rose from the dead."[1]

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[1] *Ad Ephes.*, c. xiii; *v.* also *ad Magnes.*, c. vii; *ad Polyc.*, c. iv.

[2] *Ad Magnes.*, c. 9.

[3] *Epistolæ*, l. x, ep. 96.

[4] *de Peregrino*, 11–13. *v.* Friedlander: *Sittengeschichte Roms*, Bd. iii, 589–590. Uhlhorn: *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, pp. 325, 326.

Order of service.

In this brief passage a very lively sketch of the form and spirit of Christian worship in the middle of the second century is given. 1.) The day on which the assembly gathers and the reason of selecting this day. It is Sunday, and not the Jewish Sabbath; it is because on that day God finished his creation, and Jesus Christ rose from the dead. 2.) The gathering is from city and adjacent country into one place; the place is not characterized; but it is a society under president and helpers. 3.) The order of the service is like that in apostolic times, with the exception of singing, which is not here mentioned. The lector reads selections from the Gospels,[2] and from the prophetic Scriptures; next the president expounds and exhorts to an imitation of the examples furnished in the sacred lessons. Then follows prayer, led by the president, during which all stand; next the consecration of the elements for the Lord's Supper, their distribution by the deacons,[3] a participation in both kinds by all who are present, and the care for those who are absent, by the deacons. After the communion is the collection for the poor and needy, which is deposited with the president for disbursement to

Summary statements.

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[1] *Apol.* i, c. 67.

[2] *Apol.* i, c. 66, "For the apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels," etc.

[3] *v.* c. 65.

all who may be in want, or in bonds, as well as to the stranger sojourning among the brethren. From this account by Justin it might be fairly inferred that there existed a regular and recognised order of worship, and to proper officers, president, lector, and deacons, specific duties were now assigned. Here is noticed a regular and orderly procedure in the service, but it is still characterized by earnestness and simplicity, no intimation of an involved liturgy appearing, except possibly in the response of the people.[1]

Other writers of the second century add very little to our knowledge of public worship. Origen, Irenæus, and Tertullian in their quite extensive writings dwell but slightly upon this subject. In his reply to Celsus, Origen uses a few expressions which indicate a fixed order of service in the churches of Alexandria, but it is not easy to construct from these the complete form of worship. Tertullian's account of the services in the North African church agrees quite closely with the statement of Justin Martyr. He adds a few particulars, as, "We also give admonitions, institute examinations, and administer the divine censure." From the last expression we are to infer that the discipline of the Church was also considered in the public assemblies. He also informs us that in prayer they turned toward the east;[2] that they lifted their hands to God the Father;[3] and that in the *missa fidelium* the Lord's Prayer was used, and the kiss of peace was given.[4]

Tertullian's statement.

When the sacerdotal principle was greatly strengthened, during the first half of the third century, the public services assumed a more fixed and ceremonial character. The sharp distinction between laity and clergy brought corresponding changes in the conduct of worship. From this time the ministering priest appears more prominently in both the *missa catechumenorum* and in the *missa fidelium.* The bishop or presbyter is the offerer in the eucharist, "who offers the sacrifices to God." The sacrifice is now celebrated daily; the lessons are read from a *pulpitum.* It is evident that there is a kind of responsive service, for the *Sursum Corda* and the *Habemus ad Dominum* are expressly mentioned in Cyprian's treatise on the Lord's Prayer.[5] Also he speaks of the attitude in prayer as standing: "Moreover, when we stand praying, beloved brethren,

More fixed and formal in third century.

Cyprian's words.

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[1] Notwithstanding Justin's Apology is addressed to the emperor, who might be supposed to be more interested in affairs pertaining to his capital, it is believed that he describes the order of worship which was extant in the patriarchate of Antioch, within which he resided.

[2] *Apol.*, c. 16. [3] *Idolat.*, c. vii. [4] *de Oratione*, c. 14.

[5] *de Oratione dominica*, c. 31.

we ought to be watchful and earnest with our whole heart, intent on our prayers."[1]

Augustine's writings furnish much information.

The character of public worship in the African churches during the fourth century can be pretty well ascertained from the writings of Augustine. The following is the order as therein revealed. The Scripture reading was from the prophets, epistles, and gospels—a psalm being sung between the epistle and gospel lesson. We infer that the address or sermon made to the people was early in the public service. In the *missa fidelium* the worship began with the *Sursum Corda* ("Lift up your hearts") and the *Habemus ad Dominum* ("We lift them up unto the Lord"). The first priest then responded, "Let us give thanks to our Lord God," and the people said, "It is meet and right so to do." The prayer of consecration of the elements (sanctification) is made only by the priest; since, from the language of Augustine, this is regarded as of the nature of a sacrifice. After the consecration, the Lord's Prayer was repeated by the clergy only. Then the *Pax vobiscum* ("Peace be with you"), and the kiss of peace. Next followed the communion and the dismissal by the benediction, which Augustine mentions in his private letters. In these letters is found also the statement that in the public service prayers were offered for the conversion of unbelievers, for the catechumens, that they might be earnest in the preparation for baptism, for all believers, for bishops and priests, for all rulers, for the suffering and persecuted, for absent members of the congregation, and for enemies.[2]

Scope of the invocation.

The notices contained in the writings of the first three and a half centuries represent the Lord's Supper as the central act of public worship, around which revolves every minor part, and which gave significance to the whole. The celebrating of this sacrament is the supreme object of all public assemblies of the saints.

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[1] *de Oratione dominica*, c. 31.

[2] *v.* Mone: *Lateinische und griechische Messen aus dem* 2*ten bis* 6*ten Jahrhundert*, Frankfort, 1850.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EARLIEST LITURGIES.

§ 1. *Origin.*

THE almost unbroken peace which the Church had enjoyed between the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Decius had added greatly to the number of her adherents, but had brought serious moral enervation even upon some of her high officials. Freedom from opposition, and a strong reaction against the rigors of the Montanistic discipline, prepared the way for the lapse of a majority of North African Christians during the terrible persecution under Decius and his successors.[1] The most marked symptom and proof of a decaying piety were the relegation of personal duties to a class of church officials, and a growing formalism in public worship. It was during this interval of peace that the sacerdotal notion had greatly strengthened, and the influence of the laity had correspondingly declined.

Occasions of the growth of liturgies.

The forty years between the death of Valerian and the Diocletian persecution were most important for the discipline, doctrine, and worship of the Church. The readmission of the lapsed, after the Decian persecution, had originated the sacrament of penance, which became so powerful a factor in the doctrine of the Latin Church.[2] The more lenient treatment of those who had denied Christ under Valerian tended to the relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline, and the general freedom from legal disabilities gave opportunity for the erection of spacious churches, where worship was conducted with ever-increasing pomp. Just then, when piety was feeble and heresy was rank, the Church felt the necessity of guarding its orthodoxy by the clearer formulation of doctrine, and fixing the order of its worship by the construction of stately liturgies.

Penitential system.

It was probably under these circumstances that the great liturgies[3] were rapidly developed. From the liturgical germs found in the New Testament, and in the writings of the ante-Nicene fathers, were steadily perfected the imposing forms whose long-continued use gave character to the public worship of the East and West. They have undergone numerous important changes, according to the varying fortunes and doctrinal developments of the Church, or as they have been amended by conciliary decisions. None are probably older than the fourth century; since till the Church was relieved of its legal disabilities, and placed under state protection, the celebration of the eucharist, especially, belonged to the *Disciplina arcani.* The period for the full development of the great liturgies begins, therefore, with the complete triumph of Christianity over heathenism. This is evident from their frequent use of terms which originated in the General Councils, where fundamental doctrines were first formulated. Nevertheless, they have certain striking resemblances which suggest a common underlying tradition, and marked differences that could result only from diverse environments.

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[1] Aubé: *L'Église et l'État dans la seconde Moitié du III^e Siècle*, 4 vols., Paris, 1876–1885, vol. iv, pp. 70, *seq.*

[2] *v.* Aubé: *Op. cit.*, vol. iv, pp. 30, *seq.* Lecky: *History of European Morals*, London, 1884, vol. i, pp. 457, *seq.*

[3] The term liturgy, λειτουργία, has come to mean the order and method of public worship; more especially the manner of celebrating the eucharist. The term *mass*

Have undergone great modifications.

§ 2. *Classification and Description.*

The classification of the early liturgies according to their origin, points of likeness, and influence has been attempted by several learned liturgists;[1] but the results are by no means harmonious.

Neale arranges them under five classes, namely: 1. That of St. James, or of Jerusalem. 2. That of St. Mark, or of Alexandria. 3. That of Thaddæus, or of Edessa. 4. That of St. Peter, or of Rome. 5. That of St. John, or of Ephesus. While tradition ascribes the origin of each of these to the person whose name it bears, it is evident that they were the result of long-repeated services at the great centers of ecclesiastical power, were modified with the shifting fortunes of the Church, and were in use in different districts as the influence of the patriarchal capitals was augmented or declined. Moreover, the growth of a multitude

Neale's classification.

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is applied to the public eucharistic service by the Latin Church. The liturgical books were generally called by the heathen *libelli*, by the Church *sacramentaria, libri mysteriorum*, etc.

[1] The following are among the most learned writers upon the liturgies of the Church: L. A. Muratori (R. C.): *Liturgia Romana vetus*, 2 vols., Venet., 1748. Palmer (Anglican): *Origines Liturgicæ*, 2 vols., London, 1845. Daniel (Lutheran): *Codex liturgicus ecclesiæ universæ in epitomen redactus*, 4 vols., Lipsiæ, 1847–1851. Mone (R. C.): *Lateinische und grieschische Messen aus dem 2ten bis 6ten Jahrhundert*, Frankfort, 1850. Neale (Anglican): *The Liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, S. Clement, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, or according to the uses of the churches of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople*, London, 1859.

of lesser liturgies from these argues a great variety of opinion, and a large degree of liberty in the different districts and churches.

The Eastern liturgies are divided into two parts: 1. That preceding, and, 2. That following the *Sursum Corda*. They generally go under the names of the *proanaphora* and the *anaphora*. It has been discovered that usually one liturgy in every class or family of liturgies supplies the *proanaphora* to all the others. Of some sixty Oriental liturgies there are not a dozen exceptions to a common *proanaphora*. This would seem to point to a common source of one branch of the public service; while the great variety found in the *anaphora* would only be in harmony with the spirit of the East, which allowed greater variety in the language and order of public worship.

Two parts of a liturgy.

1. The oldest liturgy is probably that of St. Clement,[1] which dates from about the first half of the fourth century. While it has fallen entirely into disuse, it is of interest in revealing the character of the early rituals, and in assisting to determine the changes which were introduced into the worship in the post-Nicene period. In it the *missa catechumenorum* is strictly separated from the *missa fidelium;* the forms are simple; as from very early times the sainted dead are commemorated, there is no reference to individual names; Mary is not once mentioned: all of which circumstances point to an early origin. In these respects, as well as with reference to the reading of the Scriptures and the homily, the formula of consecration, the petition for the excommunicate, and the prayer for enemies and persecutors, this liturgy agrees in sentiment and spirit with what is given by Justin Martyr and Tertullian, and would, therefore, justify the opinion that the eighth book of the "Apostolic Constitutions" might be a product of the third century. Drey has, however, pointed out two circumstances which forbid so early an origin: First, the mention of the *ascetics*, for whom prayer is offered, and to whom a place of honor next to the clergy is assigned in the *missa fidelium*; secondly, the mention of *subdeacons* in the liturgy. Both these classes received official recognition after the third century; hence the origin, or at least the present form, of the eighth book of the Constitutions, containing the Clementine liturgy, must be later than the third century.[2]

Liturgy of St. Clement.

Its peculiarities.

Date of origin.

Two later elements.

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[1] This liturgy is found in the eighth book of the "Apostolic Constitutions." *v.* Cotelerius's edition of the Apostolic Fathers. For a critical examination and estimate, *v.* especially Drey and Bickell, elsewhere cited.

[2] *v.* Drey: *Neue Untersuchungen über die Constitutionen und Kanones der Apostel.* S. 139, *seq.* *v. Const. Apos.*, l. viii, c. 11.

Liturgy of S. James.

Its three branches.

2. Another very ancient liturgy, belonging to the very large class called by Neale the Hierosolymitan (or of Jerusalem), is that of S. James. "From this Greek liturgy there are three sets of offshoots. The first of these is the Cesarean branch. St. Basil's liturgy is a recast of that of S. James, as St. Chrysostom's is an abbreviation of and new addition to that of St. Basil. From St. Basil's sprang the Armeno-Gregorian rite, as at present used; while St. Chrysostom's exercised an influence on the later forms of the Nestorians. Circumstances have rendered the Constantinopolitan rites, as I have already said, sole possessors of the orthodox East. The liturgy of St. Basil is said on all Sundays in Lent except Palm Sunday, on Maundy Thursday, Easter eve, the vigil of Christmas and the Epiphany, and the Feast of St. Basil (January 1). That of Chrysostom is appropriated to every other day in the year. . . . The second offshoot of S. James is of far less importance. It embraces but two offices, the Sicilian liturgy, . . . the other named from St. Cyril, which was never widely used, and of which it is impossible to say where it was employed. The Sicilian liturgy differs principally from that of S. James in amplification. . . . The third offshoot of the Hierosolymitan office is the Syriac liturgy of S. James, and its dependents. It differs verbally from the Greek office of the same name, from which it is derived. The prayers, generally speaking, are rather shorter, though the Invocation to the Holy Ghost is much amplified."[1] This Syriac liturgy is believed to be the source of no less than thirty-nine distinct liturgies, all of which were in use among the Monophysites.

Liturgy of St. Mark.

3. The liturgy of S. Mark was influential in Alexandria, and in the churches which were regarded as dependent upon, or subject to, the Alexandrian patriarch. In its present form it is usually ascribed to Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, about the first quarter of the fifth century. Offshoots from this were used in the Coptic and Ethiopian churches.[2]

Many other liturgical forms originated in the East which had a wider or narrower influence, whose shades of difference are numerous and interesting to notice. As before said, it is probable that the more unbridled spirit of the Eastern churches helped to modify and adjust the liturgies to the varying conditions; while the centralizing forces of the West secured for the churches greater uniformity in public worship.

The Western liturgies may be studied under four classes: 1. The

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[1] Abridged from Neale.

[2] *v.* Daniel: *Codex Liturgicus ecclesiæ universæ, Lipsiæ*, 1853, lib. iv, p. 135.

Gallican, which has been traced by Mone and others[1] to Ephesus as the place of its origin, but which was amended from time to time by Hilary and others. 2. The other member of this family is the old Spanish, Gothic, or Mozarabic, which was probably an imported liturgy, but was largely modified by Isidore of Seville in the seventh century. 3. The Roman liturgy, which can hardly be older than the fifth century. It seems very probable that the vigorous bishops of Rome, during the fifth and sixth centuries, gradually brought this liturgy into form; especially Gregory the Great, who was active in effecting reforms in ecclesiastical hymns and music, prepared a *sacramentarium* which was largely accepted by the Latin Church. 4. The Ambrosian, named after the bishop of Milan, like all other liturgies, was a work of gradual and long-continued development. It is more nearly related to the Roman, although in some features departing widely from it.[2] It is still in use in the diocese of Milan.

The Western liturgies.

All the great liturgies have aimed to unify the thought and feeling of the congregation in acts of solemn worship. They have varied according to the views of their compilers respecting the supreme thought which should dominate the public service. Hence the Greek and the Latin liturgies may be regarded as an attempt to express in the great assembly, or by the community of believers, for purposes of instruction or edification, what each esteems the central doctrine of Christianity. The modifications which these have undergone are indices of the shifting of the center of a doctrinal system, or of a modified view of the best means of expressing the dominant truth to the assembled Church.

The philosophy of the liturgy.

The thought of the liturgy of the Greek Church is the divine manifestation in effecting the work of human redemption; extending from the act of creation, through all the intervening dispensations, to the life of Christ from his birth to his glorification. Every prayer, lesson, antiphonal, or chant; every posture, action, change of vestments, shifting of colors, etc., are so many symbols to illustrate the unfolding history of redemption.

The central thought in the Greek liturgy.

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[1] Mone: *Lateinische und griechische Messen aus dem 2ten bis 6ten Jahrhundert*, Frankfort, 1850. Neale: *Essays on Liturgiology.*

[2] Daniel: *Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 48–113, has arranged the four great Western liturgies in parallel columns, so that their harmonies and variations can be conveniently studied. This learned liturgist has in this work given us a mass of curious and valuable information, and his researches have greatly aided in tracing these liturgies to their origins The subject is beset with peculiar difficulties, and the scholars are by no means in harmony respecting the chronology and relative influence of these forms of public worship.

In the Latin Church the entire liturgy centers in one thought of supreme interest, namely, the atoning sacrifice of Christ, veritably repeated at every mass. With variety in secondary parts, during the changing festivals of the year, the point around which the whole system revolves, and toward which every member points, is the sacrificial offering of Christ in the mass by the officiating priest, and the appropriation of its benefits by the worshipping Church. Hence the wider range of thought to be expressed by the Greek liturgies gave occasion for a more involved and imposing symbolism; while the Latin liturgies, by a concentration of attention on one act in the scheme of redemption, would give less opportunity for spectacular display, yet would produce a deeper and more lasting impression.[1]

Central doctrine in the Latin liturgies.

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[1] In the liturgies of the Protestant Churches the thoughts of the priesthood of all believers, salvation through personal faith, individual privilege and responsibility, and instruction of the people in doctrine and duty are very prominent. Hence the eucharist is not celebrated on every occasion of public worship, but the sermon assumes a place of greater relative prominence than in other liturgies.

CHAPTER V.

THE LORD'S DAY, OR SUNDAY.

§ 1. *Historic Statement.*

Eucharist celebrated on the first day of the week.

The daily assembly of the disciples for worship and for the celebration of the Lord's Supper largely ceased with the apostolic age. Soon the eucharist was consecrated weekly and on the occasion of great festivals, till at length a methodical and stated observance of weekly and yearly feasts was instituted. Daily assemblies were, however, recommended by some teachers during the first six centuries, and explicit injunctions for such gatherings are found in the Apostolic Constitutions.[1]

The Jewish Christians attended the Jewish worship.

Reason for observing the first day.

Relation of the seventh to the first.

As before observed, the Jewish Christians at first continued to frequent the temple and synagogue services, but at a very early date "the first day of the week" took the place of the Jewish Sabbath as the chief time of public worship (Acts xx, 7; 1 Cor. xvi, 2) in many of the churches of Jewish Christians. It was the day of the resurrection of Christ, of most of his appearances to the disciples after the resurrection, and on this day the Holy Spirit was poured out on the day of Pentecost.[2] For these reasons, and especially after the destruction of the sacred city had rendered the sacrificial service of the temple impossible, Sunday became the recognised day of assembly for fellowship and for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. It is called in "The Teaching of the Twelve"[3] the "Lord's day of the Lord" (Κυϱιακὴν δε Κυϱίου). The Jewish Christians at first observed both the seventh and the first day of the week; but the Gentile Christians kept the "Lord's day" from the beginning. It is difficult to doubt that it had apostolic sanction. The relation of the seventh to the first, as understood by the Jewish Christians, may not be easy to determine; yet there seem to be indications that the seventh was regarded as a day of preparation for the first.

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[1] *v.* l. viii, cc. 35–41.

[2] Barry: art. "Lord's Day," in *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, vol. ii, p. 1043; and Hessey: "Lord's Day," in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii, p. 1677; Schaff: *Hist. of the Ch. Church*, vol. ii, p. 205.

[3] Chap. xiv, 1. The seventh day is not mentioned in this archaic document.

"The idea of Christian worship would attach mainly to the one; the obligation of rest would continue attached to the other; although a certain interchange of characteristics would grow up, as worship necessitated rest, and rest naturally suggested worship."[1]

Ignatius's testimony.

In his letter to the Magnesians,[2] Ignatius evidently addressed a Church of mixed character, since he speaks of some "who were brought up in the ancient order of things," who "have come to the possession of a new hope, no longer observing the Sabbath, but living in the observance of the Lord's day,"[3] etc.

The Lord's day not a substitute for the Jewish Sabbath.

No enactment necessary.

There is neither in this writer nor in the Barnabas epistle an intimation that Sunday was regarded as in any way a substitute for the Jewish Sabbath, nor yet a continuation of it; rather it was a new institution. It is, however, impossible to determine the time of its beginning; no impressive enactment, like that in the case of the Decalogue, was needed. The recollection of the joyous events on the first day of the week led the early Christians to meet together and to celebrate them with gladness. Not until the fourth century do we find a statement intimating that the Jewish Sabbath, with its sanctions and duties, was transferred to the first, or the "Lord's day." Eusebius says: "On this day, which is the first of the Light and of the true Sun, we assemble after an interval of six days, and celebrate holy and spiritual Sabbath. . . . All things which it was duty to do on the Sabbath, these we have transferred to the Lord's day."[4] The observance of the Jewish Sabbath in the churches of Jewish Christians continued for the first five centuries. In the East both days were celebrated with rejoicing; in the West the Jewish Sabbath was observed as a fast.

Constantine's rescript.

The reign of Constantine marks a change in the relations of the people to the Lord's day. The rescript of this emperor, commanding the observance of Sunday, seems to have had little regard for its sanctity as a Christian institution; but the day of the Sun is to be generally regarded with veneration. "But the believer in the new paganism, of which the solar worship was characteristic, might acquiesce without scruple in the sanctity of the first day of the week."[5]

His successors not only sanctioned the legislation of Constantine, but enlarged it, by multiplying the number of sacred days, and legally prohibiting the transaction of branches of public and private business, as well as the more debasing public amusements. "Thus Theodosius I. increased the number of judicial holidays to one hundred and twenty-four. The Valentinians, I. and II., prohibited the exaction of taxes and the collection of moneys on Sunday, and enforced the previously enacted prohibition of lawsuits. Theodosius the Great, in A. D. 386, and still more stringently the younger Theodosius, in A. D. 425, forbade theatrical performances; and Leo and Anthemius, in A. D. 460, prohibited other secular amusements on the Lord's day."[1] While, by an early law, Honorius had respected the public amusements, and provision had been made for their maintenance from the public treasury, by a later rescript the sanctity of the Lord's day was guarded, and a humane provision made for the judges to visit the prisons on Sunday, and inquire into the treatment of prisoners, and alleviate, as far as possible, the hardships of their condition.

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[1] Barry: *in loco cit.*

[2] *Ep.*, c. 15.

[3] *v.* Lightfoot: Ignatius, ii, p. 129. His remarks on this passage are important. "Not merely in the observance of it, but in the appropriation of all those ideas and associations which are involved in its observance," etc.

[4] *Com.*, Psalm xcii.

[5] Milman: *Hist. of Christianity*, vol. ii, p. 296.

Further provisions of the emperors.

Humane provisions.

Various other imperial enactments make plain the duties of civil and ecclesiastical officers respecting the observance of Sunday, until it takes its place as an institution to be guarded and regulated by the government.

§ 2. *Sanctity and Ground of Observance.*

It is indisputable that the resurrection of Christ was the one all-sufficient fact which accounts for the rise and growth of the Christian Church. "Jesus and the resurrection" was the burden of apostolic preaching. Hence the recollection of the day of the resurrection was so indelibly impressed upon the hearts of the first disciples that on its return they came together to pray, and to recall the memory of the Lord, by the breaking of bread and the celebration of the eucharist. It was the dictate of the glowing love for Christ, whose followers they delighted to be reckoned.

We fail to find the slightest trace of a law or apostolic edict instituting the observance of the "day of the Lord;" nor is there in the Scriptures an intimation of a substitution of this for the Jewish Sabbath. The primal idea of the Jewish Sabbath was cessation of labor, rest; the transference of this idea to the first day of the week does not appear in the teachings of Christ nor of his apostles. Nor in the Council of Jerusalem, when the most important decisions are reached relative to the ground of union of Jewish and Gentile Christians, is one word found respecting the observance of the Sabbath. Contrariwise, Paul distinctly warns against the imposition of burdens upon the Church respecting days, but declares for a conscientious freedom in these observances. "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind" (Rom. xiv, 5, 6). Still more strongly does he upbraid the Galatian Church for putting itself again in bondage to the weak and beggarly elements, *ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα*, as days, months, times, and years; while in his letter to the Colossians (Col. ii, 16, 17) he speaks of the entire abolition of the Jewish Sabbath.

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[1] Schaff: *Hist. of the Christian Church*, vol. iii, p. 381. *Cod. Theod.*, xv, 5, 2, a. 386: "Nullus Solis die populo spectaculum præbat."

From all the passages of the New Testament touching this question, it is plain that there is no intimation of the transference of the Sabbath to the first day of the week, nor of imposing upon Christians the obligation to observe it after the manner of the Jewish Sabbath. Rest was the chief thought connected with the one; joyous activity and glad worship with the other. Both days continued to be observed by the Jewish Christians, but the associations of the two were entirely dissimilar. Like all Christian institutions which have been examined, the first day of the week, or Sunday, came to be hallowed "from a natural fitness of things," and not by formal apostolic or ecclesiastical enactment.[1]

The distinction between the Jewish Sabbath and the Lord's day is repeatedly set forth by the apostolic fathers, and the difference in the mode of observance. In the Barnabas letter it is argued that the six days mentioned in Gen. ii, 2, signify a thousand years each. After this time Christ, by the overthrow of Antichrist, will reign the seventh thousand years, which is the day of rest mentioned in Genesis. The rest and the sanctification of the real Sabbath will be the perfect sanctification of believers, and the working of righteousness. "Wherefore," he concludes, "we keep the eighth day with joyfulness, the day, also, in which Jesus rose again from the dead."[2]

Justin's opinion.

The Mosaic law abrogated.

Justin Martyr is very clear in his statements relative to the obligation and observance of the Jewish Sabbath and of the Lord's day. In his dialogue with the Jew Tryphon, who taunts the Christians with having no festivals nor Sabbaths, Justin clearly claims that Sunday is to them a new Sabbath, and that the entire Mosaic law has been abrogated.[3] The new law binding upon Christians regards every day as a Sabbath, instead of passing one day in rest or absolute idleness. He further claims that the Sabbath was given to Israel under peculiar circumstances, and hence could not be of perpetual, but must be of only temporary obligation.[1] This temporary character of the commandment is further argued from the fact that the Sabbath had not been instituted at the beginning, but was first given to the Jews in the wilderness. As prior to Abraham circumcision had been unnecessary, and before Moses the Sabbath had not been enjoined, so since the coming of the Son of man the obligation to hallow the Sabbath no longer exists.

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[1] v. Barry: art. "Lord's Day," in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, p. 1043.

[2] c. xv.

[3] *Cum Tryph.*, cc. 10, 11.

Tertullian's view.

Tertullian claims that Adam, Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, and Melchizedek knew nothing of a Sabbath day,[2] and that the law of Moses is not in perpetuity, but only of temporary obligation. The cessation from labor did not have its ground in the law of Moses, but came from the consideration that the joyous festival of the Lord's day should not be marred by any thing which would disturb or turn the thought away from God, and give place to the devil.[3] That on Sunday the Christians stood while praying, and did not fast, find their explanation in the fact that the day of the resurrection of the Lord was looked upon as a day of rejoicing and triumph,[4] and that such practice had apostolic sanction.

The motive moral and religious.

With respect to the strictness with which the first day of the week was observed during the first three centuries, the following facts are important to notice. Between the death of the apostles and the edict of Milan, the Lord's day was sanctified by a Church unrecognised by the state, and exposed to opposition and sometimes to bitter persecution. The motive for its observance was, therefore, purely moral and religious. The social position of the early Church, drawing its members, for the most part, from the poorer artisans, traders, and slaves, forbade the strict and general keeping of the Lord's day, much more of both the Sabbath and Sunday. Thus the universal hallowing of the day of the resurrection was impossible.

Provisions for observance of the Sabbath.

True, Tertullian advised Christians to postpone all business until Sunday was over,[5] and the Apostolic Constitutions enjoin that the Sabbath and the Lord's day shall be observed as festivals,[6] "because the former is the memorial of the creation, the latter of the resurrection;" that the slaves work five days; that on the Sabbath day and the Lord's day they are to have leisure to go to church for instruction in religious truth.[7] But it is quite incredible that the large body of Christians could absolutely cease from toil during two days of the week, besides attending other festivals which had been instituted; or that masters would permit slaves and dependents to desist from labor for so large a proportion of the time, especially since the Christian Church had little favor with the heathen world. The Christians in the the third century being very largely in the minority, especially outside the great marts of trade, it is not to be supposed that all could secure even a single day of the seven for positive and continuous cessation from toil. It is well known that Christian gatherings took place at night, and it is probable that many converts of the servile or artisan classes laboured hard on the seventh and first days in order to be present at the evening assemblies and the sacred meal.[1] While the Jewish Christians still adhered with great tenacity to the observance of the seventh day, in the estimate of the Gentile converts this, at first, could have had no such sanctity or authoritative sanction. Converts from heathenism, who had had little previous acquaintance with the Jewish Scriptures, were probably, for a time, not in a position to appreciate the form and obligation of the fourth commandment as in its spirit applying to the Lord's day.[2]

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[1] *Id.*, cc. 18, 19.

[2] *Con. Judæos*, c. 4.

[3] *De Oratore*, c. 23.

[4] *De Corona Mil.*, c. 3. Irenæus: *Frag.*, c. 7.

[5] *de Orat.*, c. 23.

[6] l. vii, c. 23.

[7] l. viii, c. 33. The last book may have been composed after the publication of the edict of toleration. The mention of both the Sabbath and the Lord's day is evidence of the Jewish-Christian thought which characterizes most of this collection.

Impossibility of literal observance.

The Gentile churches unacquainted with the obligation to keep the Lord's day.

Thus the recognition of two days was found in the churches composed chiefly of Jewish Christians, while in the Gentile-Christian churches the first day of the week would be more exclusively celebrated. When Tertullian says, "On the Lord's day every one of us Christians keeps the Sabbath, meditating in the law, and rejoicing in the works of God," there is noticed that adherence to a practical rule which was characteristic of the Western mind, but no inclination to sabbatize the Lord's day by deriving the obligation for its observance from the fourth commandment.[3] Notwithstanding the beginnings of the

The fourth commandment not the basis of Lord's day observance.

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[1] Cunningham: *The Growth of the Church*, p. 281.

[2] *v.* Rigg: *The Sabbath and the Sabbath Law before and after Christ*, London, 1869, p. 45.

[3] "It is very suggestive that in the Scriptures the repose of God after creation is made the prototype and basis for the celebration of the Sabbath (Gen. ii, 3; Exod. xx, 8, *seq.*). It is therefore implied that it is our innermost Godlikeness that calls for the rest of the Sabbath—the truly rational, religiously moral essence of man, and not the mere natural need of repose and enjoyment. . . . God blessed the Sabbath day; there rests upon its observance a special, an extraordinary benediction, an impartation of heavenly goods, even as the blessing upon labour is primarily only an impartation of temporal goods. The Sabbath has not merely a negative significancy, is not a mere interruption of labour, but it has a very rich positive significancy—it is

sacerdotal principle are found in Tertullian's writings, and its complete triumph was realized under Cyprian, there is by neither of these fathers any distinct recognition of the fourth commandment as the ground and reason of hallowing the day of the Lord's resurrection.

The Greek school more spiritual.

The Alexandrian school, as represented by Clement of Alexandria and Origen, more strongly presents the spiritual view of the Lord's day. In his argument with Celsus, Origen claims that true Christians make all days Lord's days; yet in other writings he exalts the first day over the seventh, as symbolic of a continuous Sabbath of rest.

Reasons of seeking a legal sanction.

In the midst of the corrupting influences of heathenism, and on account of the widespread indifference of the Church of the third century, after the ardor of her first love had cooled, the Christian teachers felt the necessity of bringing some stress of authority upon the Christian conscience to hold it to the faithful observance of the first day, as the Jews had known the power of a positive enactment in keeping them steadfast in the hallowing of their Sabbath. The constant temptation of the Christians to attend upon the heathen spectacles and festivities could, in the case of such whose type of piety was low, no longer, as at first, be broken by considerations of the high privileges of Christian worship, and of the commemoration of the resurrection of Christ, but the restraints coming from a quasi-legal enactment were found to be more and more necessary. Thus while the Christian fathers of the second and third centuries are in entire accord in teaching that the first day of the week, the Lord's day, is that which Christians should celebrate, there is, nevertheless, noticed during the unfortunate times of Tertullian and Cyprian a growing tendency to enforce the observance of Sunday by considerations somewhat similar to those recognised under the Mosaic dispensation and by the Jewish Christians; yet the obligation comes not from the fourth commandment, but from the apostolic institution of the Lord's day. Nor is there any evidence that the Christian emperors, from Constantine to Justinian, in their edicts for the observance and regulation of Sunday, were influenced by the Jewish law. During

This sanction is of apostolic institution.

The Christian emperors have no reference to the fourth commandment.

the giving free scope to the higher, time-transcending nature of the rational, Godlike spirit, the reattaching of the spirit that had been immersed by labour into the temporal to the imperishable and to the divine. . . . The celebration of the Sabbath belongs to morality, *per se*, and does not depend on the fact of the state of redemption from sinfulness; but where sin is yet a dominant power, there its observance is less free, legally more strict, than where the freedom of the children of God prevails." Wutke: *Christian Ethics*, trans. by Lacroix, New York, 1873, vol. ii, pp. 213, 214.

the first six centuries there are few if any instances of their direct appeal to the fourth commandment. Neither can many passages in the Christian writers, nor any conciliary decision, be quoted in which the authority for keeping the first day of the week is derived from the Mosaic law.

Yet the legal view supplanted the moral.

Nevertheless, from the time of the attempts of the emperors to adjust the civil conditions to the recognition of Sunday as the chief religious holiday, the sense of obligation to keep sacred the first day of the week, coming from legal enactment, more and more supplanted the consideration of the high and joyful privilege which had animated the Christian Church during the first years of its activity. From the last part of the sixth century the strict legalistic view becomes more and more prominent, and the rulers in State and Church incline to strengthen the civil and conciliary enactments respecting the Lord's day by divine authority as contained in the fourth commandment.[1]

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[1] The sabbath literature is of immense volume. Since the Reformation the discussions upon the nature and obligation of the Sabbath have been many and exhaustive. The following are thorough and scholarly: Bingham: *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, bk. xx, chap. ii. Binterim: *Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche*, vol. v, 1, c. 1. Heylin: *History of the Sabbath.* Hessey: *Sunday: Its Origin, History, and Present Obligation*, Bampton Lectures, London, 1860. Gilfillan: *The Sabbath Viewed in the Light of Reason, Revelation, and History*, New York, 1862. Probst: *Kirchliche Disciplin der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, Bd. iii, 1. Cox: *The Literature on the Sabbath Question*, Edinburgh, 1865. Barry: "The Lord's Day," in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Ch. Antiquities*, vol. ii, pp. 1042–1053. Zöckler: "Sonntagsfeier," in Herzog u. Plitt's *Real-Encyklopädie*, Bd. xiv, ss. 428–435.

CHAPTER VI.

EASTER AND OTHER FESTIVALS.

§ 1. *Idea and Time of Observance.*

The influence of the Jewish passover.

Besides the weekly observance of Sabbath and the Lord's day, the Passover, with which the passion and resurrection of Christ were so intimately associated, continued to exert a very considerable influence upon Christians of Jewish origin. This great festival, however, soon obtained an exclusively Christian significance, and became a proper Christian Passover, especially in churches composed of converts from heathenism, to whom Jewish institutions were largely matters of indifference. All Christians alike agreed in the propriety of the yearly celebration of the great events which were regarded as the most important in the history of redemption. Respecting the significance of these facts there was no difference of opinion; to keep alive the remembrance of the passion, death, and resurrection of the Lord was regarded by all alike as a high privilege and an imperative duty. The commemoration of the resurrection soon became the most important event of Holy Week, and is now known as Easter.

Controversy about the time of observing Easter.

At an early date, probably in the first half of the second century, a difference of opinion arose as to the proper time of commemorating the resurrection of Christ, consequently respecting the time of observing the related events of the institution of the eucharist and of the crucifixion. Probably this controversy may be ultimately traced to the diversity of opinion in the churches of Jewish and Gentile origin respecting the obligations of the Mosaic institutions.[1] One party, the Christians of Asia Minor and a few others, adhered strictly to the tradition respecting the time of celebrating the passover by Christ and his apostles just before the crucifixion. Hence they uniformly observed the Christian passover on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, which was the first month of the sacred year of the Jews. This was observed as a fast. In the evening of the same day, Roman time, but at the beginning of the fifteenth

The Judaizing party.

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[1] *v.* Renan: *Marc-Aurèle*, pp. 194, 195.

Nisan, Jewish time, they partook of the communion, to commemorate the last paschal supper of Christ. The beginning of the festival might fall upon any day of the week; only it had a fixed date, the fourteenth Nisan,[1] and this day regulated the entire Easter festival.

The Western party.

A second party, of which the Roman Church was the leader, celebrated the crucifixion of Christ on Friday, the day of the week on which it actually occurred. The Sunday following was observed as Easter, or the day of the resurrection. They extended the fast from Friday till Easter day, and did not celebrate the eucharist before the festival of the resurrection. By this arrangement the anniversary of the death of Christ always fell upon Friday, and that of the resurrection on Sunday; yet the feast was not fixed, as in the other case, but movable. Hence the Christian Sunday, or the day of resurrection, and not the Jewish paschal day, regulated the Easter festival.

§ 2. *Attempts to Reconcile Differences.*

The import of the question.

Attempts at reconciliation.

The demand of Victor.

The controversy respecting Easter had no reference to its doctrinal import; herein all Christians were essentially agreed. It was rather, as before said, a question of adherence to, or independence of Judaism, and of harmonizing the practice of the Christian world in the commemoration of the most important events in the Saviour's earthly mission. The fierceness of the controversy threatened the peace and unity of the Church. Near the middle of the second century Polycarp, the venerable Bishop of Smyrna, visited Rome in the interests of peace, and had an interview with its bishop, Anicetus.[2] The attempt to unify the churches was unsuccessful, although a spirit of mutual charity was promoted. About twenty years later the question was again debated in Laodicea between the Quarto-decimanians and their opponents. No rupture occurred because of the mutual forbearance of the parties. But the controversy continued. Toward the close of the second century the Roman bishop, Victor, attempted to interfere with the churches of Asia Minor, by commanding them to desist from their mode of celebrating Easter. To this demand the synod of Asia Minor, which met at Ephesus, made a most spirited reply through Polycrates, bishop of that city, appealing in defense of their rule to the traditions which had come down to them from the apostles John and Philip, as well as from the venerable Polycarp. To sustain their practice, the church of Rome and its adherents among the Eastern churches quoted the traditions received from the apostles Peter and Paul. The schism, which seemed imminent on the threat of Victor to excommunicate the Quarto-decimanians, was happily prevented by the good offices of the other bishops, especially of Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons. While of the party of Victor, he claimed that no difference of opinion, where an essential dogma of Christianity was not involved, could justify the jeoparding of the peace of the Church and the extreme penalty of excommunication.

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[1] Eusebius: *Hist. Eccles.*, v, c. 23. "It was incumbent on them, at all times, to make an end of the fast on this day, on whatever day of the week it should happen to fall." Also Hippolytus: *Philosophumena*, viii, c. 18.

[2] *v.* Eusebius: *Hist. Eccles.*, v, c. 24.

The arguments.

Good offices of Irenæus.

The Council of Arles, A. D. 314, and the Council of Nice, A. D. 325, decided in favor of the Roman rule, and those who refused to accede to this decision were regarded as heretics. The rule promulgated by the latter council was that Easter should be celebrated on the first Sunday following the first full moon after the vernal equinox, and must always come after the Jewish passover. If, however, the full moon occurs on a Sunday, Easter falls on the Sunday after. Thus the time of this festival may vary from March 21 to April 25. This was probably the substance of the Nicene decisions.[1]

Conciliary decisions.

Rule for celebration.

This conciliary decision did not, however, settle the differences in the Eastern and Western churches, owing to the different astronomical cycles employed for the calculation of Easter. The cycles aimed to discover a period which should contain an exact number of lunar months and of tropical years. Many cycles were proposed, as one of eight years, of nineteen years (the Metonic), of seventy-six years (the Calippic), one of one hundred and twelve years, engraved on the side of the chair in the statue of Hippolytus (*v.* Fig. 50), one of eighty-four years, which was a modification of the Calippic, etc. The diversity of cycles resulted in a corresponding difference in reckoning the Easter Sunday.[2] Since the

Different cycles.

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[1] The decisions of the Nicene Council are not quite clearly stated in any single authority; they must be gathered from several sources, and have not been entirely unquestioned.

[2] The recent works occasioned by the bearing of the Easter controversy upon the criticism of the gospels, especially John, are quite numerous and important. Among the ablest may be mentioned Hilgenfeld: *Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche nach seiner Bedeutung für die Kirchengeschichte*, etc., Halle, 1860. Steitz: In the *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1856, 1857, 1859. Schürer: *Die Paschastreiten des 2ten Jahrhunderts*, 1870. For mathematical computations see especially Ideler: *Handbuch der Math. und tech. Chronologie*, Breslau, 1825. De Rossi: *Inscriptiones Christ. urbis Romæ*, Introduction, gives valuable discussions.

Alexandrian Church fixed the vernal equinox on the 21st of March, while with the Romans it fell on March 18, it is evident that there must have been a diversity in the observance of Easter Sunday. This diversity has not yet disappeared, since the Eastern Church has never adopted the improved Gregorian calendar.[1]

§ 3. *The Ceremonies of Easter.*

Two divisions of the festival.

Manner of observance.

To understand these it is necessary to remember that Easter was the central point of the paschal season, which very early extended over a period of fifteen days. The first week was designated *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον*, or the passover of the cross; the second week, *πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον*, or the passover of the resurrection. While not of apostolic institution, this observance of Easter was early introduced into the Church. Tertullian seems to recognise its celebration,[2] and the Apostolic Constitutions represent it as quite general. The *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον* was usually kept as a strict fast, from midnight of the previous Sunday (Palm Sunday) till cock-crowing on Easter morn. On Good Friday, the day of crucifixion, the fast was continued beyond midnight of the following day; the kiss of peace was prohibited, the ornaments of the altar were removed; the lights were extinguished; no chanting was allowed in the processions; there was no consecration of the eucharist; the collects were mostly intercessory.

From sorrow to gladness.

As the Easter morn drew near, the signs of sorrow and mourning were laid aside, the lamps and tapers were lighted, and a scene of darkness and mourning was succeeded by one of splendour and gladness. Prayer, supplication, the singing of psalms and hymns, the reading of appropriate Scripture lessons, and homilies from the clergy occupied the hours of the evening and night. The Easter Sunday, from Easter eve to the evening of Easter day, was one continuous celebration of the resurrection. The Scripture readings included the entire resurrection history; the joy of the people was unrestrained; all labour was suspended. After the recognition of Christianity by the empire, prisoners were often released, debtors forgiven, and slaves manumitted. The entire week was thus considered a season of uninterrupted rejoicing.

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[1] Kaltenbrunner: *Real-Encyklopädie der Christlichen Alterthümer*, article "Ostern," Bd. i, s. 565, *seq.*, divides the Easter controversies into three periods: 1st. The theologico-dogmatic, reaching to the Council of Nice. A. D. 325. 2d. The astronomico-chronologic, from A. D. 325 to the time of Dionysius Exiguus, A. D. 525. 3d. From A. D. 525 to the time of the Venerable Bede, about the middle of the eighth century, during which the rule accepted by the Catholic Church was in conflict with the various peculiarities of the provinces. For the theologian the first is of especial interest, on account of the connection of these controversies with the criticism of the evangelists. The second and third are more important to the historian, because they are indispensable to the solution of chronological questions.

[2] *ad Uxor.*, ii, c. 4.

Acts of mercy.

By degrees the fast preparatory to Easter Sunday was lengthened, until, probably about the time of Constantine, it reached forty days (Quadragesima, Lent). The rejoicings were also continued through the whole period of fifty days (Quinquagesima) from Easter to the day of Pentecost (Whitsunday).[1]

Lengthened observance.

§ 4. *The Festival of Pentecost.*

The term Pentecost was used by the ancient Church in two senses: one had reference to the fiftieth day after the resurrection of Christ, when the Holy Spirit was poured out upon the infant Church; the other included the whole period between Easter and Whitsuntide, which was considered as belonging to the rejoicings of Easter. Used in the latter sense it was called Quinquagesima. During the fifty days the eucharist was celebrated daily, fasting was forbidden, and the congregation stood while praying. Also from the fifth century the Lord's ascension was observed on the fortieth day, his various manifestations to his disciples after the resurrection were recalled, and, as a crowning glory, the baptism of the Holy Spirit was commemorated on Whitsunday, the final day of the Easter period. This being the last great festival of the year, the Sundays following until Advent were reckoned therefrom.

Two uses of the word Pentecost.

Mode of observance.

§ 5. *The Feasts of Epiphany, Christmas, etc.*

After the union of Church and State feasts and festivals were greatly multiplied, and occupied a large place in the religious services. This was in obedience to a law of the spiritual life, that when piety is waning forms and ceremonies are substituted, and become more highly valued.

Multiplication of feasts and festivals.

The feast of the Epiphany was usually observed on the 6th of January, to commemorate Christ's manifestation in the flesh. At first this included his advent and baptism, but later, when Christmas became a regularly observed festival, it was confined to his baptism. The date of the birth of

Original festival of Epiphany.

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[1] Probably so called from the custom of newly baptized persons appearing in white clothing from Easter day to Whitsunday.

Christ it is impossible to determine. Neither in the Scripture record nor in the patristic literature are found sufficient data for solving this problem. The birth of Christ had been placed on the 25th of December by the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries; but the reasons for this decision cannot be satisfactorily determined.

Date of Christ's birth unknown.

There is equal uncertainty respecting the origin of the Christmas festival. Numerous theories have been advocated, but none are universally accepted. Many circumstances point to its origin in the attempted christianization of various heathen festivals which were celebrated on or near the 25th of December. If this supposition is well founded, its origin must have been subsequent to the recognition of Christianity by the State; since the well known hostility of the ante-Nicene fathers to the heathen festivals would have absolutely forbidden a syncretism of rites so abhorrent. But the general decline of spiritual life during the fourth and fifth centuries, and the reception of multitudes into the Church who were moved by no higher motives than popularity or worldly interest, prepared the Christian Church to connect with her own festivals those derived from the heathen cultus which might appear to have symbolic reference to the life and work of Christ. Such were the Saturnalia, Sigillaria, Juvenalia, and Brumalia, which were celebrated in the month of December to commemorate the golden age of freedom and equality, also in honour of the unconquered sun, which renewed its strength at the winter solstice.

Supposed origin of the festival.

Low type of spirituality.

The laboured investigations given to this subject have quite firmly established the following conclusions:

1. Until near the close of the fourth century the Nativity was celebrated in the Oriental churches in connection with the Epiphany, or on January 6 — this custom continuing in many parts of the East for a century or more later.

Conclusions reached.

2. From a much earlier date the Nativity was celebrated in the Western churches on December 25, and it occupies an important place in the most ancient liturgies. It is, however, impossible to fix the date when the change from January 6 to December 25 was made.

3. Since the beginning of the fifth century, December 25 was quite generally recognised as the day for the celebration of the Nativity, and was counted among the most important festivals of the Christian year.

4. There was a growing tendency to recognise days of preparation for its celebration, as Christmas vigils, and, later, four advent Sun-

days in the West, and six advent Sundays in the East, as means for awakening a desire for the coming Redeemer. Likewise, the season between Christmas and Epiphany was afterward filled up with feast days, each designed to recall the memory of some person or event connected with the Nativity, as St. Stephen's day, December 26; St. John's day (the evangelist), December 27; and the Innocents, December 28.

Influence of Mariolatry.

When Mariolatry came to be practised by the Church of the fifth and following centuries, there gathered round this cultus a great number of festivals in honour of the Virgin, commemorating many real or apocryphal events in her life. This worship assumed such prominence in the Middle Ages as almost to supersede that paid to Christ himself. Also the multiplication of saints, and especially the canonization of those who had suffered martyrdom during the trying periods of the history of the Church, greatly multiplied the number of feasts and festivals, until almost the entire year was devoted to some event in the lives of these who received the homage of a Church from which the earnest spirit of piety had largely departed.

BOOK FOURTH.

THE
ARCHÆOLOGY OF CHRISTIAN LIFE.

THE

ARCHÆOLOGY OF CHRISTIAN LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHRISTIAN FAMILY.

The family a type of the Church.

"God setteth the solitary in families" (Psa. lxviii, 6). The family is the initial state, or contains it in germ. It is often made the Scripture type of the Church. The Church begins with the first true worship in the household. The love, the confidence, the tender care of each for the other, which should characterize the family, are often used to illustrate the community of interest felt by the individual members of the Church, and the intimacy of the relations of Christ to his Church (Rev. xix, 6–10; xxi, 9).

Christ's sanction.

The stability and purity of the Church and State have been proportionate to the popular and legal estimate of the sanctity and stability of the marriage relationship. The presence of Christ at the wedding in Cana of Galilee, where he performed his first miracle to contribute to the rejoicings of the occasion (John ii, 7, *seq.*), happily illustrates the feeling and teaching of Christianity with respect to marriage. Christ is explicit in his inculcation of the divine origin and sacredness of this institution. It is more than filial duty; it is unifying; the twain become one through the purity and intensity of a mutual love; common interests are necessitated by common affection (Matt. xix, 5, 6; Eph. v, 31). The teaching of the founder of the new religion, that only one single ground of divorce is lawful, alike distinguished his followers from both Jews and heathen of his day. He revolutionized society by giving to the family a sure foundation, and by the elevation of woman to be the true companion and equal of man.

One ground of divorce.

The example of Peter (Matt. viii, 14; Mark i, 30; Luke iv, 38), and the express teaching of New Testament writers (1 Tim. v, 14;

Heb. xiii, 4; 1 Tim. iv, 3), are in harmony with the conduct of Christ respecting the sanctity of the marriage relation. Moreover, the counsel of Paul to the Corinthian Church, evidently in reply to their request, is entirely consistent with the general doctrine of the New Testament. He guards marriage so carefully that even to those who are joined to unbelievers the advice is given not to disturb their relationships except by mutual consent and for mutual good.[1]

Paul's teaching harmonious with that of Christ.

This remained the teaching of the Church for two hundred and fifty years. The Pauline doctrine of expediency as to marriage, and of the sacred duty of parties who have entered into the marriage union to remain faithful to each other, is clearly recognised by the apostolic fathers and their immediate followers. In the epistle to Diognetus the author speaks of the manners of the Christians, and institutes comparisons and contrasts between these and the heathen customs. "For they neither inhabit cities of their own, nor employ a peculiar kind of speech, nor lead a life which is marked out by any singularity. . . . They dwell in their own countries, but simply as sojourners. As citizens they share in all things with others, and yet endure all things as if foreigners. Every foreign land is to them as their native country, and every land of their birth as a land of strangers. They marry as do all; they beget children; but they do not destroy their offspring. They have a common table, but not a common bed. They are in the flesh, but they do not live after the flesh."[2]

Teaching of the apostolic fathers.

Diognetus.

Likewise in the epistle to Polycarp, Ignatius retains the Pauline spirit in recognising the doctrine of expediency with respect to marriage, but is very rigid with regard to the sacredness of this relationship when once entered into, and with respect to the duty of mutual helpfulness. "Speak to my sisters, that they love the Lord, and be satisfied with their husbands both in the flesh and spirit. In like manner, also, exhort my brethren, in the name of Jesus Christ, that they love their wives, even as the Lord the Church. . . . Let all things be done to the honour of God."[3]

Ignatius's advice.

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[1] There is no real contradiction in the teachings of 1 Cor. vii. No rigid law can be imposed. "I have no commandment of the Lord" (ver. 25); the circumstances of each must govern each; "the present distress" is the key to the whole teaching; if one has power of selfcontrol, then, in the present circumstances of peril, celibacy may be best; but if not, owing to the fearful temptations of Corinthian society, marriage is advisable. But when marriage has been entered into, duty is plain; no separation, even for a season, is permitted except by mutual consent. The rights of husband and wife are reciprocal.

Expediency the law.

[2] *Ad Diognet.*, c. v.

[3] *Ad Polyc.*, c. v.

In his apology to the emperor and senate, Justin Martyr is no less explicit in his interpretation and enforcement of Christ's teachings. He especially dwells upon the law of adultery and divorce, as given by Christ, to show the opinion and practice of the Christians. This is so opposed to the law of the heathen government that the apologist claims that he knew of men and women of sixty or seventy years of age who have continued pure during all their lives; "and I boast that I could produce such from every race of men."[1] He also adds, what is consonant with the Pauline teaching, "But whether we marry, it is only that we may bring up children; or whether we decline marriage, we live continently."

Justin Martyr.

The early Romans far excelled the Greeks in their respect for and honour of woman. Yet among the former she was absolutely destitute of rights apart from her husband, while with the latter she was usually the veriest slave. Even in the earliest and purest period of Roman history, when monogamy was enjoined on the husband, and the infidelity of the wife was visited with heavy penalties, the marital authority disregarded the law of nature, and changed moral subjection into legal slavery.[2] The family being absolutely guided by the single will of the head of the household (*paterfamilias*), the wife and child, equally with the bullock and the slave, were destitute of legal rights. To rear or not to rear the child which the wife had borne him rested with the free will of the householder. In the family woman necessarily held a position of domestic subjection.[3] In the later years of the republic, after the emancipation of woman from the rigor of the earlier laws had been partially effected, the weakness of heathen morality was shown in the fearful relaxation of the ties of domestic life, and in the bitter complaints of the sterner moralists against the evils of celibacy, the shameless extravagance of women, the prostitution of marriage to a matter of mercantile speculation, and the consequent ease and frequency of divorce. Celibacy, childlessness, and infanticide had become so common among the upper classes during the closing period of the republic that the Latin stock had been largely diminished, and final extinction was threatened. So alarming was the situation that the first emperor, in order to save the nation, regarded it as necessary to set legal bounds to luxury, to curtail the practice of adultery and divorce by measures of the utmost sever-

Position of woman among the Romans.

Without legal rights.

Evils under the later republic.

Legal restraints.

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[1] *Apol.*, c. xv.

[2] *v.* Mommsen: *History of Rome*, New York, 1870, vol. i, pp. 49, 89.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 90.

ity, and to offer extraordinary rewards to fathers[1] who should rear large families. But the disease was too deepseated for radical cure; it could only be held in check by the vigorous treatment of a master mind like Julius Cæsar. It broke out anew with increased virulence under his successors. It was this Roman social world, emasculated of its earlier and robuster virtues, inoculated with the vices of Oriental luxury, and weakened by long indulgence, which was opposed to the simple teachings of Jesus and his apostles respecting the sacredness of the marital relationship, the equality of man and wife, the high sanctity of maternity, and the solemn duty of child nurture.

The conflict.

The Christian fathers are earnest in their defence of the purity of Christian morals, in contrast with this abounding corruption of heathenism. Tertullian boldly challenges an examination of the life and practices of the Christians, and plainly upbraids the heathen for their wicked practice of infanticide.[2] He as ardently defends the sanctity of marriage against the opinions of some schools of the Gnostics, especially Marcion.[3] His is strictly the Pauline view. He neither prescribes abstinence from marriage, nor does he insist upon it. He says that the Creator bestowed his blessing upon the institution as on an honourable estate, as he did upon the whole of his creatures for good and wholesome uses.[4] The limitations of desire, and the duty of fidelity to vows, are not imposed upon woman alone, but upon both man and wife alike.

Tertullian's teaching.

A like contrast is seen in the care and rights of childhood under the heathen and Christian systems. The difference of teaching and practice is here world-wide. Scarcely a statute condemnatory of abortion is found in all the range of Grecian or Roman jurisprudence. If regretted and condemned at all, no check was given to an almost universal practice which was sapping the energies of the heathen world. While recognised as wrong by many of the heathen moralists, it scarcely received a severe censure in all their writings. So also with infanticide. The practice was almost universal among the Greeks. It finds a place in the ideal systems of the best philosophers and thinkers; it is permitted by the statutes of Lycurgus and Solon. The position of the Greek mother encouraged it. The Roman view was better, although its practice was scarcely improved. Tertullian retorts the charges of immorality upon the heathen with withering sarcasm.[5] Probably the opposite policies of Greece and

Heathen and Christian views of abortion.

Opinions respecting infanticide.

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[1] *v.* Friedländer: *Sittengeschichte Roms*, Bd. i, s. 54.

[2] *Ad Nationes*, l. i, c. 15; *Apol.*, c. ix.

[3] *Contra Mar.*, c. 29.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ad Nat.*, i, 13; *Apol.*, c. ix.

Rome—the one discouraging and the other encouraging population—had much to do with the practice of exposure and infanticide.[1] So deep was the conviction of the Roman legislators that these evils were threatening the life of the state, that the absolute right of the father over his offspring had early been so far limited as to forbid him to expose or destroy any well formed child until it had completed its third year.[2] Yet Tertullian plainly intimates that these laws were easily evaded, and had little power to correct these widely prevalent practices.[3]

Ineffectual legislation.

From its view of the sanctity of human life, Christianity placed a guard at its fountain-head. In contrast with the widespread indifference of the heathen moralists respecting abortion, the Church branded it as a crime of peculiar enormity, scarcely inferior to murder itself. Abortion, infanticide, and the exposure of children were usually placed in the same class of crimes; they were constructive murder. By conciliary decree the guilty mother was excluded from the sacraments, at first till the day of death, but this was afterward relaxed to ten and seven years of penance. As we examine the treatment of children in the household, the same contrast between heathen and Christian methods is manifest. The blessing pronounced by Christ upon young children, as subjects of his kingdom (Matt. xviii, 2–5; Mark x, 15; Luke ix, 47), continued to be recognised in the early Church. The apostolic injunction, "Fathers, provoke not your children unto anger lest they be discouraged" (Col. iii, 21), "but bring them up in the fear and admonition of the Lord" (Eph. vi, 4), implied a sacred obligation to properly train the child, and on the part of the child certain rights as against the parents. This was in direct contrast with the provisions of the early Roman law, which recognised the absolute power of the father to dispose of his child; even to sell it into slavery or to deprive it of life. The mitigation of the severity of the earlier law by the more humane feelings of later times, and by the wisdom of the great Roman jurists,[4] had moderated, not removed, this contrast. The Christian father enjoined obedience, but his power over his offspring was limited by the consideration that both alike belonged to God. The few pictures of the Christian household drawn by the ante-Nicene writers of the Church are beau-

Abortion and infanticide.

Biblical teaching relative to training of children.

Contrary to the Roman law.

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[1] *v.* Lecky: *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 27.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 27. *v.* also Minutius Felix, Athanagoras, and Lactantius.

[3] *Ad Nat.*, i, 15.

[4] Milman: *Latin Christianity*, vol. i, pp. 496, 497.

Pictures of family life.

tiful, and clearly show the vast superiority of the Christian over the heathen family. Tertullian exclaims, "What a union is that of two believers who have one hope, one rule of life, and one service! . . . In alternate song echo psalms and hymns; they vie with each other who best shall praise their God. When Christ sees such things, he rejoices. To these he sends his own peace. Where two are, there also is he. Where he is, there the evil one is not."[1] And Clement of Alexandria affirms, "The children glory in their mother, the husband in his wife, and she in them, and all in God."

The Church had oversight of marriages.

Prescribed limits of consanguinity.

Since the opinion of the Church of the first three centuries was so pronounced respecting the sanctity of marriage and of the family, it might be presumed that it had careful oversight of the parties proposing marriage, and prescribed the rules of its celebration. While the Church had no legal jurisdiction over marriage until the time of Justinian, the Christians had nevertheless accompanied it with solemn religious ceremonies, and hallowed it by the benediction of the community of believers. The Pauline doctrine, not to be "unequally yoked together with unbelievers" (2 Cor. vi, 14), was long regarded as of binding force. Tertullian is clear in his teachings on this point. Cyprian regards the directions of Paul as wise and obligatory. The post-Nicene theologians, as Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and others, are positive and earnest in warning against these entangling alliances, while the conciliary decisions are firm and unyielding. The Church also prescribed the limits of affinity or consanguinity within which lawful wedlock was forbidden. The decisions of some of the councils are full and explicit, and persons who violate these rules are declared guilty of incest, and liable to severe ecclesiastical penalties. Likewise clandestine marriages are forbidden. Ignatius says, "But it becomes both men and women who marry to form their union with the approval of the bishop, that their marriage may be according to God, and not after their own lusts."[2] Those were days of trial and danger, and the propriety and duty of taking advice of the church officers respecting this most sacred relation are frequently urged by the Christian writers both before and after Constantine.[3] The necessity of obtaining the consent of parents to the marriage of children under lawful age is another evidence of the care with which the relationship was guarded, and the purity of the Church maintained.

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[1] *Ad Uxor.*, xi, 8, 9.

[2] Ad Polyc., c. v.

[3] *v.* Tertullian: *Ad Uxor.*, l. xi, c. 2.

Family relationship weakened by two principles.

The plain and wholesome teaching of the New Testament, and of most of the Christian fathers of the first three centuries respecting marriage and the family relation, was afterwards weakened by two principles whose baneful influence was long felt in both East and West: asceticism and monasticism.

Possible origin of Asceticism.

Asceticism has pertained to every religion, and to every stage of society. It was found in heathen Rome. Whether this practice among the Romans is to be attributed to a feeling of disgust, on the part of a few nobler minds, with the prevailing impurity, to the rise of Neoplatonism and the revival of the Pythagorean philosophy, to the Oriental religions, or to the unconscious yet powerful influence of Christianity, may not be fully determined. Probably each and all these forces were in operation to produce the effect. Certainly the doctrine of both Neoplatonism and Pythagoreanism, that matter was essentially evil, when carried to its logical result would lead its votaries to regard the human body, with its appetites and passions, as a source of evil, and the indulgence of sensuous desires as incompatible with loftiest virtue. The practical effect of the theory upon the heathen world in correcting the prevalent impurity was, however, but slight. Nevertheless, if the records are to be trusted, it is noteworthy that some most conspicuous public characters were plainly influenced by this philosophy. The celibate life of Apollonius of Tyana, the abstemiousness of Zenobia, the maintenance of her virginity by the pagan wife, Hypatia, the continence of Julian after the early loss of his wife, are clear indications of the influence of the Neoplatonic teaching, as well as of a desire for the reformation of paganism, which the superior morality of Christianity had provoked. To what degree the severe asceticism of the Indian religions affected the western mind, and how far the Buddhist monasticism was the suggestion and furnished the type of the Christian orders of monks, are debated questions. It can, however, hardly be doubted that this ancient and widely prevalent religion was known to the West, while the striking similarity of the discipline of the Buddhistic and Christian monks suggests a common origin, or at least similar conditions.

Heathen examples.

But the perversion of the teachings of Christianity, which inculcated the prime duty of purity, was most powerful to effect the change of opinion with reference to the married state. The conflict of the Church with the social evil which was threatening the life of the empire had been stubborn and persistent. From the first the words of Paul as to the lawfulness of a celibate life had

Causes strengthening it in the Church.

been influential, and a condition of continence had received high praise from the Christian fathers. The declining piety of the third century, and the doctrine of the merit of good works, which had its origin in the penitential system of the age of Cyprian, greatly strengthened the tendency to asceticism. An unnatural and unscriptural view of chastity induced the opinion that the married state was unfavorable to the realization of the highest perfection, and that immaculate purity could be attained only in the condition of celibacy or virginity, or by the practice of the most rigid abstinence.

Nevertheless, the frequent legislation, both civil and ecclesiastical, shows how difficult it was to enforce the condition of celibacy and chastity, even in case of those who had taken upon themselves the most solemn vows. The law of Jovian, A. D. 364, denouncing the attempt to marry a nun as a capital crime, was wholly ineffectual to prevent the scandal. Yet the opinion of the Church respecting the sacredness of the marriage relation is shown from the fact that while the synod of Rome, A. D. 384, declared the union of men with nuns who had taken vows of celibacy to be adultery, it did not venture to order their separation from their husbands. In spite of Augustine's commendation of virginity, and his favorable opinion of celibacy, he regards the marriage of nuns as binding, and deprecates the evil results of separating man and wife under such circumstances. A careful examination of this legislation will show that the efforts to declare such marriages invalid completely failed; and that in the fifth century there was a tendency to judge these marriages more tenderly, and not to interfere with them.[1]

Asceticism *versus* the flesh.

Monasticism *versus* the world.

As asceticism made war against one of the three great foes of the human soul, the flesh, so monasticism proposed to flee from another, the world. Men withdrew from society in order to concentrate their entire energies upon the purification of the spirit through watching, fasting, and prayer. Monasticism ignored the social duties and the holy work of elevating mankind by personal contact and influence, and was at heart a system of absolute spiritual selfishness. The two principles lying at the foundation of monasticism, celibacy and asceticism, were alike hostile to the married state, pernicious to the family, and consequently hurtful to the truest interests of society. The fuller discussion of their influence upon Christian morality does not fall within the plan of our inquiry. It need only be added that by many of the post-Nicene writers celibacy and absolute abstinence from carnal pleasures are regarded as the highest virtues; marriage is a necessary evil entailed by the fall, which must be endured by those content with low attainments in moral purity; the family is no longer the most sacred institution of God; the position of the wife and mother is almost infinitely below that of her upon whom rest the vows of perpetual virginity.[1]

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[1] Lea: *Hist. of Sacerdotal Celibacy*, Boston, 1884, pp. 103–105.

Celibacy and virginity the highest virtues.

Thus the powerful protest against the abounding impurity led the Church to the other extreme of severity. What was at first regarded in the light of a duty, plainly flowing from principles enunciated by Christ and his apostles, was exalted to the position of the most meritorious work for the attainment of salvation. The low standard of piety, and the perturbed state of society consequent upon the rivalries of the East and West, and upon the tribal migrations, contributed still further to these unhappy results. But amid all the influences unfavourable to the family life the Church was careful to guard its sanctity; it placed the family on a lower plane only by attributing to a celibate and virgin state a loftier dignity.

Sad consequences.

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[1] See especially the treatises on virginity by several of the most influential and able post-Nicene theologians—Basil, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine, and others. The language of Jerome, the great promoter of monasticism in the West, is often most extravagant in praise of virginity and a recluse life, and contemptuous when he refers to the married state.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH AND SLAVERY.

"RENDER therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's" (Matt. xxii, 21). "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. . . . For he is the minister of God to thee for good" (Rom. xiii, 1–4). In these passages are expressed the relations of the early Church to the government under which its members then lived. The duty of obedience to civil authority is here plainly inculcated. The qualifying teaching of Peter has reference to those cases where men are unable to submit to civil injunctions, and prefer to suffer for conscience' sake, or where government has so far forgotten the reason of its institution as to be no longer a terror to evil doers or a praise to the good. The Christian Church proposed no revolution in the civil order, but aimed to permeate society with a new principle which would effect all needed reforms. The declaration of Christ, "My kingdom is not of this world" (John xviii, 36), embodied the true spirit of the Church in relation to secular authority. The existing forms were accepted; the realm where Christ was to reign was the human spirit; the law of his government was the law of love. This law being supreme over all alike who should become subjects of his kingdom, an equality of privilege was recognised in the midst of the most diverse social conditions. It is the silent yet powerful operation of this law which is to be considered in estimating the influence of Christianity upon Roman institutions and life.

Relations of the Church to civil government.

A new law.

At the time of the Advent slavery was an institution recognised and regulated by the Roman law; slaves were found in every province of the vast empire. This unfortunate class had at first been chiefly captives taken in war; at a later period, when the original source of supply had largely ceased, they were propagated by means of numerous marriages encouraged by the owners. They were the property of the masters; the children could be sold or alienated like other property. While policy or feelings of humanity might lead masters to mitigate the severities of bondage, and political or social considerations

Slavery a fixed institution.

Condition of the slave.

frequently induced the manumission of slaves, they were, nevertheless, at the mercy of every caprice and passion of the owner. Nor does the fact that self-interest often led the great families to encourage in their slaves the cultivation of the practical and fine arts,[1] and even to assist some to rise to the position of teachers, counsellors, and companions, change the essential features of the system. A freedman could not be the equal of the freeborn; by him no civil or military honor was attainable; his sons were excluded from the senate; they were tainted with servility to the third and fourth generations.[2] While it is impossible to determine the number of slaves in the empire, or even their proportion to the entire population, it is universally conceded that their condition was fearfully degraded, and that they were a constant threat to the peace and prosperity of the state.

Christianity did not attempt direct abolition.

Christianity recognised this, as it did other institutions of the empire. No attempt was made for its immediate abolition. A new and despised religion, gathering its votaries at first, for the most part, from the humble, and often from the servile class, was not in position to make open war upon an institution hoary with age and of well nigh universal prevalence. The Scripture teaching is that liberty is of the Spirit; that the relations of master and slave are only accidental, not essential; that a slave can be the truest freeman through the liberty wherewith Christ shall make him free. The teaching of Scripture and of the early Christian fathers is usually that of submission and obedience to the existing laws. The expectation of the early reappearing of Christ to establish his kingdom among men, which from time to time finds expression in the writings of the apostles and early fathers, probably led the early Church to regard social distinctions as of slight importance. Since every disciple of Christ was a citizen of the kingdom of heaven, a kingdom different from, and exalted far above, all earthly governments, the Church renounced all claim to earthly rulership, and could remain indifferent toward existing social distinctions. The care of the Church was for the relief of the immediate wants of its members. The motive to the alleviation of hardships did not seem to be like that of the philosophers of the Stoic schools, namely, to introduce into society a more humane feeling; but the conviction of the supernatural freedom and equality to which men were invited found expression among the early Churches only in the religious life and intercourse. This spiritual freedom and equality pertained to the life of fellowship which was experienced by Christians themselves, without directly influencing political action or instituting means for the early abolition of slavery. Yet this was by no means the whole work of the Christian Church.

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[1] *v.* Friedländer: *Sittengeschichte Roms*, Bd. iii, ss. 258, 259.

[2] Gibbon: *Decline and Fall*, etc., Harper's edition, New York, 1880, vol. i, p. 51.

But recognised all as equal in the Gospel.

"The treatment of slaves by their Christian masters, and the relation of Christian slaves to their masters, underwent an immediate change. . . . As members of the Church there was no difference between them. They came to the same house of God, acknowledged one Lord, prayed and sang together, ate of the same bread, and drank from the same cup. . . . The Church, it is true, would not receive a slave without a certificate of good conduct from his Christian master, but when this condition was complied with he became a full member without any limitations. He was even eligible to its offices, not excepting that of bishop. Not infrequently it occurred that a slave was an elder in the same church of which his master was only a member.

It cared for the slaves.

"The Church bestowed labor on both slaves and masters. . . . According to pagan conceptions slaves were incapable of morality. The Church trained them for virtue, and not unsuccessfully. There were many slaves who, in extremely difficult circumstances, attested the reality of their Christian life with fidelity and great endurance. Even among the martyrs there was an unbroken line of slaves. The fairest crown fell on them, as well as to the free. . . . Harsh treatment of slaves was considered sufficient ground for excommunication. . . . The Church would not minister to the merely natural desires of the slaves for liberty. Yet it deemed it a praiseworthy act for a master to emancipate a slave.

Emancipation encouraged and practised.

It gladly recognised emancipation as a work of Christian love, and manumissions often occurred. . . . After the third century, it was customary to perform the act of manumission in the Church, before the priest and the congregation. The master led his slave by the hand to the altar; there the deed of emancipation was read aloud, and at the close the priest pronounced the benediction."[1]

Yet it is unhistoric to attribute the abolition of slavery and the rehabilitation of manual labour exclusively to Christianity. The Roman Stoics, like other philosophers before them, had taught the duty of humanity to slaves, and had announced with clearness the principle that bondage and freedom were only accidents of society, that the master may be a bondman to his vices, while the slave may be the noblest freeman through his virtues. In this respect the teaching of Stoicism was very like that of Christianity. Some emperors, too—notably Hadrian, the Antonines, and Alexander Severus—through a sentiment of sympathy, or moved by fear, promulgated laws restricting the power of the master, and protecting the slaves from many cruel and harmful practices which had long disgraced Roman civilization. Moreover, these maxims of the Stoics, relative to the essential equality of man, had powerfully influenced the Roman jurisprudence, and led to a consequent amelioration of the condition of the servile classes.[1]

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[1] Uhlhorn: *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, pp. 184–188. *v.* also Apology of Aristides, Syriac, chap. xv: "If one or other of them (Christians) have bondmen and bondwomen or children, through love toward them they persuade them to become Christians, and when they have done so, they call them brethren without distinction." *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. ix. Christian Literature Co., 1897.

Nor can it be claimed that the legislation of the Christian emperors of the fourth century, respecting the condition and rights of slaves, was a very great advance upon that of the heathen emperors of the third. By the abolition of the punishment of crucifixion the slaves had gained, since they had been chiefly exposed to this dreadful penalty; but still more humane and wide-reaching was the enactment of the statute forbidding the separation of their families.[2] The legislation of Justinian was, however, almost revolutionary. The two great disabilities under which the slave population had suffered for so many centuries, namely, the power of the master to subject the slave to torture, and the non-recognition of the legality of slave marriage, were entirely removed. This may be regarded as the most important legislative contribution to the abolition of slavery which was made by the Christian emperors prior to the seventh century. To this may be added the removal of all restrictions to the manumission of slaves, which had hitherto prevented the action prompted by the humane impulses of noble men, both pagan and Christian.

The influence of the moral type, which Christianity encouraged, has been strongly emphasized by some writers on the relations of Christianity to slavery.[3] The qualities neglected or despised by the heathen world were, under the Christian system, crowned as royal virtues. Humility is often commanded by Christ, and he who would be great in his kingdom is instructed to become the servant of all. Service, helpfulness, charity, long-suffering, gentleness, patience, goodness, forgiveness, non-resistance, are the graces which especially adorn the Christian character. To what extent this view of the perfection of human character brought the Christian Church into closer relationships to the large class of Roman slaves is worthy of most thoughtful consideration; doubtless it was one important motive to their care, and to the amelioration of their condition.

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[1] Tertullian, in *Apologeticus*, speaks of these changes, and attributes them to a secret working of nature, tending toward Christianity, not by Christianity.

[2] *v.* Lecky: *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 63, 64.

[3] Lecky: *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 68, 69.

Another notable service rendered by the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries was her strong and persistent opposition to the prevalent luxury. The discourses of the great preachers and monks abound in warnings against the destroying vices, against excess in dress, food, and equipage, and also very especially against immoral and lustful callings, as those of actors, gladiators, panders, etc. This check placed upon luxury and extravagance had the direct effect to decrease the demand for the labour of slaves, and thereby to contribute to their more rapid manumission.[1]

Slaves eligible to office in the Church.

While the relation of Christianity to Roman slavery has been vigorously discussed,[2] and the opinions of investigators have by no means been accordant, we see from the spirit of Christ's teaching, as well as from abundant testimony gathered from the writings of the Christian fathers, that in the early Church no distinction of privilege between master and slave was recognised. Slaves were freely admitted to the sacraments, and were eligible to all the ecclesiastical offices. Calixtus was a Roman slave. The Council of Orleans, in 549 A. D., was compelled to somewhat modify the earlier requirements that the Christian master must liberate his slaves, by allowing the master to obey the laws [3] respecting the slave, but forbade him to exact of the slave any service incompatible with his new dignity as a member of the Church. Female slaves often exercised the office of deaconesses.[1]

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[1] Allard: *Op. cit.*, pp. 409–473.

[2] The treatise of Wallon: *Histoire de l'esclavage*, 2d ed., Paris, 1879; and of Allard: *Les esclaves Chrét.*, Paris, 1876, have used the monumental evidence but very sparingly. The same want is felt in Zahn: *Sclaverei u. Christenthum*, Heidelb., 1879; Lechler: *Sclaverei u. Christenthum*, Leipzig, 1877–78, and in nearly every other discussion. Allard is most in sympathy with the spirit of the epigraphic teaching, and gives some valuable suggestions.

[3] The history of slavery in the United States of America furnishes some parallels to illustrate the difficulty of making the teaching of the Church respecting this institution effective and practical under the Roman government. The American Churches frequently protested against slavery, but the laws enacted by the different slave States made this protest nugatory. The desired instruction was forbidden to slaves by penal statutes. May not this be a sufficient answer to the excessive statements of that school of critics to which M. Havet belongs? "There is no more stupendous example of frauds, which, nevertheless, can make for themselves believers, than the persistent attempt to give to Christianity and the Church the honour of the abolition of slavery" (in the Roman Empire). *v. Le Christianisme et les origines*, t. i, Introduction, p. xxi. This judgment respecting the early Church, in effecting the emancipation of slaves under the Roman Empire, is paralleled by the statements of a class of writers in our day respecting the attitude of the American Churches toward the abolition of slavery in the United States. Both alike are defective and unhistoric. The wiser and more humane policy of Hadrian and the Antonines was probably largely independent of Christianity. The influence of Christianity was exerted without ostentation. Even Gibbon recognises its later power.

Monuments substantiate written records.

The study of monuments, in all parts of the Roman Empire, furnishes the most emphatic comment and completest corroboration of the statements of the Christian fathers. These help more fully to comprehend the grandeur of that revolution already achieved in the minds of the Christians, long before its effects became visible in the society of the state.[2] If we enter a pagan *columbarium*, where the rich families deposited the ashes of their slaves and freedmen, all the distinctions of society and class are here continued. It would seem that even the grave did not erase the stigma attaching to the servile classes. The name, employment, relation, etc., of the slave is perpetuated upon the cinerary urns. Only the absence of the master distinguishes this house of the dead from the palace of the living.

A pagan columbarium.

No distinction among the Christian dead.

How marked the contrast in a Christian catacomb! The claim of Lactantius is fully justified—"With us there is no distinction between rich and poor, between bond and free."[3] Nothing tells us whether a tomb contains the remains of the servile or of the free. Every thing is commingled.[4] Upon one is seen the evidence of noble birth, upon another the indication of the labourer's avocation; here is the tomb of the maiden, there of the widow, and in the midst of all is the faithful pastor and bishop of their souls.

Testimony of epigraphists.

"During the thirty years in which I have studied their cemeteries I have found no more than a solitary inscription from which the condition of a freedman could be inferred."[5] "In the very considerable number of Christian inscriptions which we examined, I have not met more than two *tituli* bearing the mention of *servus* or *libertus*, except as an appellation of fidelity toward God."[6] "In the new Christian community freedmen and slaves were brethren, and together served the same God. Among the faithful of the Roman Church the spirit of fraternity triumphed over the proud arrogance with which the institutions of the republic and of the empire were infected. Of this most eloquent testimony is found in the silence which is observed

de Rossi's opinion.

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[1] *Ancilla Dei* is the title frequently met on the tombs of Christian women.

[2] Allard: *Les esclaves Chrétienes*, p. 235.

[3] *Div. Inst.*, v, 17.

[4] Allard: *op. cit.*, pp. 236, 237.

[5] Marangoni: *Acta S. Victorini*, p. 130.

[6] Le Blant: *Inscript. chrét. de la Gaul*, t. i, p. 119. The word *titulus* was applied to an ecclesiastical division or district of the city. Each one of the *tituli* seems to have had an extra-mural cemetery under its care, where its dead were interred.

respecting the social condition of the deceased in the so many thousands of epitaphs discovered in the catacombs. Were they slaves? Freedmen? These say nothing about it. I have never met the mention, as an undoubted fact, of one *servus;* very rarely, and this exceptional, of a freedman; while we could not read ten pagan epitaphs of the same period without finding these designations of slaves and freedmen."[1] The silence of the monuments is the most powerful comment on the statement of Lucian with respect to the belief of the Christians: "Their lawgiver has persuaded the Christians that they are all brothers."[2] "This law was nowhere written or traditional; it was the spontaneous effect of the religious doctrines of the new society, which are reflected in its early epigraphy as in a mirror."[3]

Libertus seldom met.

The whole number of ancient Christian inscriptions in which slaves are mentioned is only about thirty, and about the same number in which the title of *libertus* is met.[4] This wonderful disparity between the number of Christian and heathen monuments bearing these marks of the servitude of the interred cannot be explained by the inferior social condition to which it has been claimed the converts to Christianity largely belonged; since this would naturally tend to increase rather than diminish the number mentioned among the servile class. Moreover, the great majority of these Christian inscriptions belong to a period later than the second century, when the new religion had become widely professed, and had adherents among the government officials, and even in the imperial household. By a careful comparative study of these monuments, the following conclusions are reached:

Conclusions reached.

1. That in the Christian Church the number held as slaves was reduced to a minimum.

2. That in Church relations and in Christian burial there was recognised absolute equality of right and privilege, and that all regarded themselves as members of a common household.

The bullæ.

Another interesting class of epigraphical objects are the *bullæ.* These were little tablets or bands of metal, which were accustomed to be fastened to the neck of fugitive or untrustworthy slaves. Scarcely more than twenty of these of a clearly Christian origin have been discovered. They tell an interesting story of the efforts of the Christian Church to soften the hardships of this condition. They likewise clearly testify to the existence of slavery within the Church, as connected with Christian basilicas. It was claimed by Pignoris[1] that the cruel custom of branding in the forehead fugitive and perverse slaves was supplanted by this milder characterization through a special edict of Constantine. Only three of these chains for the neck have been certainly traced to the pre-Constantine period. The greater part of these *bullæ* are clearly contemporaneous with Constantine, or belong to the fourth century.[2]

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[1] de Rossi: *Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1866, p. 24.

[2] de *morte Peregrini*, 13.

[3] de Rossi: *Roma Sotterranea*, t. i, p. 343.

[4] Schultze: *Die altchristlichen Grabstätten*, Leipzig, 1882, s. 258.

Christianity elevated labour.

Again, the monuments accord with the written records, and confirm the claim that Christianity elevated labour and the labourer to a state of respectability.

Illustrative inscriptions.

The condition of the free labourer under a government where slavery is the legal condition of a large portion of the population must be one of great hardship and humiliation. It has been so in all lands. That it was emphatically true of the Roman labourer all historians and moralists alike affirm. But Christianity was to teach another law than that which was then observed by paganism. The awakening of a spirit of industry, and the affirmation of the dignity of labour, were two important services rendered by the early Church. The literature of the fathers is full and explicit on this point; the monumental and epigraphical lesson is plainly confirmatory of the documentary. Such inscriptions as the following would not be tolerated on a pagan monument: ΜΗΤΡΙ ΚΑΤΙΑΝΙΛΛΗ ΕΡΓΟΠΟΙΩ. This belongs to the third century. De Rossi[3] also describes a tomb on which the husband had engraved the picture of a loom and shuttle,[4] emblems of domestic industry, recalling the customs of the ancient Roman days. Still another is where the wife has erected a rich tomb to her husband, upon which stands an inscription that would be regarded a cause of humiliation to the proud Roman: AMATRIX PAVPERORVM ET OPERARIA.[1] The companionship in labour is not now regarded disgraceful, but worthy of commendation. See the following, from Garrucci, found in the catacomb of Sts. Peter and Marcellinus upon a tomb erected by a humble saint named Primus to Leontia: LEONTIÆ CVM LABARONÆ SVÆ.[2]

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[1] *De servis eorumque ministeriis*, Padova, 1613.

[2] de Rossi: *Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1874, pp. 60, *seq.* The following may be given as an example of these *bullæ*: *Tene me quia figi et revoca me Publio Rubrio Latino domino meo.* "Seize me because I have fled, and return me to Publius Rubrius Latinus, my master!"

[3] De Rossi: *Bullettino di arch. crist.*, 1865, p. 52. The full form of the last word, as found in the inscription, is ΕΡΓΟΠΟΠΟΙΩ. On this de Rossi comments: "It is evident to me that the stone-cutter has, by mistake, repeated the syllable ΠΟ, as if he would amend ἐργοποίῳ, as in so many other syllables which we find carelessly reduplicated in both Greek and Latin inscriptions. Although no such word is found in the classical lexicons, it is plain that it signifies *operosa, laboriosa*. . . . It shows the Christian glorying in labor—a thing unknown to the pagan world; that labour was not disgraceful, but honourable; that disgrace and sin came from indolence and laziness."

[4] De Rossi: *Inscrip. Christ. urbis Romæ*, No. 14 (A. D. 279), p. 21.

Thus the testimony of the Christian fathers and the monuments are in accord with reference to the influence of Christianity in ameliorating the condition of slaves under the Roman Empire, and in effecting their gradual emancipation. It was by the operation of the law of love which was promulgated by the Founder.

[1] De Rossi: *Inscrip. Christ.*, No. 62 (A. D. 341), p. 49.

[2] Garrucci: *Nuove epigrafe giudaiche di vigna Randanini*, p. 9.

CHAPTER III.

RELATION OF THE EARLY CHURCH TO CIVIL AND MILITARY LIFE.

THE changes in Roman opinion relative to the family, to slavery, and to manual labour, had not been effected by Christianity alone. We have noted the influence of the Stoical philosophy in causing the revolution. To what extent these modifications of thought and practice may be attributable to this or that force which was silently at work in the Roman world during the second and third centuries may not be determined. The change is indubitable. From the first Christianity had insisted upon honourable labour as a duty. The example of Christ and his apostles is positive; the teachings of the Scriptures are clear and explicit. The slothful servant is pictured as deserving condemnation; Paul, the tent-maker, glories in his ability to gain a livelihood, and will not consent to be a burden to his brethren. The man who will not toil may not eat his bread in peace. "Diligent in business" was associated with "serving the Lord."

Christianity encouraged labour.

But it is important to notice the relation of the Church to certain trades and industries. They had direct influence upon the type of Christian morality, and brought the teaching of the Christians and of the heathen into sharpest contrast. The early Church was beset by adverse influences arising from the prevalent idolatry, from the abounding impurity, and from the corrupting exhibitions connected with the popular amusements. The statues, temples, and altars dedicated to an innumerable multitude of gods; the reverence in which some of these were held by the people; their almost continuous worship, conducted in all the great centers of population, enveloped the Christians in an atmosphere laden with impurity. The failure or blank refusal to participate in the public worship of what were reputed to be the guardian divinities of the State made the Christians an object of hate and suspicion, and subjected them to the charge of atheism. The position of a monotheistic faith and of an absolute religion was often delicate in the extreme. To show themselves loyal subjects of the empire, and yet uncompromising in their allegiance to Christ, brought daily embarrassments to Christians. Those

Adverse influences.

Trying position of the Christians.

engaged in the service of the temples, or in trades connected directly with idolatrous worship, as image makers, incense dealers, etc., were adjudged by the Church as contributing to the corruption of the people, and were ineligible to membership.

Certain trades condemned.

Tertullian's opinion.

The Apostolic Constitutions.

The testimony of the fathers on this point is clear. Tertullian says: "I take it that that trade which pertains to the very soul and spirit of idols, which pampers every demon, falls under the charge of idolatry. . . . The dealer in frankincense is a something even more serviceable toward demons, for idolatry is more easily carried on without the idol than without the ware of the frankincense seller. . . . No art, then, no profession, no trade which administers either to the equipping or making of idols, can be free from the name of idolatry."[1] "Again, can you have denied with the tongue what you confess with the hand? Can you unmake by word what you make by your deed? Can you, who make so many, preach one God? Can you, who make false ones, preach the true God?"[2] "For it matters not whether you erect or equip; if you have embellished his temple, altar, or niche; if you have pressed out gold-leaf, or have wrought his insignia, or even his house; work of that kind, which confers not shape, but authority, is more important."[3] "Whatever guilt idolatry incurs must necessarily be imparted to every artificer of every idol."[4] With this teaching the Apostolic Constitutions are in harmony. "If a maker of idols come, let him either leave off his employment or let him be rejected."[5] Such is the consistent and uniform teaching of the early Church. The sin of idolatry was a constant threat, and warnings against the evil by the leaders of the Church, both before and after Constantine, are positive and frequent. The Christians were forbidden to do any thing which could directly or remotely abet or compromise with this besetting sin of the Roman world. Like teaching is found with respect to those employments which were connected with the corrupting practices and amusements of heathen society. It included stage actors, teachers of the art, procurers and panderers, gladiators, those employed in the public shows, soothsayers, minstrels, dancers, etc.

Public amusements interdicted.

The Roman drama had become fearfully corrupt. While noble sentiments are occasionally found in the plays represented before

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[1] *de Idolat.*, c. 2. [2] *Ibid.*, c. 6. [3] *Ibid.*, c. 8.

[4] *Ibid.*, c. 4. "Quicquid idolatria committit, in artificem quemamque et cuiuscumque idoli deputetur necesse est."

[5] Cons. Apos., l. viii, c. 32.

Low condition of the Roman drama.

Like degradation in the East.

an average audience, the resultant influence was debasing, and actors were held in low esteem. Under the later republic, the utterances of the stage were often laden with ridicule of the gods, and had in no small degree encouraged the growing scepticism. But under the empire the theatre had been greatly degraded by the public shows and popular exhibitions. While the enormous amphitheatres were crowded for many successive days to witness the gladiatorial contests, the races and games, the entire seating capacity of the great theatres was less than 50,000; and in ordinary times the theatre of Pompey, with a capacity of 17,580, could accommodate all visitors. So depraved had become the Roman taste that even this small number could be gathered only by exhibitions of the lowest species of the drama, light comedy and mime. The indecencies of these representations were shocking in the extreme. The boldest impiety, the most shameless immodesty, the grossest vulgarity awakened deafening applause from the debauched populace.[1] Nor was the character of these representations much improved in the Eastern Empire, even in the time of Justinian. The lowest forms of social life were there presented. The most sacred relations were travestied. The unfaithfulness of husband or wife was the frequent subject of representation, in which the escapades of the panderer or adulterer were occasions of unlimited mirth. Snatches from the indecorous songs heard in the theatre were repeated upon the streets to poison the imagination and break down all moral restraint.[2]

High tragedy unpopular.

Legal disabilities of actors.

True, a few nobler characters of heathendom felt the degrading influence of these forms of dramatic representation, and struggled to improve the public taste. But they were entirely impotent to arrest the sweeping tide of corruption. Moreover high tragedy was never popular with even the better classes of the Roman world. They preferred the lighter works. The degeneracy of the later plays was manifest. The introduction of music and the dance soon caused the representations to assume the form of the pantomime, which became, in turn, the most corrupting form of theatrical representation. So generally was the immoral influence of the drama recognised that actors were generally under social and legal disability. Often they had no greater rights than slaves or freedmen. Hence it came to pass that the great mass of players were from these classes, sunken into the deepest degradation, with few if any legal privileges.[3]

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[1] Friedländer: *Sittengeschichte Roms.*, Bd. ii, ss. 391–395.

[2] *Ibid.*, ss. 396, 397.

[3] *Ibid.*, ss. 424, *seq.*

As might be expected, the purity of the Church was constantly threatened by these exhibitions, and stringent rules were enacted respecting the classes who were connected with theatrical representations, and the frequenting of the plays. Tertullian finds in all the shows and spectacles alike a taint of idolatry, and is vigorous in warning against their contaminating influence. "It may be grand or mean, no matter, any circus procession whatever is offensive to God. Though there be few images to grace it, there is idolatry in one; though there be no more than a single sacred car, it is a chariot of Jupiter; any thing of idolatry whatever, whether meanly arranged or modestly rich and gorgeous, taints it in its origin."[1] So also in the dramatic representations and the combats generally. Moreover he urges the Church to refrain from these on the ground of their immodesty and impurity; also because the Christian faith and life are there travestied and brought into public ridicule. "We ought to detest these heathen meetings and assemblies, if on no other account than that there God's name is blasphemed. . . . Shall you not, then, shun those tiers where the enemies of Christ assemble, that seat of all that is pestilential, and the very superincumbent atmosphere all impure with wicked cries?"[2]

All shows tainted with idolatry.

Christianity travestied.

Like representations of the character of the public shows are made by Cyprian. In his epistle to Donatus he draws a fearful sketch of the immoralities of his time. "The whole world is wet with mutual blood. . . . Crime is not only committed, but taught. . . . It is the tragic buskin which relates in verse the crimes of ancient days. . . . In the mimes . . . adultery is learned while it is seen; . . . the matron who perchance has gone to the spectacle a modest woman returns from it immodest. . . . Men grow into praise by virtue of their crimes; and the more he is degraded, the more skilful is he regarded. . . . The judge sells his sentence; . . . there is no fear about the laws when the sentence can be bought off for money; . . . it is a crime now among the guilty to be innocent."[3] Equally with Tertullian he finds in all the public shows a gross idolatry, and is faithful in warning against their contaminating influences. The spirit of his teaching is that of his master. "Idolatry is the mother of all the public amusements. . . . Thus the devil, who is their original contriver, because he knew that naked idolatry would by itself excite repugnance, associated it with public exhibitions, that for the sake of their attraction it might

Cyprian's statements.

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[1] *de Spectac.*, c. 7.
[2] *Ibid.*, c. 22.
[3] *ad Donat.*, cc. 6, 7, 10.

be loved."[1] He positively forbids not only actors but teachers of the histrionic art from communicating with the Church. "For he cannot appear to have given it (the actor's art) up who substitutes others in his place, and who, instead of himself alone, supplies many in his stead."[2] Cyprian recognises the hardness of the condition of such as have left lucrative callings to accept the faith of Christ; but the earnestness and wise provisions of the Church for such are clearly illustrated in the same connection: "But if such a one alleges poverty and the necessity of small means, his necessity also can be assisted among the rest who are maintained by the support of the Church; if he be content, that is, with very frugal but innocent food."[3]

Actors excluded from the Church.

Relief of hardship.

The Apostolic Constitutions contain like teaching. "If one belonging to the theater come, whether it be man or woman, . . . either let him leave off his employments, or let him be rejected."[4] The decisions of the Councils are entirely harmonious with this general teaching of the pre-Constantine fathers and of the Constitutions. The Council of Elvira (probably in A. D. 305 or 306) enacted that actors and soothsayers should be received to baptism only on condition that they leave their arts, and do not return to them. In case of return they are to be rejected from the Church.[5] Like action was taken by the third Council of Carthage, A. D. 397.

Conciliary action.

The unparalleled greed of the Roman populace for shows had been strengthened by the enormous expenditures of some of the emperors, whose usurpation or vileness of character must be hidden under a show of public munificence. Probably no period of human history presents an array of trades and callings to prop up a failing faith, and to pander to a vitiated taste, equal to that of the empire during the first three and a half centuries of the Christian era. By a law of spiritual life, as the purity and strength of faith declined the machinery of religion became more complicated. The failure of the religions indigenous to Italy led the people to look to the distant and the unknown for help; the wild influx of worships and rites from the most distant regions multiplied the numbers devoted to trades necessary to supply the demands of every cultus, and

Love of spectacles.

Superstition multiplies the rites.

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[1] *de Spectac.*, c. 4. While this treatise is usually regarded as of doubtful genuineness, it is animated by the general spirit of Cyprian's works.

[2] *ad Euchrat.*, c. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Const. Apostol., l. viii, c. 32.

[5] Canon 62: "Quod si facere contra interdictum tentaverint, projiciantur ab ecclesia."

greatly added to the embarrassments of the early Church. Practicers of curious arts, magicians, diviners, enchanters, astrologers; minstrels, harpers, dancers; charioteers, racers, gladiators, curators of the games; makers of amulets, fortune-tellers, wandering beggars—against this untold multitude who directly or indirectly were connected with the prevalent polytheism, or sought a livelihood by ministering to vitiated tastes, the Church set its face as a flint. Eligibility to baptism required the absolute relinquishment of them all, and indulgence in them by a member of the Church was visited by severe penalties. The discipline of the Church was strict, but oftentimes it was unable to stem the fearful tide of corruption.

Severe discipline.

Another source of temptation was the military life. The relation of the Church to the bearing of arms was not easy to be determined. Here also, as with respect to public or official business, the prevalent expectation of the speedy coming of Christ exerted wide influence. So evanescent and trivial did the affairs of earthly governments appear, when contrasted with the glories of the kingdom which Christ was to set up, that the Christians of the second and third centuries regarded the policies and activities of the state as unworthy of their serious thought. Patriotism and loyalty, the usual motives inducing subjects to bear arms, were felt to a less degree by men whose first allegiance was due to an invisible kingdom, whose sway would soon be universal. Doubtless also the teaching of Christ to avoid strife, to forgive injuries, to bless and curse not, to do good unto all men, to resist not evil, cultivated in his followers aversion to arms and to the military life. It is evident that Tertullian was affected by this view, but still more by his abhorrence of idolatry. In the military life, as in all the various employments connected with the numberless religions of his day, he sees the taint of idolatry. The well known picture of a Christian soldier taking off the laurel chaplet which had been bestowed by imperial favour, the jeering of the multitude, the murmur arresting the attention of the tribune, the confession, "I am a Christian," the appeal to higher authority, the disrobing of the soldier, the thrusting into prison to await martyrdom, Tertullian sketches with loving interest, and the course of the soldier meets his thorough approval.[1] This particular case leads him to the discussion of the general question of the propriety or right of a Christian to engage in the military life. "Shall it be held lawful to make an occupation of the sword, when the Lord proclaims that he who uses the sword shall perish

Aversion to military service.

Tainted with idolatry.

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[1] *de Corona Mil.*, c. 1.

by the sword? And shall the son of peace take part in the battle when it does not become him even to sue at law? And shall he apply the chain, and the prison, and the torture, and the punishment, who is not the avenger even of his own wrongs? Shall he, forsooth, either keep watch-service for others more than for Christ, or shall he do it on the Lord's day when he does not even do it for Christ himself? And shall he keep guard before the temples which he has renounced? Touching this primary aspect of the question, as to the lawfulness even of a military life itself, I shall not add more."[1]

Strife contrary to Christ's teaching.

But plainly this Montanistic principle could not be made practical in the Roman Empire. While the military spirit had greatly declined during the closing decades of the republic, and in the first century of the empire scarcely a remnant of the better classes could be found among the soldiery,[2] there was, nevertheless, a general legal obligation to bear arms. In this state of unpopularity of the military calling it is evident that an irregular and unjust levy would tend to pass by the higher classes and fall with unequal severity upon the burgess population, from which a large proportion of Christians had been gathered. That many were thus pressed into the army is evident from the testimony of Tertullian himself.[3] The continuance of these in the service was a matter of necessity, since their desertion must have brought upon the Church still greater suspicion and persecution. Even Tertullian regards the case of those who embraced Christianity after they had entered the military life as very delicate, yet appears to advise the abandonment of the calling, and the acceptance of the consequences.[4] Origen was early inclined to speak with great severity respecting the propriety of bearing arms, but afterward admitted that it might be possible and even honourable. Also the evidence is convincing that in the reign of M. Aurelius many Christian soldiers were in the Roman army, and under Diocletian high offices were filled by members of the Church.

Decadence of military spirit.

Unfair levy.

Milder views.

The Apostolic Constitutions also certainly provide for the reception of soldiers by baptism. They were to be examined, and taught to do no injustice, to accuse no man falsely, and to be content with their wages.[5] The Nicene decision has

Provision for baptism.

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[1] *de Corona Mil.*, c. 11. *de Idol.*, c. 19.

[2] Mommsen: *Hist. of Rome*, New York, 1872, vol. iv, p. 581.

[3] *Apolog.*, cc. 37, 42.

[4] It has been charged by Gibbon, and some others, that Tertullian teaches the duty of desertion. The passage usually cited (*de Corona Mil.*, c. 11) can hardly be so interpreted.

[5] Const. Apost., l. viii, c. 32.

occasioned some difference of opinion as to its purport. It is believed, however, by the ablest commentators that the twelfth canon was not aimed at the military calling, but rather against those who had forsaken it, and were attempting to reenter it by means of bribery or corruption. The whole conduct of Constantine toward the soldiery implies that military life was no longer under the ban of the Church, but was regarded as permissible.

Decision of Nicene council.

The changed relations of the Church to the government, during and after the fourth century, brought corresponding changes in the opinion of the Church fathers respecting the lawfulness of accepting offices both civil and military. The union of Church and State brought laxity of discipline and life. Zeal which should have been manifested to maintain the high moral and religious purity of the Church was shown only in the defence of its orthodoxy. The masses of the heathen world, which became nominally Christian with little change in belief or life, caused discipline to decay and the tone of piety to decline. The subsequent action, both civil and ecclesiastical, seems to be inspired by a new spirit. The popularity of the ecclesiastical life, exempt as it was from many services and disabilities, and the increasing passion for monastic retirement, compelled the government to guard itself against these incentives to the desertion of public trusts, especially to prevent the disintegration of the army through withdrawal of its members in order to enter the less dangerous and toilsome avocations of the Church. Hence the edict of Honorius forbade any one who was bound to the military life to take upon himself any clerical calling, or think to excuse himself from the public service under pretence of entering upon the ecclesiastical life. With this principle the canons of the councils largely agreed, since they generally refused ordination to any who had entered a military life after baptism, and in most cases none who had been soldiers were admitted to the superior offices of the Church.

The monumental evidence is entirely confirmatory of the documentary, and furnishes a very interesting comment on the relation of the Church to military life and on the proportion of Christians enlisted in this service. Collections of inscriptions, made at different and widely separated parts of the empire, show a great disparity in the number of pagan and Christian soldiers. Twenty years ago the studies of Le Blant on the collections of three epigraphists, Reinesius, Steiner, and Mommsen, which were made in a region reaching from lower Italy north to the Rhine border, resulted as follows: Of 10,500 pagan inscriptions, 545, or

Monumental evidence.

5.20 per cent., contained epitaphs of soldiers; while of 4,734 Christian inscriptions only 26, or .55 of one per cent., contained any reference to the military life.[1] In Gaul, as in Italy, Spain, and Africa, the title of soldier is rarely found inscribed on the tombs of the Christian dead. While this may be partially attributable to the aversion of the early Christians to indulge in fulsome descriptions of the business of the departed, yet no reasonable doubt can be entertained that the fewness of such inscriptions is largely due to the influence of a religion whose Founder taught submission rather than resistance, and the fundamental law of whose kingdom was love.

[1] Le Blant: *Manuel d'Epigraphie chrétienne*, etc., Paris, 1869, pp. 15, 16.

CHAPTER IV.

CHARITIES IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

THE ancient heathen world presented a sharp contrast in the social and civil conditions of its peoples. The many slaves and clients, dependent upon masters and lords for their support, tended to diminish the number of paupers who must receive aid at the hands of the government. While the system of slavery and clientage thus lessened the demands for the practice of active charity, large numbers of the indigent were assisted at the public expense, and many instances of noble private gifts for the relief of the unfortunate are recorded by the historians, and are fully attested by the surviving monuments. In Attica Solon and his successors had incorporated into their legislation the principle that it is the duty of the state to provide for its poor and unfortunate; and very early in the history of the Roman Republic the sums expended in the gratuitous distribution of corn to the people constituted an important item in the public budget. The number thus receiving relief at Rome alone, at the beginning of the empire, was 320,000, or more than one fourth of the entire population of the city. Under the vigourous policy of Julius Cæsar this had been reduced to 150,000, but under Augustus it had risen to 200,000, and under the Antonines had increased to the enormous number of 500,000. This gratuitous distribution of corn, bread, oil, and salt, which began at Rome, extended to many of the great cities and was probably practised even in many of the smaller towns of the empire.[1]

Poor-relief by heathen nations.

The writings of the Stoics had inculcated charity. In some of these are found noble precepts which seem to rival the most exalted teachings of the New Testament. The fraternity of the race, and the corresponding duty of relieving the woes of all, are sometimes taught with great distinctness and enforced with much eloquence. When Cicero says, "Nature ordains that a man should wish the good of every man, whoever he may be, for this very reason, that he is a man;"[2] and Seneca affirms, "I know that my country is the world, and my guardians are the

Teachings of the Stoics.

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[1] Mommsen: *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iv, p. 591. Leckey: *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 74, 75.

[2] *de officiis*, iii, 6.

gods;"[1] and Lucian sings of a time when "the human race will cast aside its weapons, and when all nations will learn to love,"[2] we seem to have in this philosophy a basis for broadest benevolence and universal charity. Nor can it be denied that some of the purest and best men of heathenism belonged to the Stoic school, and were at times loud in their protests against injustice and cruelty. Yet in this system was recognised a principle which must be fatal to high and continuous charity. The duty of suppressing all emotion would result in the extinction of the very sources of true benevolent activity. Indifference in the presence of suffering, or the reckoning of every condition of human experience as unworthy the thought of the true man, necessarily carried with it indifference to the alleviation of woes, and produced the strange contradictions presented in the teachings, life, and death of some of the great masters of this philosophy.

Its defects.

The stress of poverty, as well as the desire for the promotion of favourite schemes, had resulted in the organization of numerous clubs and associations throughout the Roman Empire. They were in great variety—social, political, industrial, and religious; yet in each was found an element of mutual aid in case of distress. By weekly or monthly contributions of the members, and by liberal gifts from the wealthy whom they counted among their patrons, a fund was secured which was placed in charge of curators to be used for the common benefit. These *collegia* also cared for the burial of their members by the appropriation of a given sum, usually dependent upon the rank of the deceased, a portion of which was spent at the funeral banquet, and for the distribution of bread and wine among the poorer members of the guild. Such was the Roman care for the dead, and for keeping alive their memory, that the rich often made large donations to the collegia upon the special condition that the anniversary of their death should be celebrated in a worthy manner by sacrifices, assemblies at the tomb, libations, and distribution of money, bread, and wine among those who might be present at the ceremonies. So common was it to provide for the burial, and for celebrating the anniversary of the death by appropriate observances, that it may be called a Roman custom. It furnishes an explanation of the building of magnificent tombs along the Appian Way, and of the erection of convenient *cellæ*, upon sites sometimes of great extent and costliness, connected with which were altars and banqueting halls for holding the burial feasts.

The clubs and guilds.

An element of selfishness.

The collegia, especially the burial clubs, had a most important influence upon the early Christian societies, and are intimately connected with the history of Christian charities. The heathen inscriptions plainly use language which has sometimes been supposed to be peculiar to the Church, as *brother* and *sister*, *father* and *mother*, as applied to members of the guild, or to founders, liberal patrons, or chief officers of the same. Doubtless it was within the walls of the *schola*, or at the gatherings in the hired room of some humble Roman tavern, that the vast body of artisans, excluded as they were from all hope of political trust or preferment, felt the importance of individual life and experienced the quickening power of a common interest. This liberalizing influence was doubtless one source of the jealousy of the emperors, and led to the partial suppression of the meetings of the guilds. In these, vastly more than in any form of heathen worship, is found a measurable resemblance to the methods and spirit of the Christian Church. It has often been remarked by students of early Christianity that in the Christian societies alone, of all the Roman world, a true community was realized. Both in the religious and political life of that period this was totally unknown. The mass of the citizens were valuable only as they contributed to the welfare of the state; and the religious worship, supported by the government, had less interest for the masses of the people than had the daily shows in the amphitheatre. The thought of the personal duty of charity, or of communal benefits, was foreign to the pagan mind. It was, therefore, impossible that either the relief afforded to the needy by monthly distribution of corn, or the largesses of the emperors, or the support given by masters to slaves, or by patrons to clients, or by the numerous guilds to their members could be of the nature of a pure and genuine charity. Through each and all was diffused the taint of selfishness. The largesses were at times bestowed to allay popular clamour, or to hide the crimes of an ambitious usurper; the distribution of corn was often made in order to relieve the hunger of a rabble which might otherwise precipitate a bloody revolution; the monthly contributions and intimate association of the clubs were for the benefit of members of the guild alone. The Stoic philosophy failed when tested by the adverse condition of the Roman world, and its teachings, however noble in themselves, were inadequate to purify the awful corruptions of society or alleviate the sore distress and poverty. In its ultimate analysis this philosophy was an education of pride, and tended to a sublime egotism.[1] Its pantheistic

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[1] *de Vita Beata*, xx.

[2] *Pharsalia*, vi.

Influence of the *collegia* on Christian charities.

The Church a true community.

Heathen charity tainted with selfishness.

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[1] Conybeare and Howson: *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 6th ed., New York, 1858, vol. i, p. 368.

principles also detracted from the dignity and sacredness of individual being, and could therefore furnish no solid ground for genuine charity.

True inspiration of Christian charity.

Christian charity was a necessary outflow from the idea which lay at the very source of the system, namely, the kingdom of God, which is a community of men who have been reconciled to God in Christ, whose law is a law of love.[1] This law is the supreme rule of action in this community; hence the selfish element, which tainted nearly every system of relief in the heathen world, is eliminated, and the charity is practiced in the name of Christ who came to realize the kingdom of heaven among men. It is, therefore, done unto men not simply to relieve from present poverty and need, but much more because of their relations to the new kingdom, which is also to be an everlasting kingdom, of which each, however lowly, may be a subject. The selling of all that he had and giving to the poor was the condition imposed by Christ upon the young rich man in order that he might become a member of this community, and thus feel that he had richer possessions in sharing in the experiences of the whole body of believers. Christ's own example is that which he would have his followers imitate. It is the Samaritan's catholicity of spirit which receives his special approval. He leaves the society of his immediate family to become the friend of publicans and sinners. He violates the artificial proprieties of his nation to instruct the woman of Samaria at the well, or to heal the afflicted Syrophœnician.

This broader spirit and deeper significance of charity found ex emplification from the very beginning of Christ's public ministry. Germs of the beneficent institutions which have been to the great honour of the Church are found in the lifetime of Christ in the circle of serving women surrounding the Lord, a type of the deaconesses and of all charitable women, in whom the history of the Church is so rich.[2]

One family of believers.

What has been said elsewhere (*v.* pp. 465 *sq.*) respecting the Church as a family is specially applicable to her charities. The apostolic Church continued the family idea which had been so prominent during the ministry of Christ. The spirit of communion, first realized by the Church, explains the exceptional provisions made for the early relief of the poor and needy disciples. We have already found that the Lord's Supper and the associated lovefeasts were occasions for the most beautiful manifestations of the common interest and care. Moreover, the

[1] Uhlhorn: *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, New York, 1883, p. 57.

[2] Uhlhorn: *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

institution of a class of officers whose special business was to have the oversight of funds which had come from a common offering, shows the prominence which the work of charity had assumed in the apostolic Church. This is in no way changed, whatever theory of the diaconate may be accepted; not even if the management of the charitable funds was never entrusted to the deacons, but was under the control and direction of the elders or bishops. The emphasis put upon the idea of aid to the poor saints, as members of a community, is in no sense lessened. As in every other department of activity, so here, the spirit, at first prompting the early Christians to a spontaneous relief of distress, later accomplished its work through a formal organization. The old Jewish law of tithing the income is nowhere insisted upon; but the exhortation is to imitate Christ's example, who "though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich" (2 Cor. viii, 9). The readiness and hearty willingness of the offerings is the test of the religious character of the charity, and of its acceptance with God; he who gives grudgingly is not a Christian giver at all; and the essence and proof of religion is ministration to the distressed (2 Cor. ix, 7; viii, 2, 3; James i, 27, *et al.*). The same spirit is shown in the repeated exhortations to hospitality which are found in the New Testament writings. The frequent passing of members of the Church from one part of the empire to another, usually in the work of evangelism, rendered this duty most pressing. Doubtless in this respect there was great likeness between the conduct of the Christians and that of the numerous heathen clubs, since these likewise inculcated the duty of helpfulness and hospitality; but, as before stated, their aid was wholly confined to the members of the guild.

The true spirit of charity.

When the charities of the Church are estimated in their wider range, it becomes important to study the business and financial condition of the empire during the first two centuries of its history. It has been customary to represent this as prosperous to an unusual degree. The evidence is convincing that, outside of Rome, the proportion of citizens who were liable to pinching poverty was less than at the present time in northern Europe. For the most part the taxes were not excessive, food was generally abundant, the relation of labour to the necessities of life was more advantageous than in modern Europe, the prices of provisions were carefully regulated by law, so that no such rapid and disturbing fluctuations were possible as now result from speculation and from a system of extended credits. Friedländer claims that property was less concentrated than at present; that the value of

Financial prosperity.

the largest estates in the time of the early empire, even when slaves are included in the reckoning, falls far below that of many private individuals in Europe and America to-day. Only two persons of Rome are represented as having a property worth more than $20,000,000, and the incomes of the most wealthy Romans during the first four and a half centuries of the empire are greatly excelled by those of the families of Rothschild, Bedford, Demidoff, Astor, and Vanderbilt.[1]

Great fortunes less than now.

This social and financial condition of the empire during the first century and a half of our era must have vitally affected the question of the nature and extent of Christian beneficence. Times of general prosperity call for the establishment of no wide-reaching charities; the spirit of the Church could find expression only in the relief of isolated cases of need, while its almsgiving would also be of a strongly individual character.[2]

Powerful influence on charities.

But the seeds of dissolution had already been planted in the empire. Before the middle of the second century the evils of slavery, the corresponding contempt for labour, the fearful extravagance of the nobility, the vast sums squandered on the public games and shows, the absence of moral restraint exhibited in the case of divorce, the indifference to abortion, infanticide, and exposure of children, and the fearfully expensive and wasting wars, had seriously weakened the empire. From these causes population was seriously decreasing, and poverty set in where a half century before had been comparative comfort. To pay the largely increased taxes many fine estates had been forfeited, thus concentrating property into fewer hands, and bringing as necessary consequences extravagant luxury and the oppression of the smaller traders through excessive usury. The only means of defence was in the organization of guilds, which were recognised by the state, and became, in a sense, the servants of the government. In these more trying times greater demands were manifestly made upon the charities of the Church. The teachings of the Christian fathers prior to Cyprian plainly reveal the nature and extent of these good works.

Adverse influences.

We have already spoken of the *collegia*, and of the spirit which animated them. It is important to notice wherein the Christian Church, in some respects so closely resembling a heathen religious guild, differed from it in its method of relief of the unfortunate. Certainly the uniform teaching of the first two hundred years is to give to those who are in need, without careful discrimination as to whether the recipient was a member of the Church or a heathen. Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria are in en-

Christian charity broad and general.

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[1] *Sittengeschichte Roms*, Bd. iii, ss. 11–14.

[2] Uhlhorn: *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

tire accord touching the duty of a common charity. Many passages from these and other writers are plain and positive. In the Shepherd of Hermas occurs this characteristic teaching: "Practice goodness; and from the rewards of your labours, which God gives you, give to all the needy in simplicity, not hesitating as to whom you are to give or not to give. Give to all, for God wishes his gifts to be shared amongst all. They who receive will render an account to God why and for what they have received. For the afflicted who receive will not be condemned, but they who receive on false pretences will suffer punishment. He, then, who gives is blameless."[1] This injunction plainly has reference to private almsgiving, and seems to have no application to that more systematic beneficence which was bestowed upon the needy members of the Church through organized channels. The giving was spontaneous, free, not of their abundance, but from their scanty earnings.

Also wide-extended through organization.

The peculiar organization of the Churches also provided for systematic and widereaching charities. Not only were the needy of individual congregations relieved by the oblations offered at the Lord's Supper, but special collections were made for the relief of distress in distant provinces. Already in the apostolic age community of interest was shown by forwarding considerable sums of money, gathered from wide districts of country, to relieve the poor saints at Jerusalem (Rom. xv, 25, 26; 1 Cor. xv, 1–4). The expression "them of Macedonia and Achaia" seems to include many of the most prosperous churches which had been established through Paul's instrumentality, and indicates the nature and extent of these offerings. The churches of the first two and a half centuries may be regarded as so many compact organizations for charitable work. Its oversight being entrusted to the bishops, there was an immediateness and directness of relief which otherwise were not possible. The close affiliations of the bishops with each other, and the system of circular letters which had been adopted, enabled the entire Church to concentrate its gifts upon a single locality which had been visited with sudden or peculiar distress. Moreover, the association of the bishop with sub-helpers, as elders, deacons, the widows and the deaconesses, allowed of faithful and minute supervision, and of a consequent wise and economical administration of the charities. It is plain that the deaconesses had other duties than those of keepers of the entrances of the church appointed for women, or even as assistants in baptism, or instructors of candidates; they were employed in those works of charity and relief where hea-

Gifts easily concentrated for relief of distress.

Deaconesses.

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[1] Book ii, *Mandata*, ii.

then public opinion would not permit the presence of the deacons. "Ordain also a deaconess who is faithful and holy, for the ministrations toward women. For sometimes he cannot send a deacon, who is a man, to the women, on account of unbelievers. Thou shalt therefore send a woman, a deaconess, on account of the imaginations of the bad."[1] Thus the number and variety of officers enabled the early Church to reach all classes, and to have complete knowledge of the personal needs of its members.

Influence of Christian charity on pauperism.

Another question which has been earnestly discussed is the influence of the early Christian system of charities upon pauperism and self-help. It has been charged that it fostered dependence, and that its ultimate result was to add to the pauper population. The question is beset with difficulties, because of insufficient data from which to form a judgment. The lack of official statistics, with reference both to the Roman government and to ecclesiastical activities, renders the question wellnigh insoluble. That promiscuous relief of the poor, disconnected from a thorough knowledge of the needs of the beneficiary, tends to helplessness and increasing poverty is everywhere confessed. The presumption is certainly very strong that this defect could not, however, attach to the early Christian charities. While, as has been noted, a generous and helpful spirit toward all was clearly taught, the thoroughness of organization and administration afforded the best possible guarantee of worthy bestowment of aid. First, accurate lists were kept of those who received stated assistance, so that immediate and thorough inspection was possible. Second, the aid afforded was usually of the necessaries of life. Third, the support of such as had abandoned a trade, or otherwise suffered peculiar hardship for the sake of Christ, was of a simple and inexpensive nature, thus reducing to a minimum the temptation to deception and fraud. Fourth, the special pains to have orphans of Christian parents adopted by childless couples, and trained in habits of industry,[2] was a most beneficent provision which kept alive the spirit of purest charity, and most effectually guarded against the increase of pauperism. Fifth, the solemn charge to bishops that they be solicitous to aid the truly needy, but at the same time do all in their power to place every body, so far as possible, in a condition of self-help. The language of the Constitutions is noteworthy: "O bishops, be solicitous about their maintenance, being in nothing wanting to them; exhibiting to orphans the care of parents; to the widows the care of husbands; to those of suitable age, marriage; to the artificer, work; to

Guards against the weakening of self-dependence.

Charge to the bishops.

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[1] Const. Apost., l. iii, c. 15.

[2] Const. Apost., l. iv, c. 1.

the disabled, commiseration; to the strangers, a house; to the hungry, food; to the thirsty, drink; to the naked, clothing; to the sick, visitation; to the prisoners, assistance; . . . to the young man, assistance that he may learn a trade, and may be maintained by the advantage arising from it, . . . that so he may no longer burden any of the brethren; . . . for certainly he is a happy man who is able to support himself, and does not take up the place of the orphan, the stranger, and the widow."[1] These considerations, among many others, would seem to show that the methods of the Christian Church, prior to the rise and prevalence of monasticism, were well calculated to keep alive a genuine charity, and foster a spirit of independence and self-help.

Opportunities for Christian charities.

Probably the times of persecution and of public misfortune afforded the occasions for the most impressive exemplification of the Christian law of love. While the persecutions of the Church were for the most part local, and grew out of a peculiar combination of circumstances, they were often sharp and peculiarly afflictive. The suffering arose from the confiscation of property, from its ruthless destruction through popular outbreaks, from loss of business, and often from exile, imprisonment, or death of those who were the natural guardians of families. The records and the inscriptions alike tell a story honourable to the heroism and to the patient sacrifice of the Church. In the Decian persecution, which proved so disastrous, those who were banished to the mines, or immured in prisons in Carthage, were tenderly cared for by the whole body of believers. Cyprian is most earnest in his words and labours to relieve the wants of such as were under special temptation to apostasy. Persons cast into prison on account of their faith were visited, and supplied with necessary provisions. The unfortunate men who were condemned to the mines, and who were compelled to submit to the cruelty of harsh, unfeeling masters, were not forgotten by the sympathizing Church. The deeper the misery and the greater the peril the more brightly shone the light of charity, and extraordinary care was bestowed upon those whose lot was peculiarly trying. The charities at such times were generous and methodical.[2]

In persecutions.

In times of public misfortune.

So, too, in times of great public misfortune. During the third century the empire was visited by a series of fearful calamities, in which the contrast between Christian and heathen charity was made most conspicuous. The fatal pestilence which appeared in different districts dissolved all natural ties. In Carthage there was a general panic. "All were shuddering, fleeing, shunning the contagion, impiously ex-

In Carthage.

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[1] Const. Apost., l. iv, c. 2.

[2] Cyprian: *Epist.* xxxvi, *ad Clerum.*

posing their own friends, as if with exclusion of the person who was sure to die of the plague one could exclude death also. . . . No one regarded any thing besides his cruel gains. . . . No one did for another what he himself wished to experience."[1] The biographer of Cyprian speaks of his exhortations in the midst of the pestilence: that the Christians should not succour their own brethren alone, but all alike; that this was the Father's method, and the children must be like the Father.[2] In conformity to this spirit the Christians rallied to assist, some by their money, many more by their labours, in caring for the sick and burying the dead, until the calamity was stayed. Like scenes were witnessed in the midst of the pestilence at Alexandria. The letter of Dionysius, then bishop, as found in Eusebius, gives a most graphic picture of the difference of the behaviour of Christians and heathen in the midst of this awful visitation. "They (the Christians) took up the bodies of the saints with their open hands, and on their bosoms, cleansed their eyes and closed their mouths, carried them on their shoulders, and composed their limbs, embraced, clung to them, and prepared them decently with washing and garments; and erelong they themselves shared in the same offices. Those that survived always followed those before them. Among the heathen it was just the reverse. They both repelled those who began to be sick and avoided their nearest friends. They would cast them out into the roads half dead, or throw them, when dead, without burial," etc.[3] These deeds of mercy and of charitable relief were found in all departments of activity, and the teachings and practice of the Church were such as to profoundly impress the most stubborn opponents.

In Alexandria.

Few can doubt that the nature of Christian charities was changed both by the conflict with Montanism, and by the growth of the principle of the merit of good works which had taken firm root in the Church by the middle of the third century. With all its wild extravagance, Montanism was also a protest against the prevailing laxity of discipline, and the easy morals which had begun to rob the Church of her greatest efficiency. In so far Montanism contained a valuable element. But in the attempt to purify the Church by simple discipline lay a radical error. In merely withdrawing from the world, in forbidding any commingling with sinful humanity, in regarding all things forbidden which are not expressly allowed, Montanism was introducing into the Church what is contradictory to the principles which Christ had most clearly inculcated. The lofty exclusiveness of this heresy savoured of a spiritual pride, and would separate its

Principles adverse to Christian charity.

Montanism.

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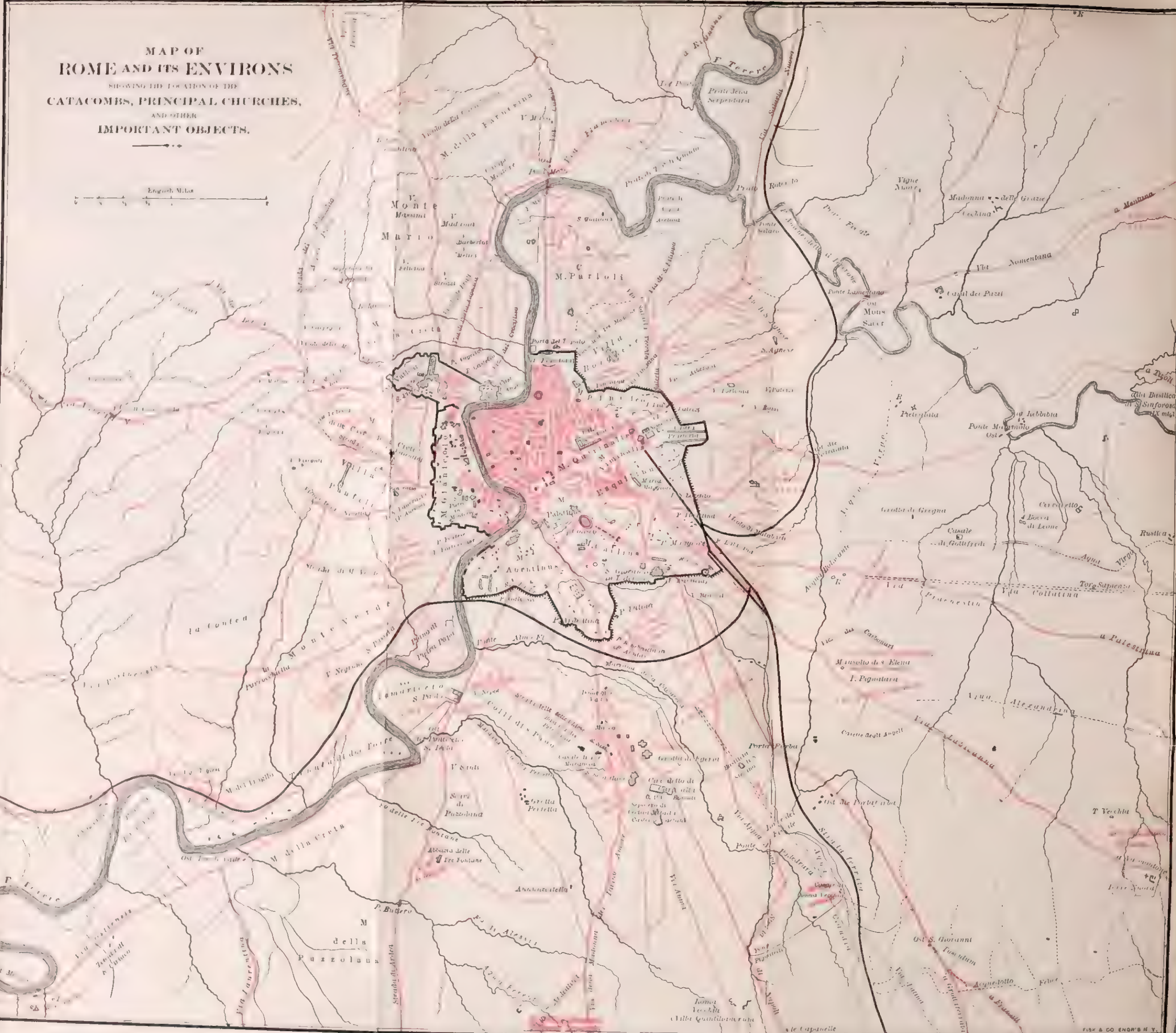
[1] *Vita Cypriani*, c. 9.
[2] *Ibid.*, c. 10.
[3] Eusebius: *Hist. Eccl.*, l. 7, c. 22.

votaries from a fallen world which it was the real mission of Christianity to restore. In its conflict with this stubborn heresy the Church passed beyond the sober mean into the opposite extreme. In the attempt to meet the social and intellectual forces of the empire, and bring them into subjection, the strictness of discipline was relaxed, and the Church became more and more conformed to the prevalent spirit, until she was too often content with the mere ceremonial without the inspiring spirit of worship. The growing strength of the doctrine of good works, which finds expression in Origen and Cyprian, and the substitution of a special priesthood, whose functions were of peculiar sanctity, for the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers who were each and all called to a high and holy calling, tended to tarnish the charities of the Church. No longer was the simple love of Christ the inspiration of Christian beneficence; but the motive of personal advantage to the giver introduced into the work of the Church that selfish element which had tainted the charities of the heathen guilds. Thus the gifts which had before been so bountifully bestowed by individuals were now left to the care of the Church officiary, and almsgiving was now practised for the benefit which might inure to the donor. Also the transition from the simple congregational episcopacy to the more formal and stately diocesan government, tended to confound pure charity with a kind of perfunctory service which was delegated to chosen officials who must deal with masses rather than with individual sufferers.

Doctrine of good works.

The recognition of the Church by the State was a most important fact in the history of Christian charities. Constantine had become convinced of the superiority of the work of the Church, and had largely added to her available resources. As the churches became more magnificent, and public worship more stately through the use of imposing liturgies, so the means for beneficent work were greatly multiplied. But this increase of the wealth of the Church was at the expense of the State. The financial condition of the empire was deplorable. Industries were in a state of decline. The later retirement of multitudes to the monastic life withdrew an immense productive force from society, and the further exemption of the Church properties from taxation added to the burdens of the remaining citizens. Resistance to the inroads of the barbarian tribes brought a further strain upon the tottering empire, while in the track of these invading hordes were ruin and appalling want. The opportunities for the charitable work of the Church thus multiplied on every hand. Nor were the means wanting. Immense sums were poured into her treasuries, but these were largely in the

Influence of union of Church and State.



MAP OF
ROME AND ITS ENVIRONS
SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE
CATACOMBS, PRINCIPAL CHURCHES,
AND OTHER
IMPORTANT OBJECTS.

Decay of pure charities.

form of alms, and did not come, as before, from the free oblations made at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The decay of spiritual life caused the churches to be unvisited by the masses of the people, so that in the writings of the great leaders and preachers are found bitter complaints that the eucharist was neglected for the sake of the circus or the theatre, and that the oblations were greatly diminished.

Rise of hospitals.

The theory that the property of the Church is for the good of the poor was still recognised, and many of the high officials gave all their private fortunes into her coffers. The constantly strengthening doctrine that almsgiving ranked with fasting and prayer as a means of salvation, and had, therefore, a highly meritorious power, further added to the resources available for Church charities. Nor was the Church an unfaithful steward. A new species of charities, in the form of hospitals, appeared during the reign of Constantine. The exact time of their origin is not known; but the presumption is strong that the establishments ordered by Julian, during his attempt to restore heathenism, were in imitation of what had already become familiar to the Christians. It is certain, however, that from the last half of the fourth to the sixth century great numbers of these charities were founded, and were the means of alleviating the distresses of multitudes of the poor and impotent. They spread from the east to the west, where they at first seem to have been much fewer, and to have been held in lower esteem. So numerous and varied were the hospitals in the Eastern Empire that special legislation was required for their regulation and control. Though sometimes the centres of fearful immoralities, they often furnished opportunities of labor for worthy men and women, and were places of refuge for the unfortunate in the chaotic times succeeding the downfall of the Empire.

CHAPTER V.

THE RELATIONS OF THE EARLY CHURCH TO EDUCATION AND GENERAL CULTURE.

The culture of the apostles.

Some officials were Christians.

Could read the law.

WHAT were the intellectual training and attainments of "the Twelve," and of Christ's immediate disciples, it is difficult to determine. It has been quite common to represent them as obscure and unlettered fishermen, or common toilers who belonged to a despised province, were unacquainted with human philosophy, and were untouched by the current discussions. Some facts of the gospel history, and some expressions of Christ and of Paul, seem to justify this view. "For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, *οὐ πολλοὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ σάρκα*, not many mighty, not many noble, *εὐγενεῖς*, are called. But God has chosen the foolish, *τὰ μωρὰ*, things of the world to confound the wise, *τοὺς σοφοὺς*," etc. (1 Cor. i, 26–28). This expression would, however, imply that some of "the called" were of another type; and in the history of the apostolic Church are mentioned a few men of high position, both in the empire and in the Jewish Church, who had accepted Christianity (Acts xiii, 12; xviii, 8; xxii, 3; Rom. xvi, 23). While the Gospel was indeed "good news" to the uneducated, the low-born, and the obscure, who felt the need of a deliverer, it should not be too hastily inferred that the first called apostles were necessarily illiterate. The frequent appeals of Christ to the law show that his apostles were familiar with and able to read it. Josephus and Philo agree in saying that great importance was attached to the *reading* of the law. The noted expression of Josephus, "If any one should question one of us concerning the laws, he would more easily repeat all than his own name," shows that his further statement must be true, that "from our first consciousness we have them, as it were, engraven on our souls."[1] He frequently mentions the zeal manifested by the Jews in the instruction of their children in the law, and claims that Moses commanded to teach them in the elements of knowledge, that they might walk according to the holy statutes, and not transgress them. At the

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[1] *Apion*, ii, 18

Schools in the time of Christ.

advent of Christ, schools had been founded by the Jewish communities for the instruction of the children in the elements of knowledge; but the ultimate object of these was to teach the law. The purpose of the elementary school was, therefore, to prepare the pupils to *read* it, since great stress was laid upon the reading in contradistinction from mere oral instruction.[1] The further duty of children to keep the Sabbath, to observe the great fasts, to join in the prayers in the family worship and at the table, and to attend the national festivals, necessarily furnished invaluable opportunities for a knowledge of the law, and for familiarity with the national history.

The synagogue as an educational institution.

The education thus carefully begun was continued by means of the services of the synagogue. This becomes more important from the fact that the synagogues were primarily places for religious instruction, and not, in the strict sense of the term, for worship. Hence Philo calls them "houses of instruction," where the law and its sacred observance were inculcated. The further fact that in the smaller towns, where the Jewish element was largely in excess, the town senate probably united in themselves both religious and civil authority, would add to the importance of the synagogues as educational institutions. Moreover, the free method of conducting the services in these places of meeting must have been a further means of stimulating thought and of disseminating knowledge. While there was a chief officer, *ἀρχισυνάγωγος*, who cared for the general order of services, preaching, and prayer, no officials were appointed; any one, even minors, might read the Scriptures, and every adult member of the congregation was competent to lead in prayer and expound the lessons. On Sabbath days the ruler of the synagogue was accustomed to invite several, generally not less than seven, to take part in the reading, thus increasing the number of interested partakers in the service, and of persons who were able to pronounce the sacred text; while either the readers themselves, or some competent members of the congregation, accompanied the reading with a continued translation into the Aramaic, which was the dialect understood by the bulk of the common people.

The teaching function.

The importance which is attached to teaching in the writings of Paul is pertinent to an inquiry respecting the degree of intelligence among the early Christians. It is interesting to notice the emphasis which is laid upon this function, *διδάσκειν*, *διδασκαλία*, in the writings of the New Testament. By Paul it is mentioned with prophecy, ministering, exhortation, giving, and ruling (Rom. xii, 6–8). Teaching, *διδασκαλία*, is elsewhere (1 Cor. xii, 28) third in the enumeration of special charisms, outranking even miracles, *δυνάμεις*, gifts of healing, helps, governments, and diversities of tongues. This is not to be accounted as merely the opinion of an apostle whose opportunities for understanding contemporary thought, both Jewish and pagan, had been exceptional, but rather it is in accord with the method of Christ himself, whose ministry was largely a ministry of teaching. Whether going about all Galilee (Matt. iv, 23; Luke xiii, 10), or through all Jewry (Luke xxiii, 5), or sitting daily in the temple (Matt. xxvi, 5; John vii, 14), or addressing his more immediate disciples on the deeper meaning of the law (Matt. v, 2), or in the more astounding miracles which he wrought, or in the foremost place given to teaching in the great commission, Jesus everywhere recognises the prime importance of instructing men in regard to the truths pertaining to his kingdom.

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[1] *v.* Schürer: *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, vol. ii, div. ii, p. 50.

Christ's method.

Closely connected with this is the character of the epistles which the apostles addressed to the various churches respecting doctrines and duties. It must be recollected that most of these letters were written to infant societies within a generation from the crucifixion of Christ, that they were addressed to men and women who may represent the average culture of the Church, before it was compelled to adjust itself to the new conditions which persecutions or imperial patronage afterward created. It is true that the great body of the matter of these epistles is truth of an eminently practical character, easily understood, and well suited to establish the community of believers in faith and all holy living. But when we study some portions of Paul's letters to the Romans, to the Galatians, and to the Corinthians, or the epistle to the Hebrews, we are confronted with discussions of some of the most abstruse problems of religious philosophy, to whose interpretation the best minds of the Christian centuries have been devoted. The profound teachings of this apostle respecting the relation of the Jewish economy to the kingdom of heaven among men, the failure of natural religion to bring salvation, the bondage of the fallen man to sin, the relations of law to grace, the justification of the soul by faith, the subtle truths pertaining to the resurrection body, and the final triumph of the redeemed man, must be accounted among the most important and difficult themes which can engage human thought. Peter speaks of some things in these letters as "hard to be understood, *δυσνόητα*, which they that are unlearned, *οἱ ἀμαθεῖς*, and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction" (2 Pet. iii, 16). But it is not presumable that an

Exalted character of the apostolic writings.

apostle would write in language not capable of being appreciated either by the mass of the disciples, or by those who had special direction of their religious education, thus defeating the very purpose of the epistles. Hence we are led to believe that in the apostolic Church there must have been a fair proportion of men and women to whom the deeper and more abstruse discussions of Paul were not only intelligible, but were the means of moral and religious edification.

The Christian duty to the family.

In the examination of a question respecting which so little evidence survives, the Christian idea of the family, and the sacred duty of care for children, to which reference has elsewhere been made (Book IV, chap. i), must not be omitted. The effect of Christianity was the awakening and quickening of the intellectual and moral powers. With new views of duty and destiny came new motives to care for the young. The very atmosphere of the Christian household was redolent of influences most truly stimulating and ennobling. The mother nourished the child, the community cared for the orphaned. The simplicity of tastes, so uniformly inculcated by the Christian fathers, turned the thoughts from the merely outward and accidental to the spiritual and essential. The family education must, therefore, have been of extreme importance, and had its root in the very genius of the Christian system. The duty to behave toward each other in a manner mutually helpful and saving, because each belonged to a family with God as father, was solemn and imperative, thus furnishing the necessary conditions of the truest and fullest education.

The secular schools.

For merely secular education the Christians of the first and second centuries depended upon heathen schools. These were accessible to those who could pay a moderate price for instruction, since the calling of a common teacher in the second century was regarded as one of great toil and of very limited income. Liberal emperors had encouraged education, and numerous schools had been established under their auspices. Julius Cæsar had attracted many Greek teachers to Rome, where instruction in the language was greatly coveted, and Augustus became a liberal patron of polite learning. In the second century Antoninus Pius had provided for the establishment of schools in all parts of the empire, sustaining at the public expense ten teachers of medicine, five rhetoricians, and five grammarians in the largest cities; seven teachers of medicine, four rhetoricians, and four grammarians in those of medium population; and five teachers of medicine, three rhetoricians, and three grammarians in the smaller towns.[1] While these provisions were entirely inadequate to satisfy the public needs, they nevertheless encouraged the citizens of the empire to greater efforts for the care of their children. But the interest in education was already declining. There had been a marked decadence since the beginning of the first century. The military and civil service had fallen more and more into the hands of the low-born, and thus the need of culture as a preparation for public life was felt to be less urgent. In the West a vicious pronunciation became increasingly prevalent, and many proofs of growing illiteracy and vulgarity are still preserved in the literature and in the inscriptions. It is said that while quæstor, Hadrian, during the reading of an address, was derided by the senators on account of his blunders in the use of the language, and that M. Aurelius was not understood when he gave commands in Latin, because his elegant pronunciation was entirely foreign to his officers.[1]

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[1] Friedländer: Bd. i, s. 281.

Education declining.

The feelings of the Christians respecting the attendance upon the pagan schools were various. It was impossible for their children to gain the elements of a secular education elsewhere, since the condition of the first Christians forbade the establishment of separate schools. The slender testimony extant leads to the conclusion that Christian parents were accustomed to patronize the heathen teachers. Yet the early fathers are perplexed with the problem. Especially Tertullian recognises the serious embarrassments felt by both pupils and schoolmasters. He sees in the teaching of the schools, as in other kinds of business, the taint of idolatry. He discriminates, however, between teaching and learning the heathen literature. "Learning literature is allowable for believers, rather than teaching, for the principle of learning and of teaching is different. If a believer teach literature, while he is teaching doubtless he commends, while he delivers he affirms, while he recalls he bears testimony to, the praises of idols interspersed therein. . . . But when a believer learns these things, if he is already capable of understanding what idolatry is, he neither receives nor allows them; much more if he is not yet capable."[2] He therefore hesitates to condemn the patronizing of the heathen schools by the Christian, because "to him necessity is attributed as an excuse, because he has no other way to learn."[3] Cyprian is firm in enforcing the differences between Christian and heathen morality;[4] and it is clear from the taunts of Celsus that in his day there was among the Christians a widespread inattention, and even repugnance, to heathen learning.

Embarrassments of the Christians.

Tertullian's views.

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[1] Friedländer: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iii, ss. 352, 353.

[2] *de Idol.*, c. 10.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *ad Anton.*, c. 16.

The catechumenate.

The earliest educational institution in the Church was the catechumenate. This was not intended for children only, but for all who would be admitted to full membership, and to a complete enjoyment of Church privileges. Primarily this had reference to instruction in the principles of the Christian faith, and it is probable that little, if any, strictly secular education was at first connected with it. The bishops regarded it as incumbent upon them to care for the training of their flocks in the principles of their religion; yet, from some of the works which have been preserved, it is evident that the discussions sometimes involved the highest problems which can engage human attention,—the doctrines of the Holy Spirit, the Incarnation, Divine Providence, the last Things, etc. From this it may be safely inferred that the hearers must have passed far beyond the stage of elementary training, and were able to discuss and master these high themes. The acceptance of Christianity by some men well versed in the pagan philosophy led the earliest apologists to employ Greek learning in the defence of the peculiarities of the Christian system. Such was Justin Martyr, who, after conversion, devoted his powers to the preparation of Apologies for Christianity, addressing both, as now appears, to Antoninus Pius, one of the most cultivated emperors of the century. His thought and method are distinctively Greek. Christianity is the highest reason, and he who lives in conformity to reason is a Christian. Whatever, therefore, is rational is Christian, and whatever is Christian is in accordance with the best reason. He even goes so far as to declare that all, in every dispensation, who have thus lived in conformity to the deepest reason, are Christians in every thing but name. Justin thus endeavours to reconcile the Christian system with the best teaching of the Platonic philosophy, and is the first one of the fathers to suggest the method for the harmony of reason and revelation, and for the use of Greek learning in the Christian schools.

The use of Greek learning.

The school of Alexandria.

The most famous catechetical school was that of Alexandria, which had a succession of noted teachers who deeply influenced the theology of the Church. While tradition ascribes its founding to St. Mark, its first authentic teacher was Pantænus, who flourished about A. D. 180. He was succeeded by a long line of instructors, of whom Clement and Origen were the most conspicuous. This school was not for children; rather it was after the type of the schools of the Jewish rabbis and of the Greek philosophers. It was a place of inquiry and discussion. The room or hall stood open from morning to night, and probably all who wished had free access to the master. In addition to conversations, Its method.

and free question and answer to any who might come, there appears to have been a progressive course for those who desired more systematic training in the doctrines of the Christian religion. This is suggested by the treatises of Clement and Origen. They seem to have been arranged on the plan of a progressive unfolding of the truth, and a growing experience of its saving power.[1] Since this school was free of charge for tuition, it was visited by multitudes of both men and women, and became the means of instructing many thoughtful pagans in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Especially under the direction of Origen, who at a later period devoted his entire attention to advanced instruction, were eminent heathen persuaded of the truth of Christianity, who also made valuable gifts to the school. Prominent among these was Ambrosius, a Gnostic, who contributed a valuable library, and promoted the exegetical studies of Origen by the aid of copyists, readers, and secretaries. In connection with theology and philosophy, rhetoric and mathematics, physics and astronomy, and even grammar and music, were taught.

This fraught with dangers.

But the attempt of the Alexandrian theologians to reconcile the supernaturalism of the Gospel with the pagan philosophy was attended with peculiar dangers. Not only did the Christian teachers encounter the purer and nobler principles of Platonism, but the eclecticism of the Neo-Platonic school, and the bewildering syncretism of the Jewish and Christian Gnosticism. The earnest desire of Origen to reconcile these conflicting elements, within and without the Church, led him to embrace some extravagant doctrines which had but slender scriptural authority, and to originate an allegorical method of interpretation of the Scriptures whose threefold sense, literal, moral, and spiritual, might lead to conclusions as untenable as the wildest vagaries of Gnosticism.

The school of Antioch.

At a very early date an important institution was established at Antioch. This differed somewhat from the catechetical school of Alexandria, inasmuch as it was not under the direction and official oversight of the bishop, but was rather a collection of cloister schools, inside and outside the city, for the special training of the monks and clergy. Their curriculum of studies was much narrower. Instead of philosophy and nearly the whole round of human knowledge, as taught at Alexandria, the schools of Antioch were almost exclusively engaged in the study of the Scriptures. The eminent teachers, Dorotheus and Lucian of Samosata, introduced a more just and rational interpretation, and became the instructors of some of the ablest bishops of the Church. Also at Edessa, Cæsarea, Nisibis, etc., were flourishing schools, whose influence upon the thought and doctrines of the Church was most important.

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[1] Notice especially the difference of teaching in Clement's *Cohortatio ad Græcos*, *Pædagogus*, and *Stromata*. These progress from the elements of a Christian life to the more advanced stages of thought and experience.

More favourable opinion of pagan culture.

The recognition of the Church by Constantine brought no immediate change in the feeling of the leading fathers respecting heathen philosophy, or in relation to the propriety of patronizing heathen schools. There is abundant evidence that some of the most distinguished Christian theologians of the fourth and fifth centuries received much of their training under pagan masters. The education of Jerome, Augustine, and Chrysostom, as well as that of Gregory Nazianzen and Basil with Julian in the schools of Athens, is illustrative of the opinion of the best Christian families respecting the excellent discipline of the heathen teachers. Nevertheless, there is noticed a feeling of the importance of a distinctively Christian education under the direction of the Church. By the middle of the fourth century this conviction had greatly strengthened, and the Christian teachers had become so numerous and influential as to direct the attention of the Emperor Julian to these schools, which were regarded by him as most serious hinderances to his efforts to restore the pagan religion. The attempt to remove these teachers from the public schools, and its influence on the development of a distinctive Christian poetry, have been elsewhere traced.[1]

A Christian theory of education.

The further effect was to develop a theory of education which may be properly denominated Christian. Its chief elements are found in the writings of Chrysostom, but it is more completely systematized by Basil. Both these fathers placed a very high value upon education. "Do not attempt to make your son a mere orator, but train him in Christian wisdom. Every thing depends upon character, not upon words; this alone will make him strong in the kingdom of God, and secure for him the true riches. Do not be over careful respecting his language, but purify his heart. I do not say this to hinder you from giving your son a literary training, but to guard against expending all energy and thought on this alone." Such is the wise advice of Chrysostom to Christian parents. Placing a high estimate upon the influence of example, he exhorts parents and guardians to see to it that their children and wards are placed under teachers whose pure lives will in themselves be the best educating power. "Much of the evil in children comes from our neglect, from the fact that we have not from the first inculcated the fear and love of God.

Power of example.

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[1] *v.* Book I, chap. viii.

We interpose no objection to the son's attending the theatre, and make no effort that he visit the church; if one now and then is found at the public services it is more as an amusement than for purposes of worship." By Chrysostom the mother is regarded as the best teacher, and, next to her, the cloister schools are the most important means of Christian education.

Basil's teaching.

Basil shows about an equal enthusiasm for Greek culture and for the monastic life. "The Christian must seek the treasures of the life to come. To this life the Scriptures are designed to lead by instructing us in the deep mysteries of the faith. But in order to understand these our powers must be cultivated by every possible means—by intercourse with the poets, the orators, the grammarians, and with every one who may give us insight into the deeper truths pertaining to the kingdom of God." The principles which Basil formulated for the government of the monks in their schools contain much of permanent value.

Jerome's partiality for classic writings.

The teachings of Jerome respecting the value of pagan writings were still more influential. Notwithstanding his extreme asceticism, the influence of his early training is manifest in his own studies, and in the high value which he places upon the literature of pagan antiquity. His severe strictures on the ecclesiastics of his day for neglecting the study of the Scriptures, and for passing their time in reading low comedies and love-songs, cannot be construed as condemning the study of the best heathen classics, since even after his retirement to Bethlehem he established a school in connection with the monastery, and gave instruction in grammar and in the Roman poets.[1] The later views of Jerome were influenced by his ardent devotion to the monastic life, and probably by his alarm at the fearful decadence of faith and morals throughout the empire. His views respecting the education of daughters are characterized by excessive severity,[2] and his condemnation of high Church officials, who instruct their sons in the heathen authors and in low comedy at the neglect of the teachings of the Church, is most unsparing.[3]

His later severity.

Augustine's views.

The contributions of Augustine to the work of education were many and valuable. His own training had been most thorough; and while in some of his writings he regrets the time wasted in reading the trivial and debauching works of pagan authors, he elsewhere recommends the classics for the valuable truths therein found, which are in accord with the Christian system, and the study of the rhetoricians for the benefits experienced in fitting the preacher for his work.

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[1] *v.* Ebert: *Geschichte der Christlich-lateinischen Literatur*, s. 182.

[2] *v.* Schmidt: *Die Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts*, Cöthen, 1863, ss. 136, 137.

[3] *v.* Com. in Ephes. vi, 4.

Effects of the barbarian invasions.

In the West the destructive barbarian invasions had almost completely annihilated the public institutions which had been maintained by the government; hence the standard of education became low in the extreme. Instead of the imperial schools, the cathedral schools, under the direction of the bishops, then undertook the training of the youth. The general result was a further inattention to the works of pagan authors, a growing distrust of secular learning, and a narrow and inadequate training in most of the monastic institutions of the West. "Science became the servant of theology, and thereby lost its freedom and independent activity."[1] The inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries reveal the growing illiteracy. Their wide departure from classic forms, the many gross errors in orthography, the interchange of labials, etc., the inattention to grammatical laws, the barbarous commingling of Greek and Latin characters and words, furnish painful evidence of educational and literary decadence.[2]

Education in the Eastern Church.

In the Byzantine Empire and in the Oriental Church the culture and training were largely influenced by theological thought, while the education of the masses was far below what the liberal provisions of the emperors should have realized. The doctrinal controversies and the fierce rivalries of factions diverted attention from the care of the people. The schools and libraries supported by the imperial government had been professedly reared on classic and Christian foundations, but the old Greek spirit had departed, and Christianity had degenerated into a lifeless form. The grandest service done by the later Oriental Church was to preserve the pagan classics and the ancient works of art, which at a later period were to be most important aids in the revival of learning in Western Europe.

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[1] Schmidt: *Op. cit.*, s. 145.

[2] See the inscriptions contained in Plates iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii and their translation in Appendix. These will supply a most valuable comment on the condition of literature and education for the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries.

CHAPTER VI.

CARE FOR THE DEAD IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

FROM time immemorial the peoples from whom the converts of the early Church were drawn had shown careful thought for their dead. They manifested deep interest in the repose and destination of the soul, and maintained a close relationship between the living and the departed. The Old Testament Scriptures contain many touching accounts of the anxiety of the Jews relative to the places of their sepulture. The embalming in the case of Jacob and Joseph, the carrying of Jacob to his home to be buried in the cave of the field of Machpelah, the grievous mourning for seven days, are indications of burial customs which seem to have been widely observed. The washing and embalming of the body, the winding in a cloth, the wrapping about with linen bands, the covering of the face with a napkin, the use of costly spices, etc., are found in the account of the burial of Christ. To have this care for the dead was the sacred duty of the living. To remain unburied was considered the most dreadful calamity; hence the most fearful curse pronounced upon the violators of God's law is that their bodies shall be left a prey for the fowls of heaven, or as filth in the streets, or as dung in the fields (Psa. lxxix, 2; Jer. ix, 22; xvi, 4). Even enemies and executed criminals received burial before sunset. The custom of burial feasts seems to have been quite common among the Jews (Deut. xxvi, 14; Jer. xvi, 7; Hos. ix, 14; *et al.*). The lamentations for seven and even thirty days, the rending of the garments, the scattering of dust and ashes upon the head, were common; yet the law interdicted certain excessive exhibitions of grief, because of their connection with the practices of the heathen nations around them (Lev. xix, 27, 28; Deut. xiv, 1).

Jewish burial customs.

Burial was the almost universal custom among the Hebrews. Only in exceptional cases was burning practiced, and even then the bones were to be gathered and interred. That burning was abhorrent to the Hebrew mind appears from the fact that it was adjudged a punishment to be visited upon those who had been guilty of heinous crimes (Lev. xx, 14; xxi, 9). Since the law regarded the dead body as a source of ceremonial defilement, the places of burial were somewhat removed from the dwellings of

Burial and not burning.

the living. While there was a cemetery, or place of public interment, there was ever a great desire among the Jews to gather the deceased members of the family into close proximity; this is seen from the fact that "to be gathered to his fathers" is equivalent to one's death and burial. Hence, even after the dispersion, the Jews strove to have separate cemeteries, and this desire measurably continues to the present day.

The location and form of the grave depended upon circumstances. Frequently in Palestine the numerous natural grottos in the limestone rock afforded a place of sepulture, either by hewing out spaces in the face of the rock, or by making perpendicular excavations. Three kinds of graves have been distinguished by investigators: the body was either laid upon a bench or shelf hewn out of the rock, over which an arch was constructed, or placed in a box-like cavity made in the wall, or laid away in an excavation in the floor of the grotto.[1] The marking of these places of sepulture by monuments of a costly and artistic nature was not common among the early Hebrews. A few accounts of the erection of a stone or pillar are met, and, in later times, of monuments possessing some artistic merit, also some attempts at ornamentation. This is especially noticeable in the Jewish catacombs upon the Appian Way in Rome. In these are galleries and chambers, and some attempts at artistic adornment by painting, and the incorporation into the monuments of elements which are plainly heathen, thus showing that the Jews of the dispersion were more ready to admit into their art principles which were interdicted during their independent national life.

Three kinds of graves.

Jewish monuments.

Among the Greeks there was an equal care for the dead. In Athens, by statutory provision, one seeking to fill high public office must first show that he had been guilty of no neglect with respect to the burial of his parents. The refusal of enemies to permit the burial of those who had fallen in battle was terribly avenged. When the body could not be secured, it was regarded as a duty to erect some monument, and over any corpse found in the way at least a handful of earth must be strewn. The preparation of the body for burial was somewhat similar to that practised by the Jews. To close the eyes, to wash and anoint the body, to array in white garments, and to bedeck it with flowers and wreaths were the usual practices among the Greeks. The mode of sepulture differed at different periods of their history. In the historic period burial was most usual, although burning was also practised. In

Greek sentiment.

Both burying and burning practised.

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[1] *v.* Tobler: *Golgotha*, s. 201. Wilson: *Picturesque Palestine*, pp. 95. 96.

Sparta alone cremation was common, and this only during the period of Roman rule. On sanitary grounds burning was instituted for a season, but when the extraordinary circumstances passed away the return to burying was quite general. Also burning was practiced in case of soldiers who had fallen in battle on distant fields, in order that their ashes might be more easily transported to their native country.

Individual tombs.

A common burial-plat was used only by the poor; the rich or well-to-do citizens had separate tombs either along the most public streets, or in grounds ornamented with trees and works of art. The tomb was usually of the nature of a chamber of sufficient size to admit the friends, and the body was laid upon a shelf of masonry. The Greeks wrought out their sarcophagi with equal pains on every side, whereas the Romans only cared for the front and ends: this shows that the Greek sarcophagus occupied a position in the centre of the burial-chamber, while the Roman was designed to be placed against the wall. The purpose of the Greeks seemed to be to disarm death of its terrors, as far as possible, by placing in the tomb objects which were most familiar and dear to the deceased while living, or by decorating the burial chamber with various ornaments, as vases, lamps, weapons, etc. The numerous elegant vases found in Greek graves now constitute a special department of art history. The decorations of the monuments themselves were chiefly in plastic; sometimes, especially in case of cenotaphs, painting was used. The subjects treated in these works are chiefly taken from the popular mythology. They sometimes represent the ruthlessness of death in robbing us of our treasures, as when the Harpies are sculptured, but generally they are of a more cheerful character, and express the leading thought of the Greek mind that the design of a monument is to keep alive the memory of the dead, rather than to point to a hereafter, and to describe the state of the departed.

Cheerfulness attempted.

Roman customs.

The Romans regarded burial as a thing rightfully due to all. Even criminals who had been put to death were to be cared for by the surviving members of the family, and in case of those who had fallen in battle for their country the state took the place of the family, and provided for their decent sepulture. This concern is also manifested in the fact that the living were careful to purchase plats and erect appropriate tombs, and to make testamentary provision for keeping alive their memories by the yearly celebration of the burial feasts. Rich patrons prepared places of common sepulture for clients, freedmen, and slaves, and it was considered a severe punishment to deprive these persons of the privilege. The indigent classes and small traders also organized themselves into clubs, *collegia*, for social or other purposes, but they were chiefly concerned for the appropriate burial of the deceased members. The legal provisions for the protection of the graves only embodied the average Roman sentiment. Every spot where a body was buried was judged sacred. The boundaries of the cemeteries and of the individual tombs were carefully defined. The *area* was regarded as inalienable, passing to the heirs in perpetuity. The removal of the dead was forbidden, and only by express permission could this be effected. The violation and robbing of graves and the mutilation of monuments were visited with most severe penalties, and many inscriptions indulge in fearful execrations of those who may profane the tombs.[1]

Legal provisions.

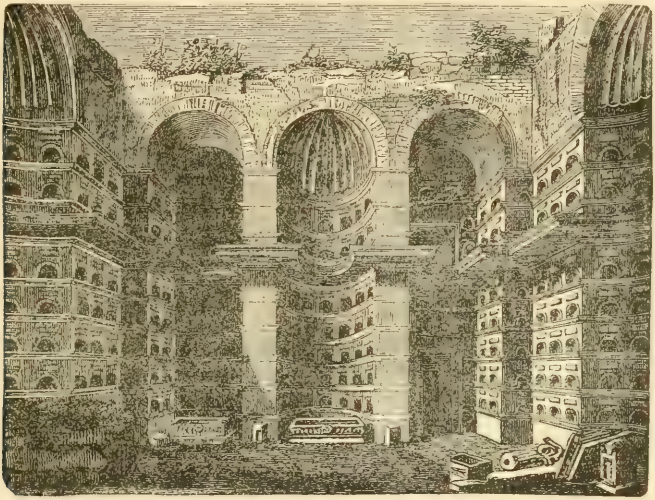

Fig. 141.—A Roman columbarium.

The method of disposing of the dead varied at different periods of Roman history. From numerous considerations it is evident that burial was the early Roman custom. In the law of the Twelve Tables both inhumation and burning are recognised. This double practice continued into the imperial period, but cremation had doubtless been promoted by the growing desire for display on the one hand, and by the certainty that thus a member of a *collegium* would have an urn in the *columbarium*. The Roman columbarium (Fig. 141), so named from

Both inhumation and burning practiced.

Columbarium.

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[1] For examples on Christian tombs, *v.* p. 256, n. 3.

its resemblance to a dove-cote, consisted of a building in whose interior walls were parallel rows of semi-circular niches, in which were placed the cinerary urns. The arrangement in successive rows and sections permitted the gathering of the ashes of the members of a family or of a club into close proximity, and the easy identification of their place of sepulture. Over the niches were the names of the deceased, either upon plates or sculptured in the wall, and words as "Eutuchii," "Pancratii," etc., indicated the sodality to which they belonged. Cremation never became a universal practice among the Romans. Under the Antonines, on the contrary, burial was very frequent, and in the third and fourth centuries it became quite common among the best families of Rome.

Sepulture outside the city walls.

The provision of the Twelve Tables, that nobody should be burned or buried within the city walls, was reenacted with even greater stringency in the imperial period. This led to the custom of arranging the graves along the most frequented streets outside the city gates, thus keeping alive the thought of the dead by placing their tombs where they could be viewed by the passing multitudes. Thus opportunity was also given to gratify the growing desire for luxury. Since the Romans avoided, so far as possible, a common cemetery, but aimed to be grouped into families or sodalities, the building of imposing tombs along the highways, and the careful decoration of the *areas*, were the natural results of the attempt of the great families and collegia to rival each other in magnificent display. The tombs afforded the best examples of Roman art, hence the *Via Appia* and the *Via Latina* became the favorite drives of the Roman nobility. Nor was this practice confined to the capital. The excavations at Pompeii reveal a like arrangement in a comparatively small provincial town. These have brought to light the street leading from Pompeii to Herculaneum. It (*v.* Fig. 142) proves to be the Via Appia of Pompeii, since it is bordered with tombs in the best art of the period, not, indeed, equalling in magnificence the gorgeous mausoleums of Rome, yet clearly illustrating the Roman conception of the use of mortuary monuments. Such, briefly, were the burial customs of the peoples from whom early Christianity gained its converts. It is presumable that here, too, as in other questions which have come under examination, the new religion would not so much create absolutely new customs as adopt those at hand, and give to them a deeper significance in accordance with the clearer revelations of truth which were vouchsafed by Christ to his Church.

Monuments on main streets.

The Christians shared the common desire to care for their dead.

Christian care for the dead.

While the early Christian literature furnishes no formal treatise on the method of burial, the scattered notices are so numerous as to leave no doubt as to the Christian practice. In common with the non-Christian peoples, they regarded the neglect of the dead with special horror. This is clearly seen from the fact that the refusal of the civil authorities to deliver to their friends the bodies of those who had suffered martyrdom was felt to be a matter of peculiar hardship.[1]

There seems to have been in the minds of some of the Church an apprehension that the appropriate burial of the body was necessary in order to a share in the resurrection; this greatly added to the affliction felt when the ashes of friends were widely scattered. So greatly disturbed were many, that the Christian teachers were constrained to correct this false notion by careful instruction respecting the doctrine of the resurrection. Nevertheless, the Church insisted upon decent burial whenever possible, and strongly condemned neglect of this sacred duty.[2] The importance attaching to Christian burial is also illustrated by the system of penitential discipline. Interment in Christian cemeteries was absolutely refused to unbelievers, and those under the ban of the Church looked with peculiar horror upon their exclusion from the common resting-place.

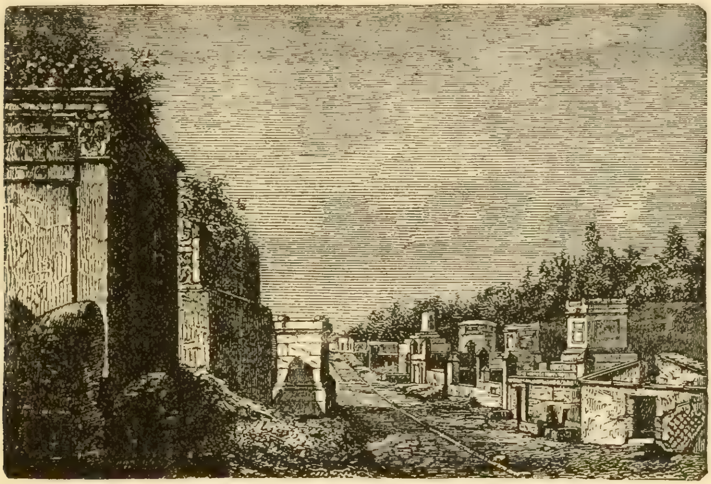

Fig. 142.—A street of tombs leading from Herculaneum Gate, Pompeii.

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[1] *v.* Eusebius: *Hist. Eccl.*, l. v, c. 1, where the account of the persecution in Lyons and Vienne is given, and the casting of the ashes of the martyrs into the Rhone.

[2] This is exemplified in the conduct of the Alexandrian Christians during the fearful pestilence in that city, to which reference has elsewhere been made.

Inhumation and not burning.

The Christians buried their dead, never burned them. It is plain that this practice was influenced by their faith in the resurrection, as well as by the fact that they shared the common belief of antiquity that man could have no separate spiritual existence independent of corporeal substance. In most respects the Christians accepted the common methods of preparing the dead for burial, but a notable difference is seen in the fact that while the Roman separated the classes, or at most allowed only members of the same family or sodality to be buried near each other, the Christian burial places recognised no such distinctions. All classes of the Christian society perpetuated after death that fellowship which they had realized while living. This is noticed more especially in the West, while in the East and in Egypt single graves were usual.

The family idea preserved.

No secrecy necessary.

The earlier view, that the Christians were compelled to find secret places for the interment of their dead, has been shown to be quite erroneous. At first they were looked upon by the government as only a particular school of the Jews; hence they shared all the privileges and immunities which had from time to time been granted to the Jews. Their burial places were, therefore, adjudged equally sacred with others. At a later period, when the distinction between Jews and Christians was more clearly recognised, the latter were, at Rome especially, looked upon as one of the many collegia, banded together for special objects, but most of all to care for the decent burial of their fellow-members. Such burial clubs were specially encouraged, and were granted areas in which their dead could be interred, and where proper *cellæ* could be built for the celebration of the funeral feasts.[1] It is only in harmony with the Roman reverence for the dead that, while many of the collegia were suppressed from political considerations, the burial clubs were never disturbed.

Burial clubs.

Origin of the Roman catacombs.

The origin of the catacombs, at Rome and elsewhere, was most simple and natural. Like other burial clubs the Christians obtained an area which was devoted to sacred purposes, and the excavations below that area were begun and increased as the Church multiplied. The entrance to the catacombs was usually well known. No concealment was necessary, since the law judged all burial areas sacred. It has been satisfactorily established that among the Roman Christians of the first and second centuries were persons of social position and wealth, who gave land for purposes of Christian burial. The cemetery thus founded would take the name of its chief patron. It is believed that the grounds on which most of the Roman catacombs were excavated originally belonged to private persons, whose names would in themselves afford partial protection against abuse.

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[1] Under Alexander Severus, about A.D. 230, the Christians of Rome were granted the privileges of a burial association, *collegium funeraticium*.

Description of catacombs.

The entrance to them was usually by an excavation in the side of a hill, or by a staircase; in that to Santa Domitilla (Fig. 143), these are combined. For burial purposes narrow passages from two and a half to four feet wide, and from seven to ten feet high, were made in the soft tufa rock, in the faces of which rectangular cavities, each large enough to receive a body, were hewn. These ran lengthwise of the passages, and may be likened to so many shelves upon which bodies might rest. Several rows or tiers of graves, *loculi*, sometimes as many as seven, rose one above another (Fig. 144). As the demands for space increased, from the main corridors side aisles were constructed, thus making a complicated net-work of passages which none but the initiated were able to thread. In some of the catacombs these aggregate several miles in length. The accompanying plan (Fig. 145) of a portion of the Catacomb of St. Agnes, at Rome, will enable the reader to form some conception of the complexity of the system. Besides the multiplicity of aisles, the capacity of the catacombs was further enlarged by excavations at different levels, thus forming several stories (*piani*), in some cases as many as five, communicating with each other by staircases cut in the rock ; in each story was a like complexity of passages. Thus the entire area was honeycombed with graves to the depth of from twenty

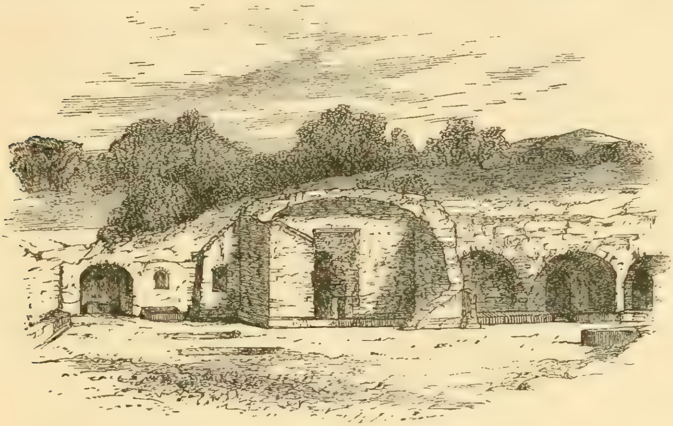

Fig. 143.—The entrance to Santa Domitilla at Rome.

Extent of catacombs.

to forty feet. The number of Christian catacombs already explored at Rome is fifty-four. It is impossible to state the aggregate length of the passages, or the number of the dead therein interred.[1] It has, however, been estimated that there are between five and six hundred miles of these narrow streets, which contained from five to six millions of graves.

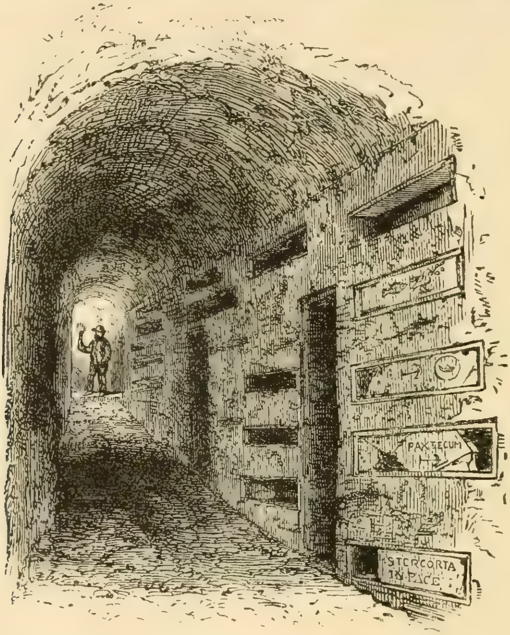

Fig. 144.—A gallery with tombs, inscriptions, and symbols.

The method of Christian burial differed from that of the heathen, in that the latter allowed the body to be in view, while the former closed the grave, *loculus*, with a slab of marble carefully set in cement. This practice of the Christians came from the fact that the catacombs were often visited, and the effluvium from the dead bodies must be guarded against. At the intersec-

The grave closed.

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[1] Michele Stefano de Rossi gives the following results for the belt of catacombs within three miles of the gate of Servius: 1. Surface of tufa beds, capable of being excavated into catacombs, sixty-seven million feet. 2. Surface actually excavated into catacombs from one to four stories deep, twenty-two million five hundred feet; more than a square mile. 3. Aggregate length of galleries, calculated on the average construction of six different catacombs, eight hundred and sixty-six kilometers, or five hundred and eighty-seven geographical miles. Lanciani: *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 319.

tions of the main passage-ways, rooms of considerable dimensions were formed, which often became the burial places of noted families, or of persons of peculiar sanctity. These were sometimes enlarged and decorated with paintings in fresco, or adorned with sculptured sarcophagi. Sometimes, also, a doorway led into an independent chamber or succession of chambers, *cubiculum*, *cubicula*, which seem, for the most part, to have been family vaults. The size and arrangement of these rooms would suggest a place for the gathering of a family to keep the funeral feasts, rather than a common meeting for the celebration of the eucharist. There can be little doubt that during times of severe persecution, when Christians were forbidden to visit the cemeteries, the entrances to the catacombs, which were before well known, were concealed, and the larger chambers were sometimes used for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. But the limited space in these rooms forbids the supposition that the catacombs could have been used as places of assembly for ordinary worship by the large numbers of Christians in Rome.

Cubicula.

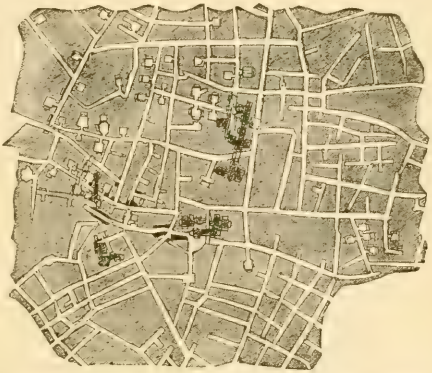

Fig. 145.—Plan of a part of the Catacomb of Santa Agnese, Rome.

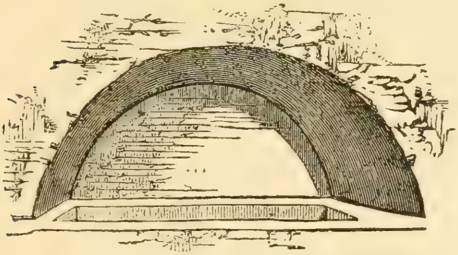

Fig. 146.—An arcosolium from the catacombs.

The tombs were of different sizes and forms, according to the ability of the family or the prominence of the deceased. The ordinary form was the shelf, hewn into the face of the rock. At times tombs were built up with masonry and covered with slabs of marble, as may now be seen in some modern churches. Again, an arched recess was excavated, and then a vault was hewn in the rock below to receive one or more bodies, which were separated from each other by partitions of stone. This form of tomb was called *arcosolium* (*v.* Fig. 146).

How lighted.

To naturally light all these intricate windings was evidently impossible. From some frescos which have been preserved it is seen that the *fossores*, or those who excavated the catacombs, worked by the light of torches or lamps. This must have been the usual method of pursuing their laborious task. But for the purposes of ventilation, as well as of lighting the larger rooms which were used for special services, shafts were extended through the soil to the surface. These were called *luminaria* (*v.* Fig. 147). When the location of the catacombs must be concealed, these were small, but in times of peace to the Church they were much enlarged.

The many miles of subterranean passages hewn out of the tufa rock, the millions of bodies laid away with tenderest care in these natural sarcophagi, whose enclosing plates of marble were inscribed with words and symbols indicative of the former faith and present happiness of disciples who wait the voice of their Lord to awaken them to eternal life, must continue to be the never-ceasing wonder of the Christian scholar, and remain as the most impressive example of the religious care of the early Christians for their dead. If we cannot speak of "The Church of the Catacombs," we can speak with entire truthfulness of a "Theology of the Catacombs," which may be formulated from the evidences herein contained.

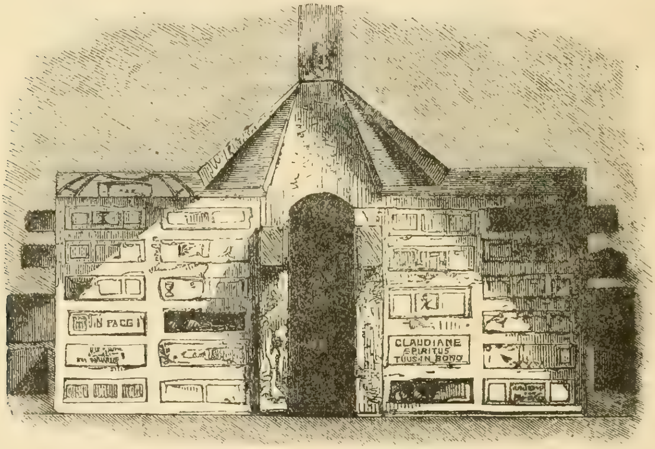

Fig. 147.—The section of a chamber and a luminarium in the Catacomb SS. Marcellino e Pietro, Rome.

Theology of the catacombs.

While the Roman catacombs are more extensive than any elsewhere found, those of Naples, Milan, Syracuse, Alexandria, Tombs of Central Syria.

etc., likewise contain many objects which have proved of great value in the study of early Christian art, life, and doctrine. As before said, it was the most usual custom of the Eastern churches to use single and isolated tombs. The discoveries of de Vogüé have demonstrated a condition of great prosperity among the churches of Central Syria during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. Many of the single monuments are elegant and imposing, while the entrances to some of the cemeteries have features reminding us of the Roman catacombs. Fig. 148 is a view of the exterior of a tomb at El-Barah, Central Syria.[1] The exterior somewhat closely resembles that of the Catacomb of Santa Domitilla (Fig 143) ; but the interior consists of a single chamber, in which separate sarcophagi are placed in *arcosolia* hewn in the face of the rock. They generally lack the passages so usual in the Roman catacombs, and more resemble the cubicula. The number of these subterranean tombs in Syria is very great, and they further confirm our impression of the scrupulous care of the Christians for their dead.

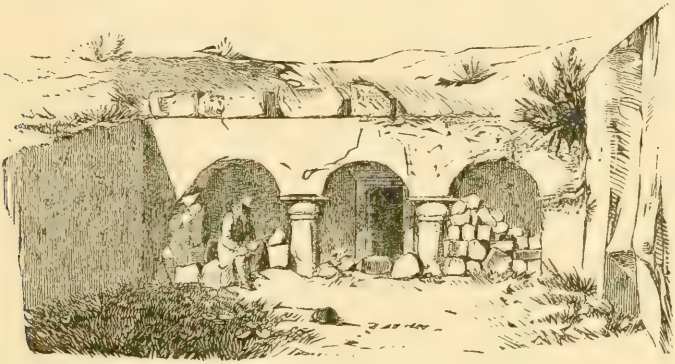

Fig. 148.—Exterior view of rock-hewn tombs at El-Barah, Central Syria.

Conclusions.

The teachings of the symbols and inscriptions has elsewhere been treated;[2] also the marked resemblance of many of the heathen and Christian burial customs has been noted. But as in the case of symbolism, sculpture, painting, and architecture, so here, where the Church used such elements as were not contaminated with idolatry, she gave to them a deeper significance through the revelation of life and immortality in the Gospel.

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[1] *v.* de Vogüé: *Syrie Centrale*, plate 79, no. 2, and vol. i, p. 107.

[2] *v.* Book I, chaps. ii, iii, vi, and vii.

ADDENDA.

I.

GLOSSARY.

Abacus: The crowning plate of the capital of a column.

Abraxas Gems: Applied to a class of objects, bearing talismanic symbols, supposed to have been prepared by the Gnostics.

Agape: The love-feast of the early Christians.

Alæ: Small rooms adjoining the *atrium* in a Roman house.

Alto-relievo: Applied to sculptured figures which stand out prominently above the general plane of the block in which they are cut, and to which they are attached. Opposed to bass-reliefs, or *basso-relievo*.

Ambo: A desk from which the readers (*lectores*) read the gospels and epistles. The gospel ambo stood on the south side, and the epistle ambo on the north side.

Ampullæ: Blood-phials found in the catacombs.

Anaphora: The second or main part of a liturgical service.

Antiphonarium: A service book containing the music, chants, sentences, etc.

Antiphony: A responsive hymn or chant.

Apse: The semi-circular recess in which a building terminates, usually covered by a half dome.

Architrave: The first member of an entablature, which rests immediately upon the supporting columns (*v.* Entablature).

Arcosolium: Applied to a grave in the face of the rock over which an arched recess is hewn.

Area: The groundplat allowed by the Roman government to the *collegia* for the burial of their dead, and for the erection of suitable buildings for the celebration of the memorial feasts.

Atrium: The chief room in the Roman house.

Baptistery: A room or building where the rite of baptism is administered. Sometimes it was a room in a church, sometimes a detached building.

Basilica: A spacious hall for public business. Afterward applied to a Christian church of a certain type, of one, three, or five naves.

Bema: In Byzantine architecture the name of the chancel.

Biblia Pauperum: "Books for the Poor," generally applied to illustrated leaves of the Bible, or to Bible scenes, by which religious instruction might be given to the illiterate.

Bulla: A small tablet of metal or ivory attached to a chain and worn around the neck. Slaves wore leather bullæ.

Byzantine Architecture: The style of architecture developed in the Byzantine Empire from about A. D. 328 to A. D. 1453. First period prior to A. D. 562; second period from A. D. 562 to the eleventh century; third period from the eleventh century to the conquest of Greece by the Turks.

Cadence: The fall of the voice in reading, especially in reading poetry.

Calippic Cycle: one of seventy-six years.

Cantharus: A fountain in the vestibule of a Christian church.

Cantillation: Singing as a recitation or chant.

Capital: The head or crown of a column or pilaster. Each style of architecture had its distinctive capital.

Catacombs: Subterranean vaults or excavations used for burial purposes.

Cathedra: The chair of a high official, as bishop or teacher.

Cella: An enclosed space in a hypæthral temple, where stood the altar. Also applied to a recess in a church, and to a building in which burial feasts were held.

Censer: A vessel, to which chains are usually attached, in which incense is burned in public service.

Ceramics: The science of pottery.

Chalice: The eucharistic cup.

Charism: An extraordinary gift conferred on the primitive Christians, as the gift of miracles, of tongues, etc.

Chromatic: In music a scale consisting of thirteen intervals, eight scale tones and five intermediate tones.

Ciborium: A domed covering, supported by pillars, rising above the high altar.

Collegium: An association, a guild, a club, a fraternity.

Colonnade: A series of columns at regular intervals.

Columbarium: A place of sepulture where the urns containing the ashes of the dead were placed in niches, resembling a dove-cote

Compluvium: The opening in the roof of a Roman house.

Confessio: A space beneath the high altar, where relics or a sarcophagus might be placed.

Corona: Applied to the jeweled halo encircling the head of a saint or of Christ.

Crypt: A vault beneath a building, or a portion of a catacomb.

Cubiculum: A sleeping or lodging-room in a Roman house; also a burial chamber in the catacombs.

Cupola: The convex roof of a building, either circular or polygonal.

Cursive: When applied to inscriptions it means running writing, or where the letters are joined together.

Diatonic: In music, a scale consisting of eight sounds with seven intervals, of which five are whole tones and two are semitones.

Dipinti: Inscriptions painted in colours, as red, or with coal, etc.

Diptych: Any thing folded together twice. Applied to tablets of metal or ivory covered with wax, used by the ancients for writing with a stylus.

Disciplina Arcani: Privileges enjoyed only by those who had been initiated into the inner mysteries of a school or society.

Dome: Literally, a cathedral; more properly a cupola, specially used in Byzantine architecture.

Dominant: In music, the note on which the recitation was made in each psalm or canticle tune.

Enharmonic: The musical scale which was used by the ancient Greeks.

Entablature: The portion of a building which is immediately supported by columns; it consists of *architrave*, *frieze*, and *cornice*.

Epigraphy: The science of inscriptions.

Epithalamium: A wedding song or hymn.

Exedræ: *v.* Cella. Also applied in Byzantine architecture to the recesses on either side the high altar which were occupied by the deacons.

Extra-mural: Situated outside the walls of a town.

Façade: The front view or elevation of a building.

Font: The vessel containing the consecrated water to be used in baptism.

Formative Arts: Those fine arts which appeal to the eye, as sculpture, painting, and architecture, in distinction from those arts which appeal to the ear.

Fossores: Literally, diggers. Applied to a class of men who prepared the graves for the burial of Christians.

Fresco: A painting executed in mineral or earthy pigments upon fresh or wet plaster walls.

Frieze: The middle member of the Entablature: it lies between the architrave and the cornice. Its character depended upon the style of architecture.

Glyptics: The science of engraving on precious stones.

Graffito: A rude inscription or figure scratched upon a soft rock or stuccoed surface.

Gynecæum: The portion of a church edifice for the exclusive use of women.

Hexameter: In poetry, having six feet to the line or verse.

Hieroglyphics: The sacred writings of the Egyptians. Now applied to any writing whose key is obscure or unknown.

Harmonics: The science of musical sounds.

Ichthus Monuments: Those which bear the name or figure of the fish.

IMPLUVIUM: A depression or cistern in the floor of a Roman house to receive the rain falling through the *compluvium*.

IN SITU: Monuments are said to be *in situ* when they occupy their original position, or have not been disturbed.

LABARUM: The standard of Constantine the Great in which the ☧ supplanted the Roman eagle.

LECTORIUM: *v.* Ambo.

LOCULUS: A grave hewn in the face of the rock in the catacombs.

LUNETTE: A semicircular space above a square window, or an orifice for admission of light.

LYRIC: Applied to poetry which is appropriate for singing.

MARIOLATRY: The cultus or worship of the Virgin Mary.

MARMORARII: The Roman workers in marble.

MAUSOLEUM: An imposing tomb.

MEDALLION: A circular tablet on which figures are sculptured, painted, or wrought in mosaic.

METONIC CYCLE: A cycle of nineteen years.

MIME: A play in which mimicry is the main action.

MINIATURE: An illustrated or illuminated manuscript; probably so called from painting the rubrics and initial letters with red lead (*minium*).

MISSA CATECHUMENORUM: The services at which the catechumens were allowed to be present in company with the fully initiated members.

MISSA FIDELIUM: The service which only the fully initiated could attend, especially the Eucharist.

MONOLITH: A column consisting of a single stone.

MONOGRAM: A combination of letters or forms symbolizing some name or fact.

MONUMENT: Any sensuous object designed to perpetuate the memory of a person or event.

MOSAICS: Ornamental work resulting from inlaying small pieces (*tesseræ*), usually cubes, of glass, stone, etc., much used by the ancients in pavements, and by the Christians in the apses and triumphal arches of churches.

MOSQUE: The sacred building of the Mohammedans.

MURAL: Pertaining to a wall; as mural painting, that upon the wall of a church, catacomb, etc.

NAOS: Properly a temple. Applied to the sacred interior of a church.

NARTHEX: The portico of the Byzantine church.

NAVE: The part of a church building in which the general congregation assembled, usually lying west of the choir. The interior area of a church may be divided into three or five naves by longitudinal rows of columns.

NICHE: A recess in a wall to receive a statue, bust, or other ornamental object.

NIMBUS: The circle encircling the head of saints; called also a corona, when jeweled.

NISAN: The first month of the Jewish year, beginning in March.

NUMÆ: Marks accompanying the ancient musical notation, whose meaning has not been satifactorily determined.

NUMISMATICS: The science of coins and medals.

OCTAVE: In music, the interval.

OECUS: A recess in the rear part of the peristyle of a Roman house.

ORANTS: The technical term used for figures found on burial monuments, standing with extended arms in the attitude of prayer.

ORATORY: A building for prayer.

PALÆOGRAPHY: The science of deciphering ancient inscriptions and writings.

PALÆONTOLOGY: The science of organic remains.

PALLIUM: The outside loose garment worn by the Romans.

PANTOMIME: A play in which the plot is revealed by action, and not by words.

PERISTYLE: A court or square enclosed by a colonnade; sometimes it applies to the colonnade itself.

PILASTER: A square half column, usually projecting from the face of the wall, for purposes of strength or ornament.

PIX, PIXIS: An ivory box, generally placed upon the altar to contain the consecrated elements in the eucharist.

PLAGAL: In ancient music, applied to the four modes added by Gregory the Great.

PRESBYTERIUM: The portion of the church reserved for the officiating clergy.

PROANAPHORA: The first portion of a liturgical service.

PSALTER: As used in the early Church, the Book of Psalms.

QUARTO-DECIMANIANS: Those in the early Church who celebrated the Christian passover uniformly on the 14th Nisan.

REGULA FIDEI: A rule of faith.

RHYTHM: In poetry is the division of the lines or verses into parts by impulses and remissions of the voice. In music, a periodic recurrence of the accent.

ROTUNDA: A round building usually covered by a dome.

SANCTUARIUM: The space within the apse where stood the altar and the sacred furniture was kept. The space set apart for the officiating clergy.

SARCOPHAGUS: A stone coffin, usually covered by a stone slab or lid, which was carefully cemented to it.

SCHOLA: A building in which the ancient clubs or guilds were accustomed to meet.

SPANDREL: The space between the arches and entablature in a basilica; or "the space included between the upper arch of a window or door and the square outer molding which form a frame thereto."

SPHRAGISTICS: The science of seals.

SWASTIKA: A form of the cross often found in India (*v.* Fig. 15, lower form).

TABLINUM: A recess in the atrium of a Roman house.

TESSERÆ: Small cubes of glass or marble used in mosaic work.

TETRACHORD: In ancient music a series of four sounds, the first and last of which constituted a fourth. The extremes were fixed; the others might vary.

THRUST: In architecture, the outward pressure exerted upon walls, etc., by a superincumbent mass.

TITULI: Inscriptions, properly so called.

TRANSEPT: The portion of a church which intercepts the main nave at right angles, forming a cruciform structure. It was usually of nearly the same height as the main nave.

TRIBUNE: *v.* Apse.

TRICLINIUM: The dining or banqueting room in the ancient Roman house.

TRIUMPHAL ARCH: In a basilica, the arch spanning the opening leading from the main nave to the apse. When a transept was introduced there might be more than one triumphal arch.

TUNIC: The undergarment, reaching to the knees, worn by both sexes of the Romans.

UNCIAL: A term descriptive of a kind of writing sharing the qualities of capitals and cursive writing. It inclines to change the angular outline of the capital to the rounded outline of the cursive.

VAULTING: The arched surface of a ceiling, receiving different names from the character of the curve.

VERD-ANTIQUE: A kind of green porphyry; sometimes applied to a mottled green marble.

VESTIBULE: A hall or ante-room from which the main room of a building is entered.

VESTIBULUM: *v.* Vestibule.

II.

ITALIAN CHURCHES AND CATACOMBS WITH EQUIVALENT ENGLISH NAMES.[1]

Santa Agnese, Catacomb of.	Catacomb of St. Agnes.
Santa Agnese fuori le mura, Church of.	Church of St. Agnes outside the city walls.
San Alessandro, Cemetery of.	Cemetery of St. Alexander.
San Ambrogio, Church of.	Church of St. Ambrose.
San Andrea in Barbara, Church of.	Church of St. Andrew in Barbara.
San Apollinare in Classe, Church of.	Church of St. Apollinarius at the port of Classe.
San Apollinare Nuovo, Church of.	New Church of St. Apollinarius.
San Bernardo a Termini, Church of.	Church of St. Bernard at the Limits.
San Calisto, Catacomb of.	Catacomb of St. Calixtus.
San Clemente, Church of.	Church of St. Clement.
Santa Constanzia, Church of.	Church of St. Constantia.
SS. Cosmas e Damiano, Cemetery of.	Cemetery of Sts. Cosmas and Damianus.
Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Church of.	Church of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem.
Santa Domitilla, Catacomb of.	Catacomb of St. Domitilla
San Francesco, Church of.	Church of St. Francis.
San Gennaro dei Poveri, Church of.	Church of St. Januarius for the Poor.
San Giovanni Evangelista, Church of.	Church of St. John the Evangelist.
San Giovanni in fonte, Church of.	Church of St. John (the Baptist) by the font.
San Giovanni in Laterano, Church of.	Church of St. John in the Lateran.

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[1] This list is given for the benefit of such readers as may not be familiar with Italian, or may not have enjoyed the opportunity of visiting these spots.

Santa Lucina, Catacomb of.	Catacomb of St. Lucina.
San Lorenzo, Church of.	Church of St. Lawrence.
San Lorenzo fuori le mura, Church of.	Church of St. Lawrence outside the city walls.
San Marco, Church of.	Church of St. Mark.
Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Church of.	Church of St. Mary in Cosmedin.
Santa Maria Maggiore, Church of.	Church of St. Mary the Greater.
Santa Maria della Rotonda, Church of.	Church of St. Mary of the Rotunda.
Santa Maria della Sanita, Church of.	Church of St. Mary the healthgiving.
Santa Maria in Trastavere, Church of.	Church of St. Mary in district of Trastavere.
SS. Nazario e Celso, Church of.	Church of Sts. Nazarius and Celsus.
San Nicolo in Carcere, Church of.	Church of St. Nicholas by the prison.
San Paolo fuori le mura, Church of.	Church of St. Paul outside the city walls.
SS. Pietro e Marcellino, Catacomb of.	Catacomb of Sts. Peter and Marcellinus.
San Pietro in Vincolo, Church of.	Church of St. Peter of the Fetters.
San Pietro in Vaticano, Church of.	Church of St. Peter in the Vatican.
San Ponziano, Catacomb of.	Catacomb of St. Pontianus.
San Prætestato, Cemetery of.	Cemetery of Prætextatus.
Santa Priscilla, Catacomb of.	Catacomb of St. Priscilla.
Santa Pudenziana, Church of.	Church of St. Pudentia.
San Sisto, Chapel of.	Chapel of St. Sixtus.
San Stefano, Church of.	Church of St. Stephen.
Colli di Sto Stefano, Basilica of.	Basilica of St. Stephen on the hills (in Tivoli).
San Vitale, Church of.	Church of St. Vital.

III.

TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN THE TEXT AND IN THE PLATES.[1]

PAGE

67. Victoria Constantini Aug.
Victory of Constantine Augustus (or the Great).

67. Hoc signo victor eris.
In this sign thou shalt be conqueror.

67. Fel*icis* Tem*poris* Reparatio
A restoration of the happy age.

96. DN IHY XPS DEI FILIVS-D*omi*-N*us* IHσΥς XP*ίςτος* DEI FILIVS.
The Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God.

143. IVN.*ius* BASSVS V*ir* *Clarissimus* QVI VIXIT ANNIS. XLII. MEN. II IN IPSA PRAEFECTVRA VRBI. NEOFITVS IIT AD DEVM. VIII KAL*endas* SEPT*embri* EVSEBIO ET ΥPATIO CO*nsulibuς*.
Junius Bassus, of patrician rank, who lived forty-two years and two months. In the very year in which he became prefect of the city, a neophyte, he went to God on the 8th before the kalends of September, Eusebius and Hypatius being consuls.

253. [1] Hic jacet. [2] Hic requiescit. [3] Hic jacet in nomine Christi. [4] Hic requiescit in pace.
Here lies. Here reposes or rests. Here lies in the name of Christ. Here rests in peace.

254. [1] In pace. [2] 'Ε*ν εἰρῄνῃ*. [3] Vivas in Deo. [4] Vivas in æternum.
In peace. In peace. Mayest thou live in God. Mayest thou live forever.

255. [1] Diis Manibus. [2] Diis Manibus sacrum. [3] *Θεοῖς καταχθονίοις.*
To the gods of the lower world. Sacred to the gods of the lower world. To the gods of the lower world.

256. [1] *Θάρσι τάτα μητῆρ ὀυδεὶς ἀθάνατος.* [2] Domus æterna. [3] Perpetua sedes. [4] *ὀικος ἀιώνιος.*
Rejoice, O mother dear, no one is immortal. The eternal home. The everlasting habitation. The eternal home.

PAGE

256 n. [1] Adjuro (vos) V*iri* S*ancti* omnes Chris*tia*ni, et te, custe (costode) beati Juliani, Deo et tremenda die judicii, ut hunc sepulchrum *nunq*am ullo tempore violetur, sed conserve*tur* usque ad finem mundi, ut prosim sine impedimenta in vita redire, cum venerit que judicaturus est vivos et mortuos. . . .
I adjure you all, O holy Christians, and thee, O keeper of the happy Julian, by God, and by the fearful day of judgment, that this tomb may never at any time be violated, but may be guarded even to the end of the world, that I may without hinderance return to life, when he shall come and judge the living and the dead.
[2] Male pereat, insepultus jaceat, non resurgar cum Juda partem habeat, siquis sepulchram hunc violaverit.
If any one shall violate this tomb, let him miserably perish, let him lie unburied, let him not rise again, let him have his portion with the Jew!
[3] Perire. [4] Vita privatus.
To perish. Deprived of life.

257. [1] Vale, have or ave, salve, *χαίρε.*
Farewell.
[2] Spiritus tuus in pace.
Thy spirit in peace.
[3] Pax tibi.
Peace to thee.
[4] In pace domini.
In the peace of the Lord.
[5] Pax tecum.
Peace be with thee.
[6] Vivas, vives, vivis.
Mayest thou live.
[7] Vivas, vives, vivis in Christo, in Deo, in gloria Dei, in Domino Jesu, etc.
Mayest thou live in Christ, in God, in the glory of God, in the Lord Jesus Christ, etc.

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[1] These translations are made for the benefit of those who are not familiar with the classical languages. Some of the texts are fragmentary, some quite indistinct, and others of doubtful meaning. Some are characterized by incorrect orthography, others by very wide departure from classical construction, and still others by a barbarous commingling of Greek and Latin characters and words, *v.* p. 251.

INSCRIPTIONS IN PLATE III.

No.

1. *Se*vera in Deo vivas.
Severa, mayest thou live in God!

4. Florentius in pace.
Florentius in peace.

5. *Μουσης ζων εποιησεν Ατῳ και τη γυννεκι.*
Moses (?) while living erects this to Atus (?) and his spouse.

6. Aurelius Castus m. VIII. Fecit filio suo Antonia Sperantia.
Aurelius Castus (innocent?) eight months old. Antonia Sperantia erects this to her son.

7. Vipas (vivas?) Pondz (?) (Pontius?) in æ*t*erno.
Pontius, mayest thou live forever. (?)

8. *Βηρατιους Νικατορας Λαζαριη και Ιουλιη και Ονησιμηκον (ῳ?) φιλιους (οις?)* bene merentes. Obi*unt* . . . octa . . . uga.
Beratius (Veratius?) Nicatoras to Lazarus (?) and Julia and Onesimacus (Onesimus?) well-deserving friends. (?) They died *on the* eighth (day? month?) . . . ?
A barbarous combination of Greek and Latin.

9. Sabinus co*n*jugi suæ Cœlerine, benemerenti quæ vixit annis LV M*ensibus* VI D*iebus* XV. In pace.
Sabinus to his well-deserving spouse, Celerina, who lived 55 years, 6 months, and 15 days. In peace.

10. *Αρτεμισιος* B(V)*ινκεντιαι συνβιῳ. Εν ειρηνῃ.*
Artemisios to his wife Vincentia. In peace.

12. A fragment whose reading must be conjectural.

13. Sabinaque (æ)vixie (t) Annis XXVI M*ensibus* V.
Sabina who lived 26 years and 5 months.

17. Qui vixit ansis (nis) VIIII . . . ti in pace.
Who lived 9 years . . . in peace.

18. Varonius Fillumenus Varroniæ Fotiniæ fiiliæ suæ fecit.
Varonius Filumenus made this (tomb) to his daughter, Varonia Fotina.

19. *Πιστος εκ πιστων, Ζωσιμος ενθαδεκειμε Ζησας ετεσιν β. μ.η.α. κ. ε..*
A believer of believers, Zosimus, here lies, having lived 2 years, 1 month, 25 days.

No.

22. M*arcus* Aur*elius* Ammianus fecit sibi et conjuj(*g*)i suæ Corneliæ ruferati (?) bene combenientibus.
Marcus Aurelius Ammianus made (this tomb) for himself and his wife Cornelia (ruferati?) having lived happily together.

24. "Domna," with the anchor, implies the death of the departed in hope of the resurrection.

26. Rufinæ in Pace.
To Rufina in peace.

27. Agape quæ vixit ann*is*+V+M*ensibus*+II+dieb*us*+XXII. Irene quæ vixit ann*is*+III+m+VII+dieb*us*+V+Julius urbanus pater+fecit.
To Agape who lived 5 years, 2 months, 22 days. To Irene who lived 3 years, 7 months, 5 days. Julius Urbanus, the father, made (this tomb.)

29. +Vtt(?) Lucius B*ene* M*erent.*
(?) Lucius, well-deserving.

30. Lucilla in pace.
Lucilla in peace.

37. Roman*us* Sabinus.

41. A fragment of uncertain meaning.

42. Petrus — Paulus. — Asellu(io) bene merenti qui vicxit annu(is) sex, mesis (mensibus) octo dies (diebus) XXIII.
Peter . . . Paul . . . To Asellus, the well-deserving, who lived 6 years, 8 months, 23 days.

43. Victoria quæ vixit cum Virginium suum annos(is) XIII menses(ibus) duo dies(ebus) XXII. deposita nonn. kalendas Augustas. In pacæ(e).
Victoria who lived with her husband Virginius 13 years, 2 months, 22 days. Buried the ninth before the kalends of August. In peace. (Barbarous Latin.)

45. In pace (above) VII. M. . X. D. V.D. on side.
In peace. 7 months, 10 days. (?)

47. Depositus est Januarius IIII Idus Sept qui vixit ann(is) II, m. XL. In pace.
Januarius was buried on the fourth of the Ides of September, who lived 2 years, 11 months. In peace.

48. A fragment—not capable of being translated.

49. Severæ virgini q*uæ* vixit ann.
To the virgin Severa who lived (?) years.

INSCRIPTIONS IN PLATE IV.

No.

5. Parentes filio Axungio bene merenti in pace qui vixit annis VI. m.X D*e* P*ositus* VII Kal*endas* Oct*obris*.

The parents to Axuncius well-deserving, in peace, who lived 6 years 10 months. Buried on the seventh before the kalends of October.

6. ? V Calendas Julias. Leo (ni) bene merenti qui vixit annus (is) XXVI dies (ebus) XXX.

The first part a fragment. The last runs, To Leo, well-deserving, whe lived 26 years 30 days.

7. Ε*λλινος και Ωτερα* Ε*υσηβιῳ γλυκυτατῳ τελευτα ετων ι.* Μ. *ιβ.*

Ellinus and Otera to the very precious Eusebius who died at 7 years and 12 months.

8. Dep*ositus* Eutropies VII Kal*endas* Oct*obris*.

Eutropius buried the seventh before the kalends of October.

9. Aurelia Serice quæ vixit ann*is* XXXI mensis III D.*iebus* XVI. Fecit Aurelius Primus co*n*jugi suæ dulcissime (æ) bene merenti in pace.

Aurelia Serica, who lived 31 years, 3 months, 16 days. Aurelius Primus erected (this) to his most precious spouse, well deserving. In peace.

10. Lucina Ælidora ad Deo data, in pace, IIII Idois Mar. Annorom. (?) Bene merenti in pace Fratri. (?)

Lucina Ælidora given to God in peace the fourth of the Ides of March. ?

11. Alexandra in pace.

Alexandra in peace.

14. Severe bene merenti fecerunt parentes in pace quæ vixit anno ? di*ebus* XX.

To Severa well-deserving the parents erect (this) in peace who lived years ? 20 days.

15. A Fragment.

16. Januariæ conjugi bene merenti quæ vixit ? annis XX.

To Januaria the well-deserving wife who lived ? . 20 years.

17. Elis+et+Nictoria parentes fiiliæ ben merenti qu*œ vixit* an*nis* II men*sibus* iii.

Elis and Victoria, the parents, to the daughter well-deserving who lived 2 years 3 months.

18. Eristitus et Felicia parentes Felici filio dulcissimo bene merenti qui vixit annis XIIII mensis VII dies XVIII. Te in pace.

The parents, Eristitus and Felicia, to Felix the dearest and well-deserving son, who lived 14 years, 7 months, 18 days. Thee in peace.

26. Lucifer pater filiæ Ursæ benemerent(*i*) q*uœ* vixit an*nis* III d*iebus* XXI.

Lucifer the father to the daughter Ursa, well-deserving, who lived 3 years, 21 days.

31. Bibbeo v(b)ene merenti.

To Bibbeus well-deserving.

32. Flavia hic posita.

Flavia here buried.

37. Phocina.

50. Aelia B(V)ictorina posuit Aureliæ Probæ.

Ælia Victorina placed (this) to Aurelia Proba.

52. Africane te in ? Maximinus et tu ? qui. vit. annos III m VII et ?

O Africanus thee in ? Maximinus and thou ? who lived 3 years 7 months and ?

57. ? æ ben*e* merenti fili*œ* dulcissim*œ* quæ vixit ann. XXII mensis XI dies XVIIII. deposita die IIII Kalendas Maias. in pace. Parentis fecerunt.

? to the well-deserving and most precious daughter who lived 22 years, 11 months, 19 days. Buried on the fourth before the kalends of May. In peace. The parents erected (this monument).

58. Asurus+In p(ace) vixit an. VII.

Asurus in peace lived 7 years.

59. Vixit anis.

He lived years. ?

60. A Fragment.

61. A Fragment.

62. Firmia Victora que vixit annis LXV.

Firmia Victoria who lived 65 years.

64. Aurelio Felio qui b(v) ixit cum co*n*jugio bone memorie b(*v*)ixit annos lv. Raptus eterne domus XII Kal. Januarius. (Barbarous Latin.)

To Aurelius Felius who lived with his spouse well remembered 55 years. Snatched to his eternal home the twelfth before the kalends of January.

65. Eleutherio in pace d*epositus* III Kal. Jan.

To Eleutherius in peace. Buried the third before the kalends of January.

INSCRIPTIONS OF PLATE V.

No.

1. Decessit.
He has departed.

2, 3. Depositus. Buried. Sepultus. Buried.

4. Καταθεσις Φαδιανης.
Burial. Phadianes (?)

5. M*arco* Aurelio. Aug*ustorum*, lib*erto*. Proseneti a cubiculo Aug*usti*. pro*curatori* thesaurorum pro*curatori* patrimoni· pro*curatori* vinorum ordinato a divo Commod · in castrense patrono piissimo liberti benemerenti sarcophagum de suo adornaverunt.
To Marcus Aurelius Prosenes, a freedman of the Augustii, of the cubiculum (?) of the emperor, the keeper of the treasury, overseer of the paternal estate, superintendent of the gifts, keeper of the wines, appointed by the divine Commodus in charge of the camp; to their patron most pious and well-deserving, his freedmen, of their own means, have adorned this sarcophagus.

5^a. Prosenes receptus ad Deum, V. Non ? ? Reqrediens in . . . urbe ab expeditionibus scripsit Ampelius lib*ertus*.
Presenes being received to God on the fifth of the Nones . . . Ampelius, his freedman, returning to the city (?) from his expeditions, wrote (this inscription).

7. Aurelia dulcissima filia quæ de seculo recessit vixit annis XV · M*ensibus* IIII Severo et Quintino, Coss.
Amelia a much beloved daughter who has departed this life lived 15 years, 4 months, Severus and Quintinus being consuls.

8. Ἡρακλιτος (τῳ) θεο(ῳ) φιλεστατος ἐζησεν ἐτ(η) ἡ παρα ἡ(μερας) ι̅γ̅ ἐνοσησεν ἡμ(ερας) ιβ, τελευτᾳ̃ ¯προ ῐα Κ(αλενδων) Μαι(ων) (Υλ)πιῳ και Ποντιανῳυπ (ατοις) Ἀυρ(ηλιος) Ξανθιας πατηρ τεκνῳ γλυκυτερῳ φωτος και ζωης.
Heraclitus, the well-beloved of God, having lived almost 8 years and 13 days, being sick 12 days, died on the 11th before the Kalends of May, Ulpius and Pontianus being consuls. Aurelius, the father, held this child more dear than light and life.

9. Acliad . . . am possu*it* . . . XIII Kal. Aug. Emi*liano* II et Aquilino Cons. Dormit.
A broken inscription; the last reads: the thirteenth before the kalends of August, Emilianus the second time and Aquilinus being consuls. He sleeps.

10. Σεπτιμιος· Πρα(ιτεξτα)το(ς) και Κ · . . . . ὁ δουλος· του (θεο)υ αξιως . . . ὀυ μετανοησα. καν ωδε σοι ὑπερστησα και ευκα(ρισ)τησω. τῳ ὀνοματι. σου πα(ρεδοκε) την ψυχ(ην) (τ)ῳ θεῳ. τριαντα τριω(ν) . . . εξ μηνων.
Septimius Pretextatus (?) and . . . a servant of God (having lived) worthily. I cannot repent myself to have thus served thee, and I render thanks to thy name. He gave his soul back to God at 33 years and 6 months. (?)

11. Ευμε(οι)ρ(ε)ιτω· ουρανιᾳ θυγατηρ· Ἡρωδρς· (?)
Mayest thou have good passage to heaven O daughter of Heroda. (?)

12. Αρμενια · Φηλικιτας · Αλια · Ρηγινα.
Armenia · Felicitas · Œlia · Regina.

13. Januara co(n)jugi bene merente(i) Gorgono magistro · primo (?)
Januara to her well-deserving husband Gorgonus, the master.

14. Leontina (*t*)n Deo pax.
Leontina in God peace.

INSCRIPTIONS OF PLATE VI.

BEING CHIEFLY OF DOCTRINAL IMPORT.

1. Vidua P (?) felicissima! In Deo vives.
O widow most fortunate! Mayest thou live in God!

2. Ursina vibes Deo.
Ursina, mayest thou live in God!

3. Ἐυτυχις Σωτεριῃ συμβιῳ καλως ἡ ξιωμενη ἐποιησα ζῃ ἐν Θεῳ.
Eutychis to Soterie my companion well honoured (?). I have made (this). May she live in God.

4. Fortunata vives in Deo.
Fortunata, mayest thou live in God!

No.

5. M E M ?
Utulius (Vitulius ?) Calligonis semper in *Deo* vivas · dulcis anima.
Vitulius Calligonis, mayest thou ever live in God, sweet spirit.

6. Faustina dulcis bibas in Deo.
Sweet Faustina, mayest thou live in God!

7. Vibas in d*eo*. feci Qui ?
Mayest thou live in God. I have made (this). ? . . .

8. Bono atque (?) dulcissimo co*n*jugi Castorino qui vixit annis LXI mensibus · V · d*ies* X. Benemerenti uxor fecit. Vive in Deo.
To her dear and well beloved husband, Castorinus, who lived 61 years, 5 months, 10 days. To him well-deserving the wife erects (this). Live thou in God!

9. Lucida in Deu*m*. B(V)ixit annu*os* XI.
Lucida in God. She lived 11 years.

10. D. P.
Lucifere co*n*jugi dulcissime omnen (m) dulcitudinem cum luctu maxime (o) marito reliquit . . . et meruit titulum inscribi ut quisque de fratribus legeret roget deu*m* ut sancto et innocenti spirito ad deum suscipiatur. Qu*ae* vixit annos XXII me*ns*es VIIII dies VI.
D. P. (?)
To Lucifera the dearly-beloved wife who left to her husband in the deepest sorrow all pleasantness and who deserves that this epitaph should be inscribed that whoever of the brothers shall read may beseech God that with a saintly and sinless spirit she may be received to God. Who lived 22 years, 9 months, 6 days.[1]

11. Pactum (?) et fidellism (?) aput (?) deum et pro spirito.
The translation is not easy on account of the fragmentary character of the inscription.

12. Bolosa deus tibi refugeret quæ vixit annos XXXI recessit die XIII kal Oct*o*bres.
O Bolosa (Volosa ?), may God refresh thee! Who livedst 31 years. She departed on the 13th before the kalends of October.

13. Amerimnus Rufinæ co*n*jugi carissime bene merenti spiritum tuum Deus rerefrigeret.
Amerimus to Rufina his precious wife, well-deserving. May God refresh thy spirit!

14. Refrigera deus anima*m* Hom. (?)
Refresh, O God, the spirit of Hom (?)

15. Lais cum pace . . . ispiritus in bonu*m* quescat. (Barbaric Latin)
Laïs with peace, that thy spirit may rest well.

16. A Fragment.

17. Regina vibas in domino Zesu.
Regina, mayest thou live in the Lord Jesus!

18. Bibas in Christo Constantia in pace Qu*ae* vixit annos LV (?) fecit (?) bene.
Mayest thou live in Christ! Constantia who lived in peace 55 (?) years. (made this) ?

19. Suscepta Colonica in ☧ quæ requievit vixit ann XI dep in Nov.
Colonica who rested in peace received in Christ. She lived 40 years, having been Buried in November.

20. In ☧ Aselus D ?
In Christ Aselus ?

21. . . . Erre recepit corpus Livi . . . X decem et quaterque binos hic . . . ester*sos* terre solutus anima Christo reddita est.
This is too fragmentary to furnish a key to the sense.

22. Mir*ae* bonitatis adque inemitabili*s* sanctitatis totius castitatis rari exen (m)pli femin*ae* cast*ae* bon*ae* b(v)itæ et piet*a*te in omnibus gloriosa*e* Bratti*ae* dignitati, qu*ae* vixit annos XXXIII quœ sine lesione animi mei vixi*t* me cum annos XV filios autem procreavit VII ex quibus si (e) cu*m* *h*abet dominum IIIII.
To a female, of admirable goodness, and of inimitable sanctity, of entire purity a rare example. chaste, of good and pious life, renowned in all things, to Brattia Dignitas who lived 33 years, who without vexation of my spirit lived with me 15 years. She bore 7 sons, 6 of whom she has with the Lord. (?)

23. B(V)ictorina in pace et in ☧ .
Victorina in peace and in Christ.

24. Anima dulcis incomparabili filio q*ui* vixit annis · XVII non X · meritus vitam redd*id*it in pace domini.
A sweet spirit! To an incomparable son who lived less than 17 years. Worthy he gave back his life in the peace of the Lord. (?)

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[1] There has been much difference of opinion relative to the reading and interpretation of this inscription. Some prefer to read in the vocative the opening name, and understand *reliquisti*.

No.

25. Merenti · te cu*m* p*a*c*e*? A fragment.

26. A fragment.

27. *Ειρηνη τη ψυχη σου ο Ξυχολει.*

    Peace to thy spirit, O Xucholis!

28. *Φιλουμενη εν ειρηνη σου το πνευμα.*

    Philomena, thy spirit! in peace!

29. *Ειρηνη σου τη ψυχη Ζωσιμη.*

    Peace to thy spirit, O Zosimus.

30. Agape vibes in eternum.

    Agapa, mayest thou live forever!

31. Ma*r*cus puer innocens · esse jam inter innocenti(e)s cœpisti *q*am stau(b)ile(i)s tiv(b)i hæc vita est *q*uam te l*a*etum excipe(i)t mater eclesiæ de *h*oc mundo revertentem comprematur pectorum genitus. *ob*struatur fletus oculorum.

    Marcus, thou innocent boy, thou hast already begun to be among the blameless. How permanent is that life which now is thine! How the mother, the Church, receives thee returning joyful from this life, that the sighings of the heart may be suppressed, that the weeping of the eyes may be stayed.

    D. Ma . . Sacrum XL.

32. Leopardum in pacem cum spirita sancta. acceptum. eumte abeatis innoci(e)ntem posuer . . par . . . Q . . Ann. VII · men . . VII.

    Sacred to the gods of the lower realm. (XL?) Leopardus received in peace among the sacred spirits, hold ye him as innocent. (?) The parents placed (this inscription). Who lived 7 years, 7 months.

33. Spirita sancta = sacred spirits.

34. A fragment whose reading is conjectural.

35 Maximianus Saturnina dormit in pace.

    Maximianus and Saturnina sleep in peace.

36, Suscipe terra tuo corpus de corpore sumta retΔer̄ cot baleas bibificante Δ sic Gregorini ūm̄ truber in pace tutalur in pace pa . u . iter cum ejus Piperusa jugali ejus.

    Receive, O earth, a body taken from thy body.

    . . . .

    Thus of Gregory in peace together with his spouse Piperosa. (The whole reading is doubtful.)

37 Vivere qui prestat morientia semina terræ solvere qui potuit letalia vincula morti*s* . . Depositus Liberianus III Idus A*u*gu*stas* q*ue*stas in pacem.

    He who can cause the dying germs of earth to live, who can break the fatal chains of death . . Liberianus buried the third of the Ides of August. Mayest thou rest in peace!

38. Hic mihi semper dolor erit in ævo et tuum b(v)enerabilem vultum liceat videre sopore conjunx Albana qu*a*e mihi semper casta pudica relictum me tuo gremio queror quod mihi sanctum te dederat divinitus autor relictis tuis jaces in pace sopore merita resurgis temporalis tibi data requetio. Qu*a*e vixit annis XLV men . . V (?) dies XIII do*rm*it in pace fecit Cyriacus maritus.

    Here there will ever be to me grief during my life, and it may be permitted to see in dreams thy venerated countenance, O my spouse, who wast ever to me chaste and modest. I sorrow that I am separated from thy embrace, since the Divine author had given thee to me as something sacred. Having left thine own thou liest in the peace of dreaming. O worthy one, thou shalt arise. The repose given thee is only temporary. Who lived 45 years, five months, 13 days. She sleeps in peace. The husband, Cyriacus, made (this monument).

39. D M. S.

    Florentius filio suo Aproniano fecit titulum benemerenti qui vixit annum et menses nove*m* dies quinque cum sol do a(?)matus fuisset a majore sua et vidit hunce morti constitum esse petivit de æclesia ut fidelis de seculo . . . recessisset.

    Sacred to the Manes.

    Florentinus made this inscription to his well-deserving son, Apronianus, who lived a year, 9 months, and 5 days, and since he had been greatly beloved by his ancestor and saw that he was appointed unto death, he besought the Church that he, a faithful one, might retire from this life. (?)

40. A very fragmentary inscription.

41. *S*impb*l*cio benemerenti qui vixit *a*nnis · II · et post adceptione*m* sua*m* *d*ies · XXVI · dep . . V nonas Feb . . in pace . . acrius qui vixit ann . . XII filio suo fecit in pa*ce*.

    To Simplicius (?) well-deserving who lived 51 years, and after his acceptance 26 days. Buried on the fifth of the nones of February in peace. (?) made this for his son who lived 12 years. In peace

TRANSLATION OF INSCRIPTIONS ON PLATE VII.

INSCRIPTIONS OF POPE DAMASUS.

No.

1. Fama refert sanctos dudum retulisse parentes Agnem cum lugubres cantus tuba concrepuisset nutricis gremium subito lignisse puellam sponte trucis calcasse minas rubiemq*ue* tyranni urere cum flammis voluisse nobile corpus. virib*us* in(m) mensum parvis superasse timorem nudaque profusum crinem per membra dedisse ne Domini templum facies peritura videret · O veneranda mihi sanctum decus alma pudoris ut Damasi precib*us* faveas precor inclyta martyr.

   Report says that when she had recently been snatched away from her parents, when the trumpet pealed forth its terrible clangor, the virgin Agnes suddenly left the breast of her nurse and willingly braved the threats and rage of the tyrant who wished to have her noble form burned in flames. Though of so little strength she checked her extreme fear, and covered her nude members with her abundant hair lest mortal eye might see the temple of the Lord. O thou dear one, worthy to be venerated by me! O sacred dignity of modesty! Be thou favourable, I beseech thee, O illustrious martyr! to the prayers of Damasus!

2. O semel atque iterum vero de nomine Felix que intemerata fide contempto principe mundi confessus Christum cœlestia regna petisti. O vere pretiosa fides cognoscite fratres qua ad cœlum victor pariter properavit Adauctus. Presbyter his verus Damaso rectore jubente composuit tumulum sanctorum limina adornans.

   O thou, once and again appropriately named Felix! and with a faith inviolate, defying the prince of the world and confessing Christ, hast reached the heavenly realms. O truly precious faith (recognise it, O brothers) by which Adauctus, a victor, has mounted steadily to heaven. . . . berus, the presbyter, by the order of Damasus, the rector, has built this tomb, adoring the habitation of the saints.

3, 4. Damasus Episcopus fecit. Heraclius vetuit lab(p)sos peccata, dolere. Eusebius miseros docuit *s*ua crimina flere. Scinditur partes populus gliscente furore seditio caede*s* bellum discordia lites. ex*t*emplo pariter pulsi feritate tyranni · integra cum rector servaret fœdera pacis · pertulit exilium *d*omino sub judice lætus litore Trinacrio mundum vitamq*ue* reliquit Eusebio Episcopo et martyri.

   Damasus the bishop made (this). Heraclius forbade the lapsed to grieve for their sins. Eusebius taught these wretched ones to wash away their crimes by weeping. The populace was divided into parties; with swelling fury there are seditions, murders, war, discords, quarrels. For an example (or, according to a suggested reading, "straightway") by the cruelty of the tyrant both are driven into exile, although the rector was preserving intact the pledges of peace. He bore the exile joyfully under the Lord, his judge. On the Sicilian coast he gave up the world and life. To Eusebius, bishop and martyr.—On the sides, running vertically, is the following inscription:

   Damasi *sui* pappæ cultor atque amator Furius Dyonisius Filocalus scribsit.

   The fosterer and friend of Pope Damasus, Furius Dyonisius, Filocalus wrote (this).

5. A fragment.

6. Cum peritura*e* Getæ posuissent castra sub urbe moverunt sanctis bella nefanda prius istaque sacrilego verterunt corde sepulchra martyribus quandam rite sacrata piis · quos monstrante deo Damasus sibi papa probatos affixo monuit carmine jure coli. Sed periit titulus confracto marmore sanctus · nec tamen his iterum posse perire fuit · diruta Vigilius nam mox hæc papa gemiscens hostibus expulsis omne notavit opus.

   When the Getæ about to perish had pitched their camp under (the walls of) the city, they waged a nefarious warfare against the saints, and also directed it against the sepulchres once duly dedicated to the pious martyrs. Under the guidance of God, pope Damasus, of himself, gave notice in a poem in-

No.

scribed on them, that they could be lawfully worshipped. But the marble having been shattered, this sacred inscription has perished. Nevertheless it was not possible to utterly destroy these, since immediately after the enemy had been driven out, the pope, Vigil, greatly sorrowing over these ruins, restored every work.

7. A fragment.
8. Hic conjesta jacet quæris si turba piorum · corpora structorum retinent veneranda sepulchra. sublimes animas rapuit sibi regia cæli · hic comites Xysti portant qui ex hoste tropæa · hic numerus procerum servat qui altaria Xri · hic posita longa vixit qui in pace sacerdos · hic confessores sancti quos Grecia misit · hic juvenes puerique senes castique nepot*e*s · qu*e*is mag*is* virgineum placuit retinere pudorem · hic fateor Damasus volvi mea condere membra · sed cineres timui sanctos vexare piorum.

   Here heaped together rest a throng of pious ones, if thou art seeking for them. These venerated sepulchres hold the bodies of the saints. The regal heavenly palace has taken to itself their lofty souls. Here are the companions of Sixtus who bore the trophies from the enemy: here a number who ministered at Christ's altars: here is buried a priest who lived in long-continued peace (?): here the holy confessors whom Greece sent: here the youth and boys, the aged, the immaculate descendants who were pleased to maintain their virgin modesty. Here, I confess, O Damasus, have I wished that my members might repose. But I fear to disturb the sacred ashes of the saints.

TRANSLATION OF EPITAPHS OF PLATE VIII.

SECOND HALF OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

1. Parentes · Dionysio filio · dulcissimo · vix*it* an. V, m. VII, d. IX · D. P. XVI · kal. Sept. Constantio X. Cos. in p. A ☧ Ω.

   The parents to their most precious son, Dionysius. He lived 5 years, 7 months, 9 days. Buried on the sixteenth before the Kalends of September, Constantius being for the tenth time consul. In peace in Christ Jesus.
2. A fragment. It has much interest from the variety of symbols which it contains. Its translation has been conjectured by de Rossi.
3. Theodora requ*i*evit in pace die pridie Non Septembris D. N. Juliano Aug. IIII et Salustio Cons.

   Theodora rested in peace on the day before the Nones of September, our master Julianus Augustus, for the fourth time, and Salustius being consuls.
4. Lupicino et Jovino C. . . Victories Q . An . XXV . . . marito fecit An. . . XIII et pudicitia omnibus . .

   The reading is conjectural as follows: Lupinus and Jovinus being consuls, Victoria was buried, who lived 25 years, and lived 13 years with her husband, and was known to all by her chasteness.

No.

5. Miræ sapientiæ Augendo qui vixit Ann . plus min LXXII cum uxore fecit ann . XXX · depositus XVI kal . Oct*o*b . DN Gratiano Aug. II . et Probo Con. . . .

   To Augendus of wonderful wisdom, who lived 72 years more or less; with his wife he lived 30 years. Buried the sixteenth before the Kalends of October our lord Gratianus Augustus, for the second time, and Probus being consuls.
6. Hic queiescit ancilla dei qu*a*e de sua omnia possedit domum ista*m* que(a)m amic*a*e deflen*t* solaciumq*ue* requirunt. Pro hu(a)nc unun(a)m ora su(o) bolem que(a)m superis titem re*li*quisti . *a*eterna requiem Felicita ? ? ? XVI ke (a) lendas Octobris . Cucurbitinus et Abumdantius hic simul quiesci*un*t d ·u Gratiano V et T*h*odosio Aug.

   Here rests a servant of God who with respect to all her possessions has guarded this home, whom her friends lament and they seek for consolation.—The balance is obscure except the usual conclusion.
7. Theodora qu*a*e vixit annos XXI m VII d XXIII in pace est biso-

No.

mu(o) amplificam sequitur vitam cum casta Afrodite fecit ad astra viam Christi modo gaudet in aula restitit haec mundo semper Caelestia quaerens optima servatrix legis fideique magistra dedit egregiam sanctis per saecula mentem inde eximios paradisi regnat odores tempore continuo vernant ubi gramina rivis expectatque deum superas quo surgat ad auras hoc posuit corpus tumulo mortalia linquens, fundavitque locum conjux Evag*rius* . . tans dep . . die . Antonio et Siagrio cons . .

Theodora who lived 21 years, 7 months, 23 days, in peace is in this *bisomus*, while chaste Aphrodite lived a still longer life. She has made her way to the heavens, and now rejoices in the court of Christ. She withstood the world, always seeking heavenly things; the most excellent guardian of the law and of the faith, she has given back to the saints her noble spirit forever. There amidst the delightful odors of paradise she reigns where the grass blooms perpetually by the water-brooks, she waits on God by whom she rises to those supernal regions. Her husband, Evagrius, pressing forward to join her, has placed this body in the tomb, leaving behind the mortal part, and has founded this place. Buried on the day . . . Antonius and Siagrius being consuls.

8. Quid loquor aut sileam prohibet dolor ipse fateri: hic tumulus lacrimas retinet; cognosce parentu*m* Projectae fuerat primo quae juncta marito, pulc*h*ra decore suo solo contenta pudore. heu dilecta satis miserae gene(i)tricis amore! Accipe, quid multis? thalami post fœdera prima, erepta ex oculis Flori genitoris abiit, aetheriam cupiens caeli conscendere lucem · haec Damasus pr*ae*stat cunctis solacia fletus . Vixit ann XVI m IX dies XXV · Dep. III kal. Jan. Fl. Merobande, et Fl. Saturnin. conss ·

Respecting what may I speak, or keep silence? Grief itself prohibits me from speaking; this tomb retains my tears. Know the parents of Projecta (?) who had scarcely had union with her husband, fair in her comeliness, content with modesty alone. Alas! beloved enough in the affection of an afflicted mother! Are you satisfied that I say more? (?) After the first union of the nuptial bed, snatched from the eyes of her father, Florus, she departed, longing to mount to the ethereal brightness of heaven. Damasus offers to all the solaces of weeping. She lived 16 years, 9 months, 25 days. Buried the third before the kalends of January, Flavius Merobandus and Saturninus being consuls.

9. Hic requiescit quod vul*t* deus honeste recordationes (is) vir qui vixit annos LVII depositus in pace die V Idus Octobres cons . . s D · N · Arcadio Aug. quater et Honorio Aug. . . ter Consulibus.

Here rest (as God wills (?)) a man of worthy memory who lived 57 years, buried on the fifth of the Ides of October, our lords Arcadius Augustus for the fourth time, and Honorius Augustus for the third time, being consuls.

10. Hic cesguid (?) Bonifatia mulier qu*ae* bixset annus XLVI d X · Deposita in pace Cesario et Attico.

A piece of barbarous Latin. Probably meaning: Here reposes the wife Bonifatia, who lived 46 years, 11 days. Buried in peace. Caesarius and Atticus being consuls.

This is a genuine palimpsest. On the opposite side is found the inscription "Leo et Statia vivi fecerunt." Beneath a Greek inscription is found: *'Ευτυχιανῳ δουλῳ Θεοῦ 'Ιο(υ)λιανη συν(βιῳ).*

11. Maxima in pace q*u*æ vixit annus plus minus XXXV cons dominis nostris Onorio iv c . . . s . . . et Eutuc*h*iano Cons. Pridiæ Nonas Septembres.

Maxima in peace. Who lived 35 years more or less, our lords, Honorius for the fourth time, and Eutuchianus being consuls. On the day before the Nones of September.

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393. n. *v.* Plate III, No. 19.

477. *Μητρι Κατιανιλλη εργοποιῳ.*

To the Mother Katianilla the toiling one.

478. Amatrix pauperorum et operaria.

The lover of the poor, and herself a laborer.

478. Leontiæ cum laboronæ suæ.

To Leontia together with her laborers (?)

IV.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN CHRISTIAN EPIGRAPHY.

[Compiled from Martigny, Le Blant, and Babington, for the use of students.]

A. Anima, annos, ave, amen.
ABBI. Abbatis.
A. B. M. Animæ bene merenti.
ACOL. Acolytus.
A. D. Ante diem, anima dulcis.
A. D. KAL. Ante diem calendas.
A. K. Ante calendas.
AN. Annum, annos, annis, ante.
ANS. Annos, annis.
AP., or APR., or APL. Aprilis.
APOSTOR. Apostolorum.
A. Q. T. C. Anima quiescat in Christo.
A. R. T. M. D. Anima quiescat in manu Dei.
AVG. Augustus, Augusti.

B. Benemerenti, bixit (for vixit).
B. AN. V. D. IX. Vixit annos quinque dies novem.
BENER. Veneriæ.
B. F. Bonæ feminæ.
BIBAT. Bibatis (for vivatis).
B. I. C. Bibas (vivas) in Christo.
B. M., or BO. M., or BE. ME., or BO. ME. Bonæ memoriæ.
B. M. F. Benemerenti fecit.
BNM., or BNMR. Bene merenti, or bene merentibus.
BNMM. Bonæ memoriæ.
B. Q. Bene quiescat.
B. Q. I. P. Bene quiescat in pace.
BVS. V. Bonus vir.

C. Clarissimi, consul, cum.
CAL. Calendas.
C. C. Consules, carissimus, or carissima conjux.
CDS. Calendas.
CESQ. I. P. Quiescit, or quiescat, in pace.
C. F. Clarissima femina, curavit fieri.
CH. Christus.
C. H. L. S. E. Corpus hoc loco sepultum (or situm) est.
CL., or CLR. Clarus, clarissimus.
C. L. K. T. Collocatum.
C. L. P. Cum lachrymis posuerunt.
CL. V. Clarissimus vir.
C. M. F. Curavit monumentum fieri.
C. O. Conjugi optimo.
C. O. B. Q. Cum omnibus bonis quiescas.
COI. Conjugi.
CON., CONS. Consulatum, consul, consulibus.
CONG. Conjux.
CONI. Conjugi.
CONPRB. Compresbyter.
CONT. VOT. Contra votum.
COS. Consul, consulibus.
COSS. Consules, consulibus.
C. P. Clarissima puella, curavit poni.
C. Q. Cum quo, cum qua.
C. Q. F. Cum quo fecit (vixit).
C. R. Corpus requiescit.
C. R. S. M. Cursum.
CS. Consul.
C. V. A. Cum vixisset annos.
CVNG. Conjux.
CVNS. Consolue.

D. Dies, die, defunctus, depositus, dormit, dulcis.
DBM. Dulcissimæ benemerenti.
D. B. Q. Dulcis, bene quiescas.
D. D. Dedit, dedicavit, dies.
D. D. S. Decessit de sæculo.
DE. Deum, die.
DE., or DEP. Depositus, deposita, depositio.
DEC. Decembris.
DF. Defunctus.
DI. Dei, die.
DIAC. Diaconus.
DIEB. Diebus.
D. III. ID. Die tertua idus.
D. I. P. Dormit, decessit, depositus in pace.
D. M. Dies manibus.
DM. Dominum, dormit.
D. M. S. Dies manibus sacrum.
DMO. Domino.
DMS. Dominus.
D. N., or DD. NN. Domino nostro.
DNI. Domini.
DNMO. Domino.
DOM. Domini.
DP., DPS., DPT. Depositus, depositio.
DS. Deus.

E. Est, et, ejus, erexit.
EDS. Idus.
EID. Eidus (for idus).
EOR. Eorum.
EPI., EPS., EPVS., EPC. Episcopus.
EPISC'PT. Episcopatus.
ETNVM. Eternum.
E. V. Ex voto.
E. VIV. DISC. E vivis discessit.
EX. TM. Ex testamento.

F. Fecit, fui, filius, filia, femina, feliciter, felix, fidelis, februarius.
F. C. Fieri curavit.
FEBVS. Februarius.
FF. Filii, fratres, fieri fecit.
F. F. Q. Filiis filiabusque.
F. K. Filius carissimus, filia carissima.
FL. Filius, Flavii.
FLAE. Filiæ.
F. P. F. Filio, or filiæ, poni fecit.
FS. Fossor, fossoribus, fratribus.
F. V. F. Fieri vivus fecit.
F. VI. D. S. E. Filius sex dierum situs est.

GL. Gloriosi.

H. Hora, hoc, hic, hæres.
H. A. Hoc anno.
H. A. K. Ave anima carissima.
H. L. S. Hoc loco situs, or sepultus est.
H. M. Honesta mulier.
H. M. F. F. Hoc monumentum fieri fecit.
HON. Honore.
H. R. I. P. Hic requiescat in pace.
H. S. Hic situs.
H. T. F., or P. Hunc titulum fecerunt, or posuerunt.

I. In, Idus, ibi, illustris, jacet, januarius, julius.
IAN. Januarius.
ID. Idus, idibus.
I. D. N. In dei nomine.
IDNE. Indictione.
I. H. Jacet hic.
IH. Jesus.
IHM. Iesum.
IHS. Jesus.
IHV. Jesu.
IN B. In bono, in benedictione.
IN D. N. In dei nomine.
IN D. V. In deo vivas.
INL. In lustris.
INN. Innocens, in nomine.
INO. Ingenio.
IN P., or I. P. In pace.
IN PC. In pace.
IN X. In Christo.
IN XRI. N. In Christo nomine.
I. P. D. In pace Dei.
ISPA. Ispalensi.
I. X. Jesus Christus.

K. Kalendas, carus, carissimus.
KAL. Kalendas.
K. D., I., M., etc. Calendas decembres, januarius, etc.
KK. Carissimus.
KL., KLEND. Kalendas.
K. M. B. Carissimo bene merenti.
Κω. *κώμης.*
KRM. Carissimæ, carissimo.

L. Locus.
L. A. Libenti animo.
L. F. C. Locus monumenti.
LNA. Luna.
L. S. Locus sepulchri.

M. Memoria, martyr, mensis, merenti, minus, etc.
MA., MAR., MART. Martyr, martyrium, martias.
MAT. Mater.
M. B. Memoriæ bonæ.
MERTB. Merentibus.
MES. Menses.
MM. Martyres.
MP., or PP. Monumentum, or memoriam, posuit.
MRT. Merenti, merentibus.
MS. Menses.

N. Nonas, numero, novembris, nomine, nostro.
NAT. Natalis, natale.
NBR. Novembris.
NME. Nomine.
NN. Nostris.
NO., or NON. Nonas.
NOV. Novembris.
NST. Nostri.
NVM. Numerus.

O. Horas, optimus, obitus, obiit.
OB. Obiit.
OB. IN XRO. Obiit in Christ.
OCT. Octobris.
O. E. B. Q. Ossa ejus bene quiescant.
O. H. S. S. Ossa hic sepultus est.
OM., or OMIB. Omnibus.
OMS. Omnes.
OP. Optimus.
O. P. Q. Ossa placide quiescant.

P. Pax, pius, ponendum, posuerunt, etc.
PA. Pace, pater, etc.
PART. Parentibus.
PC. Pace, pone curavit.
P. C., or P. CONS. Post consulatum.
P. F. Poni fecit.

P. H. Positus hic.
PL. Plus.
P. M. Plus minus.
PONT. Pontifex.
PONTFC. Pontifice.
P. P. Præfectus prætorio.
PP. K. L. Prope calendas.
PR., PRB., PRBR., PREB., PSBR., PRSB. Presbyter.
PR. Q. Posterisque.
P. V. Prudentissimus vir.
P. Z. Pie zeses (for bibas, vivas).

Q. Qui, quo, etc.
Q. B. AN. Qui bixit (vixit) annos.
Q. FEC. MEC. Qui fecit mecum.
Q. FV. AP. N. Qui fuit apud nos.
Q. I. P Quiescat in pace.
Q. M. O. Qui mortem obiit.
Q. V. Qui vixit.

R. Recessit, requiescit, etc.
RE., REQ. Requescit, repositus.
REG. Regis.
REG. SEC. Regionis secundæ.
RES. Requescit.
RIG., RIGS. Regni, regnis.
R. I. P. A. Requiescas, or recessit, in pace animæ.
RQ. Requevit.

S. Suus, sua, sibi, salve, somno, sepulchrum, situs, sepultus, sub.
SA. Sanctissimus.
SAC. Sacer, sacerdos.
SAC. VG. Sacra virgo, or sacrata.
SBRS. Septembres.
SC. Sanctus.
SCA. Sancta.
SCE. Sanctæ.
SCEMVNIALES. Sanctimunialis.
SCI. Sancti.
SCIS. Sanctis.
SCLI. Sæculi.
SCLO. Sæculo.
SC. M. Sanctæ memoriæ.
SCOR., SCORVM. Sanctorum.
SD. Sedit.
S. D. V. ID. IAN. Sub die quinto idus januarius.
SEP. September, septimo.
SEQ. TIB. Sequentibus.
S. H. L. R. Sub hoc lapide requiescit.
S. I. D. Spiritus in Deo.
S. L. M. Salvit lubens merito.
S. M. Sanctæ memoriæ.
S. O. V. Sine offensa ulla.
SP. Sepultus, sepulcrum, spiritus.
SP. F. Spectabilis femina.
SS. Sanctorum, suprascripta.
ST. Sunt.
S. T. T. C. Sit tibi testis cœlum.
SVPRASTO. Suprascripto.

T. and TT. Titulum.
TB. Tibi.
TIT. P., or PP., or FF. Titulum posuit, or posuerunt, or fecerunt.
TM. Testamentum.
TPA. Tempora.
TTM. Testamentum, Titulum.

V. Vixit, viscisti, vivus, viva, vivas, venemerenti (for benemerenti), vatum, vovit, vir, uxor, vidua.
VAT. Valeat.
V. B. Vir bonus.
V. C. Vir clarissimus.
V. F. Vivas, or viva, fecit.
VG., or VGO. Virgo.
V. H. Vir honestus.
V. I. AET. Vive in æternum, or æterno.
V. I. FEB. Quinto idus februarii.
V. INL. Vir inlustris (illustris).
VIX. Vixit.
V. K. Uxor carissime, vivas carissime.
V. O. Vir optimus.
VOT. VOT. Votum vovit.
VR. S. Vir sanctus.
V. S. Vir spectabilis.
V. T. Vita tibi.
VV. CC. Viri clarissimi.
VV. F. Vive felix.

X. Christus.
XI., $\overline{\text{XRI}}$. Christo.
XO., XTO. Christo.
$\overline{\text{XRC}}$., XS. Christus.

Z. ZESES (for vivas).
ZESV (for Jesu).

V.

INSCRIPTIONS RELATING TO INFANT BAPTISM. (P. 449.)

Marangoni (*Act. S. Vict.*, 103) gives the following: URCIA FLORENTIA FIDELIS IN PACE VIX. AN V. MES. VIII DIES VIII. "Urcia Florentia faithful (baptized) in peace. She lived five years, eight months, and eight days."

In Cavedoni (*Cim. di Chiusi*, 33) we find the interesting epitaph of Aurelius Melitus, a faithful (baptized) Christian infant: MELITVS INFANS CHRISTAEANVS FIDELIS.

Gori (*Inscr. Etrusc.*, iii, 314) gives us the epitaph of a child three years, three months, and three days old, of whom it is recorded: ΠΙCTH ETELETHCEN. "She died faithful"—that is, baptized.

Gori (*Thes.*, i, 228) also gives an inscription in which a distinction is made between the "Neophyte" and the "Fidelis:" HIC REQVESCVNT DVO FRATRES INNOCENTES CONSTANTIVS NEOPHVTVS QVI VIXIT ANNIS OCTO M. II. D. VII. IVSTVS FIDELIS QVI VIXIT ANNIS VII. Of these brothers one had not been admitted to baptism, being yet "neophytus;" the other, though younger, had been baptized, and is therefore described as "fidelis."

One of the most interesting is given by de Rossi, vol. i, p. 140, No. 315, *Ins. Ch. Urbis Romæ.* It is dated 382. The subject is a child one year and four months old: FIDELIS QVIESCIS IN PACE QVI (v)IXIT ANN. M. IIII D(epositus) VI KAL OCT. ANTONIO ET SVAGRIO.

In the Lateran Museum we find the following Greek inscription: ΠΙCTOC EK ΠΙCTωN ZωCIMOC ENΘAΔE KEIME ZHCAC ETECIN B. MH. H. HME KE. "Faithful of the faithful (that is, a baptized child of baptized parents), I, Zosimos, lie here, having lived two years, one month, and twenty-five days."

This monumental evidence, from the third and fourth centuries, establishes the fact that it was the custom to baptize infants at this period. It confirms the literary evidence already adduced.

VI.

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